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Hiſtory *and* Conſtitution *of theſe* Kingdoms.

Selected from an infinite Number in *Print* and *Manuſcript*, in the ROYAL, COTTON, SION, and other Public, as well as Private Libraries;

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Reviſed by EMINENT HANDS.

VOL. III.

The Bent and Genius of the Age is beſt known in a free Country by the Pamphlets and Papers that come daily out, as the Senſe of Parties, and ſometimes the Voice of the Nation. Preface to KENNET's Regiſter.

Judex qui aliquid ſtatuit, unâ parte auditâ tantum et inauditâ alterâ, licet æquum ſtatuerit, haud æquus fuerit. *Ld.* COOK & JUST. *Inſt.*

LONDON:

Printed for F. COGAN, at the *Middle-Temple-Gate* in *Fleet-Street*.

M.DCC.L.

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OF

TRACTS.

A LETTER from General Monck to King Charls, Son of the late King Charls of *ENGLAND*, deceaſed. Together with King Charls's Anſwer thereunto. Printed 1660.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

SEEING it hath pleaſed God out of his gracious Will and Pleaſure to cauſe me to caſt my Eye upon this Commonwealth of *England*, my native Country, (and your three Kingdoms;) and viewing there, to behold the ſad and lamentable Condition, that now, and for many Years paſt, it hath been intangled in; which as Reaſon and Conſcience together perſuades me, is occaſioned chiefly for want of its ancient and ever cuſtomed way of Government, (to wit) a King and Parliament, which hath been unſettled altogether amongſt us, ever ſince the unhappy Death of your Majeſty's late Father our King; by reaſon thereof, our ancient and accuſtomed wholſome Laws, both of Church and State, are moſt ſtrangely torn and maſſacred; and all through the ſelf-ſeeking end of ſome certain Perſons, which at preſent I judge not fit herein to be communicated, who having gotten the Power of the Sword in their Hands, thought for ever to rule and reign over their Oppoſers; (I think in ſpite of God or Man:) But of late ſome of thoſe (I hope, I may truly bleſs the Name of the Lord for it) who were the chief Rulers of thoſe unhappy Differences between our King, and his poor diſtracted Kingdoms, are taken out of this World; inſomuch, that the Power of thoſe remaining, is much weakened; but yet they will (I perceive) ſeek to tread in the ſelf-ſame Steps of them that have gone before them, as ſeeking only to ſet up their own Intereſt, although to the utter Ruin of the Nation.

Studying how of littleneſs to become great, hating the Name of a King, but would joyfully embrace the Power thereof, (yea, I may ſay, they ſeek far more Power, than ever our late King did take upon him) and all is done under the zealous Pretence of Saintſhip and Religion; the form of manner whereof, is plainly manifeſted by their tolerating and ſetting up of ſtrange Sects of Religion, as *Anabaptiſts*, *Quakers*, and ſuch like, ſeeking utterly to deſtroy, and pull down, our ancient Orthodox Divines, unleſs timely prevented. I queſtion not but your Majeſty is very well knowing of the Power, which for ſome few Years paſt, I have had in governing the *Engliſh* Army here in *Scotland*; which Power, when I had once obtained, I did reſolve, as much as in me lay, to keep, until a fit time and opportunity ſhould offer itſelf, that I might employ it for the Glory of God, and the Good of your Majeſty, whoſe faithful Subject I humbly acknowledge myſelf to be. Now ſo it is, may it pleaſe your Majeſty, I plainly ſeeing, and with a ſad Heart beholding the threatning Hand of the Lord's ſevere Judgments ſtretched forth againſt theſe three Kingdoms, which forthwith muſt, and will inevitably fall heavy upon us, (for aught as can be imagined, to the utter Ruin both of King and Subjects) unleſs ſuddenly prevented by our humble Submiſſion to the Lord, and an unfeigned Repentance of our former Miſcarriages. May it alſo pleaſe your Majeſty to give me leave to acquaint you, that I humbly conceive, I had never a better Opportunity of doing my Country Service, (in freeing them from their *Egyptian* Bondage, as I may term it) and in reſtoring the Crown to the right Owner thereof; which if poſſible to be done, ſhall be done with as much Care, Safety, and Diligence, as God ſhall enable me, and that with as little wrong as may be either to King or Subjects; which Work, when it is perfected, I hope will tend to the firm Settlement of our ancient Proteſtant Religion: In tender Conſideration of all which Premiſſes, I moſt humbly beg that high Favour of your Majeſty, that you will be graciouſly pleaſed, to permit me to make theſe Propoſals following. Firſt, Whether your Majeſty will be pleaſed, to accept of the real Endeavours of me your unworthy Subject and Servant to be employed in being a means in helping your Majeſty to a quiet and ſafe Poſſeſſion of three Kingdoms; which have (with Violence) been ſo long time withheld from you? If yea, then, will your Majeſty be pleaſed, to conſent to a Treaty to be had between your Majeſty and a free Parliament, which ſhall be lawfully elected, and choſen by the Country, whoſe Care I hope will be for the chuſing of ſuch honeſt, godly, and religious Men, as had no hand in the Death of our late King, or ſince his Death, have (by any unlawful means whatſoever) enjoyed any of his Lands, Tenements, or Rents, or the Lands, Tenements, and Rents, of the late Deans and Chapters, or any of your late ſequeſtred Subjects, or which ſince his Death have appeared violent in their acting againſt Kingſhip, and conſequently againſt your Majeſty, our lawful King: Not in the leaſt that I have any Malice or evil Will againſt ſuch Perſons, but for that my Conſcience tells me, that ſo long, as ſelf-intereſted Perſons are ſuffered to ſit in Parliament, there is little good to be expected, either for King or Kingdom; for it is a hard thing for Men to act againſt their own ſelves, to the loſs of their Lands and Livings; which they ſuppoſe they have ſo honeſtly gained. If your Majeſty will be pleaſed to

conſent

conſent to ſuch a Treaty, and that thereupon it may be agreed upon, that your Majeſty ſhall be reſtored to your three Kingdoms; which I queſtion not, but will be the Event of ſuch a Treaty: Then I humbly beg, that your Majeſty would be pleaſed, to think fit to declare what Mercy and Pity, you are pleaſed ſhall be ſhewn to all thoſe that have been the chief of your Enemies, (whoſe Blood, in Severity of Juſtice, might deſervedly be ſpilt,) upon their humble Submiſſion to your Majeſty, and their promiſe of future Obedience; for I hope you will judge, that the only way to join the Hearts of the People of your three Kingdoms, to pray for your happy Succeſs in all things; and not only ſo, but it will undoubtedly encourage them all to venter their Lives againſt all your Oppoſers, if any ſhall conteſt: And alſo that your Majeſty would be pleaſed to declare out of your gracious Goodneſs, what Satisfaction ſhall be made to the poor common Souldiery throughout your three Kingdoms, who have been forced to take up Arms, although againſt your Majeſty, for meer neceſſity to keep them and their Families from ſtarving, who indeed are much behind in their Pay; which will be utterly loſt, and undone, unleſs your Majeſty take Compaſſion upon them; which if you are pleaſed ſo to do, I queſtion not, but you will find as much Humility and Submiſſion from them, as can be expected; and for the future it will engage them to be as ready to ſerve your Majeſty, as they were to ſerve your Enemies for the time paſt: And moreover, I conceive it will be a great Incouragement to them, to join with me in this Deſign. I ſhall trouble your Majeſty with little more at preſent; But to let you know, that my hopes are that you would be pleaſed, to have that Confidence in me, as not to credit any Rumours or Reports, that may contradict, what I have herein propoſed; for, as for that, I would have your Majeſty to be confident, that I ſhall not value neither the Ill-will, or yet look upon the Favour of any, who ſhall appear in Oppoſition to a thing that I have ſo really propoſed, ſo long as God and my Conſcience perſuades me, that in ſo doing I ſhall accompliſh a good Work, both for his Glory, and my Country's Good: And yet I think fit to carry as fair a Correſpondency as I can, with thoſe that have taken upon them the Authority in *England:* To that end, I have thoughts of going to *London* very ſuddenly, that I may ſee their Actings, and order things there ſomewhat for my Advantage; I humbly beg your Majeſty's ſpeedy Anſwer touching theſe Propoſals: So with all Submiſſiveneſs, I crave your Majeſty's Favour, in giving me leave to ſubſcribe myſelf

Edenboroug,
Dec. 30, 1659.

Your Majeſty's for ever faithful and loyal Subject,

GEORGE MONCK.

King CHARLES his *Answer thereunto.*

WORTHY FRIEND,

THIS is to let you understand, that I have received yours of the Twentieth of *December*, the Twenty-fifth of the same Month. The Contents whereof, do cause me, to judge you deserving, of the Title that I have given you, and I hope, the further Events of your intended Proceedings, may e'er long merit a greater; and forasmuch, as I conceive it necessary, to give you the speedy Result of my Mind in Answer thereunto, I think fit to let you know in the first Place, that I freely pardon you for all Offences or Crimes, whatsoever committed (or which you know yourself guilty of) against my late dear Father, and myself; I beseech the Lord to forgive you likewise; I must confess, I am not ignorant of the Power, that you for some Years past, have had over the *English* Army in *Scotland*; and I do likewise bless God, who hath now opened your Eyes, to behold the Miseries of my three poor distressed Kingdoms; and also for that he hath made you so far sensible of his heavy Judgments (ready to be showered down upon them, by reason of the grievous and lamentable outcrying Sins of the People) as to cause you, to make so fair and seasonable a Proffer of the tender of your Service, both for the Glory of God, and the Good of me and my People. The Lord open your Heart, couragiously, to go on in the perfecting of so great a Work, as you have intended to set on foot, you having now so fit an Opportunity; and for the answering the Propositions therein containing, in order as they lie, I do declare that I shall with a willing and joyful Heart, accept of your faithful and honest Endeavours to be employed, for the Glory of God, and the manifest Good of me and my Subjects; not so much for the Profit or worldly Advantage that I think to receive thereby, but that which I shall chiefliest rejoice in, is, only for the Glory of God, and the Good of my three Kingdoms. I mean in freeing them from their Slavery, in preserving them from any farther Effusion of Blood, and for the settling amongst them their ancient way of Church and State Government, for the Advancement of the true Protestant Religion; and also for the quashing of all Heresies, Hypocrisies, Sects and Schisms, that are lately crept into our Protestant Church; whereby we are become a mere laughing Stock to all Nations; and as for my consenting to a Treaty, to be had between me and a Parliament, to be chosen by a free Consent of my People, I am sure there is not a thing that I can embrace with a greater Joy, and especially, if my Subjects make Choice of Persons so qualified, as you have mentioned in your Letter to me, then of Necessity, there can nothing but good come of such a Treaty. But if otherwise, it may be doubted, but however my Trust shall be in the Lord; and whereas it was your Desire, for me to declare what Mercy and Pity, I would should be shewn towards those who are my manifest Enemies, in case I should come quietly to be restored to my three Kingdoms; I do therefore for the satisfaction doth of you and my Subjects, declare the Thoughts of my Heart, touching

touching my ſaid Enemies, in manner following. That as for ſuch, who ſhall humbly ſubmit themſelves unto me, and expreſſing their Sorrow for all their former Actings againſt me and my late Father, and upon Promiſe of their future Obedience, I will freely pardon them of their Lives; and as for their Eſtates, thoſe who have lawfully purchaſed any from my Subjects, I will that they enjoy ſuch their Eſtates, according to their Purchaſe, they only paying (for the Space of five Years) the Moiety of the Profits of ſuch their Eſtates towards Satisfaction of the publick Debts, that my poor Subjects may be ſomewhat eaſed of their Taxes, which have been ſo heavily impoſed upon them for theſe many Years. And as for ſuch who have gotten or purchaſed by any means whatſoever any of my Lands (to wit) any of the King's Lands or Livings, or the Lands and Livings of the Biſhops, late Deans and Chapters, or of any of my Subjects, ſequeſtered or taken from them for their Delinquency (ſo accounted) my Will is, that ſuch Eſtates ſo gotten, ſhall be by them ſurrendered into the Hands and Poſſeſſion of the right Owners as formerly, being contented to reſt quiet and ſatisfied with the Gain and Profit they have received thereby for the time paſt, and to loſe the Profit for the time to come, which my Conſcience tells me, is but plain Reaſon; and as for thoſe who ſhall perſiſt and continue in their Rebellion againſt me, I ſhall deſire, that ſuch Courſe may be taken with them, as my Parliament and Council ſhall think fit, and their Eſtates to be diſpoſed of towards Payment of the publick Debts which ſhall be judged neceſſary, and fit to be diſcharged, which I ſhall refer to my Parliament and Council; who I ſhall humbly deſire, and I queſtion not, but it will be their Care, in being ſparing in ſpilling as little Blood as may be. And as for the poor common Soldiers, they who will ſubmit themſelves to me, I freely pardon them; and my Will is, that their Arrears ſhall be paid as ſpeedily as conveniently may be, although it be for their Service in fighting againſt me, but I impute all to their Neceſſity; what I have here above declared, I ſhall labour to make good, to the utmoſt of my power. I ſhall not, neither do I in the leaſt, queſtion your Reality, in the faithful Performance of what you have declared. God proſper you in all your Undertakings therein; and I ſhall own you in every thing that you ſhall act, for God's Glory, and the Good of my People, which I deſire may be done with as much Expedition as may be. I render you very many Thanks for your Love.

C. R.

Alderman

Alderman BUNCE his Speech to the Lord-Maior, Aldermen, and Common-Council of *LONDON*, touching the KING's Reſolution to accept of honourable Conditions from a Free Parliament for his Admitment. Printed 1660.

My Lord, Gentlemen, and Fellow-Citizens,

THAT I am after ſo long a time of Baniſhment, and almoſt Deſpair, returned again without fear into my native Country, I need not, I think, tell you how much I rejoice at; but I cannot indeed tell you that unexpreſſible Joy which I feel within my Boſom, to find my poor diſtreſſed and diſtracted Country in ſome Hopes of Settlement and Reſtoration to her priſtine Glory, even then when ſhe ſeemed to be moſt overwhelmed and ſwallowed up, under the Uſurpation and Tyranny of the moſt mean and fanatick Spirits of the Nation.

Nor can I here forbear to burſt out into Praiſes and Thanks to God for his ſo great a Mercy and Deliverance, that he hath at length been pleaſed to withdraw his afflicting Hand in ſome meaſure from us; that he hath opened the Eyes of the greateſt part of this Nation, except thoſe who are wilfully and obſtinately blinded by their own pernicious and covetous Intereſts; that after we had wilfully run head-long into the Ditch of Ruin, he is pleaſed to lay to his Hand to help us out.

It is well (my Lord) that though we have bought our Knowledge and Repentance at ſo dear a rate, at the Expence of ſo much Blood and Treaſure, yet that we can repent at laſt, that we are at laſt ſenſible of our Diſtractions, that we now are able to bear no more, we have one who will help us to throw off our Burthens, that we can now ſee our Blindneſs, our Errour, our Folly, that whilſt we endeavoured to free ourſelves from the pretended Tyranny of our lawful King, Soveraign, and Superiour, we ſubjected ourſelves under the arbitary Will and Power of our Equals, if not Inferiours.

I muſt confeſs (my Lord) though it is well known to you all Gentlemen, that I was at the beginning of the late unhappy Wars, blinded as well as others, yet I utterly diſown that I ever had Deſign or Intention to wrong my Prince, though I accounted it then the Duty of every freeborn *Engliſhman* to ſtand for the Privilege of Parliament, as for his native Birthright; ſo far I durſt go, but no farther; for when I ſaw thoſe, who before they had got the Power into their Hands, pretended to maintain Parliamentary Privileges, pretended to ſettle the King in Glory, violently infringe the firſt, and murder the ſecond, I could not but in Reaſon and Conſcience proteſt againſt them.

Nor was the murdering of their King, or infringing the Privileges of Parliament, the furtheſt thoſe Men went who had then got the Power into their Hands, and ruled

ruled only by Sword-Law; but having given the Name of a Parliament to a ſelect Number of their Creatures, and ſome who durſt do no otherwiſe than obey their Commands, they made Laws at their Pleaſure, diſinheriting the lawful Heir, and aboliſhing the Power of the Houſe of Lords, the chief Part of a Parliamentary Grand Council; they ſold the King's, Queen's, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters Lands, to maintain their Violencies and Villanies, or to enrich themſelves, making a Prey of theſe Nations, and overthrowing the fundamental Laws of the Land.

This, my Lord, you very well know was the *Præmunire* we had run ourſelves into. This was that we fought for; this was that for which we conſumed ſo much Blood and Treaſure: In ſhort, we fought for Liberty that we might be enſlaved; we fought for Religion that we might nouriſh Hereſies, Sects and Schiſms in the Church; we ſpent our Eſtates freely, to maintain a War amongſt ourſelves under ſpecious Pretences, that we might have them prey'd upon by ravenous Wolves.

But when we had run ourſelves into all theſe Miſeries, under a Piece of a Parliament, who had endeavoured all that lay in their Power to eſtabliſh their own Government, yet were they themſelves at length turned out by their Servant, their *General*, (the juſt Reward of their Treachery to their Maſter) who eſtabliſhes in himſelf that Power, which he had before avowed as tyrannical; and uſurps to himſelf, though not fully the Title, yet more than the Power of any King of *England*; ſo it fairly proved that he only defamed Kingſhip as Tyrannical, that he might be a Tyrant.

The many Changes and Alterations ſince in the *Engliſh* Government, are ſo new, that they need no Recital, only thus much, that as they in whoſe Hands the Government was, were equally guilty of the forementioned Crimes, ſo though they did oppoſe one another, yet they all agreed together in continuing and adding to the Nation's Diſtractions, in Preferment to Employments, either in Church or State, ſuch only as were either as guilty as themſelves, or elſe poſſeſt with their Fanatick Opinions, in defaming the lawful Heir, and endeavouring by Calumnies, to engender an Odium of him in the People's Minds, which might have found its deſired Effect, had not the People for their Cheats and Deluſions, conceived a juſt Odium of them, ſo that *the Arrow they ſhot, returned again upon their own Heads.*

But many of the good People of *England* are ſtill poſſeſt with their Calumnies, and believe many of them for Truth, though againſt ſuch clear and certain Evidences; many underſtanding People of the Nation, convincing themſelves by imaginary Circumſtances, that not only his Majeſty, but his Brothers, the thrice noble Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*, have left the Religion of their Fathers and Country, and are turned to the Fopperies of *Romiſh* Superſtition and Idolatry, which how falſe it is, the God of Heaven knows, and myſelf can witneſs, his and his Brothers conſtant uſe and practice of the *Engliſh* Liturgy, and other Cuſtoms of the beſt Reformed Church of *England*, his conſtant Encouragement of ſuch Servants of his, as profeſs the true Proteſtant Religion, whether in Epiſcopacy or Preſbytery, and his contrary Diſcouragement of all ſuch, who permit themſelves to be inveigled into Popiſh or Jeſuitical Opinions and Tenets, being ſufficient Evidence, that he is ſo far from leaving of his true and mother Church,

that all possible Encouragement is, will certainly be at all times given by him, to the true and sound Professors of the Protestant Religion.

For those other Calumnies laid upon, and only settled in the Hearts of the common Souldiers, (whom their Officers here have made believe, that they must expect nothing but Death, if he should be admitted to his Crown) *viz.* that he is revengeful, cruel, never forgetting Injuries, but though soothing for a time, yet at fit Opportunities resolute in his Revenge, all that know him, know to be false, for he is gentle, merciful, peaceable, and rather inclined to suffer Injuries, than either to give or avenge them.

That he intends (as some say) to come with a forein Force to regain his Right, and settle himself in his Throne, would be but what we might in Justice expect, who have so long exposed him to the Miseries of the wide World, and made him the Pattern of Patience to future Generations, it being lawful both by the Laws of God and Man, for any one to use all means and endeavours for the Recovery of his own; yet so meek and patient hath he been, that it hath not so much as entered into his Thoughts to acquist his Kingdom by Force or Violence, whilst he can hope to have it by the Love of his Subjects; he therefore is resolvedly bent to attend the Pleasure of a free Parliament, and wholly intent to accept of such Conditions, as shall be proposed with Honour by them, rather resolving to part with some of his Right, than to let these Nations run on into further Distractions, or his Subjects be oppressed.

That we might as a Judgment of God, have expected a forein Force here amongst us for our Obstinacy, we cannot but be sensible of; but that we have so merciful a Prince, who rather waves his Right, and endures with Patience his Expulsion, than seeks or attempts to invade us by a forein Power, by which, though he might gain Revenge and Satisfaction to himself, yet must it necessarily be with our utter Ruin, and deserved Destruction, we must acknowledge as a great Mercy of God's.

It is not unlikely, that you my Lord, and these other Gentlemen my Fellow-Citizens, may admire somewhat, that I, who was once so far drawn on the other side, should now declaim so much against it; but Experience hath now undeceived me, I was for the maintaining, not the infringing Privileges of Parliament; I was for the restoring, not murthering of the King; I was for them so long as they stood fast to the Oath they took in the Solemn League and Covenant, to maintain the King and his Posterity, not for them, when they had beheaded him, and banished his Posterity; I was for the Moderation of a Kingly Government, not fot the erecting of Anarchichal Tyrannies, or Governments *ad libitum*.

But when I saw that those, who pretended that they acted only for the Nations good, intended only for their own, to distract and ruin these Nations, to depress the Nobility and Gentry, only to raise themselves; that they began to oppress and force unheard of Impositions and Burthens upon the Commonalty, to maintain their Villanies, and enrich themselves, to confound and overthrow all Religion, under a Pretence of settling and maintaining it, it was time to withdraw myself from, nor could my Conscience proceed any further with them; it was they (my Lord) that are changed, and not I.

What

What I at first declared for, and have already ventured my Estate for, that I still will, and shall maintain to the utmost drop of my Blood, *viz.* to defend the Privileges of Parliament, without infringing the Royal Prerogative, to endeavour the maintaining the King, his Posterity, according to the Solemn League and Covenant; this I think (my Lord) was the first Pretence of these Mens raising War against his late Majesty, which at first drew so many honest Men to their Party; but what hath been the Issue of these Pretences, we have seen by too sad Experience.

I think it was therefore the Duty, my Lord, of every honest Man to stand to those first Principles that he undertook, and not with the Multitude (blinded by the Ambition and Self-Interests of some particular Men) run into those Wickednesses and Mischiefs which they have since perpetrated, and I think you, my Lord, and the rest of my Brethren and Fellow Citizens here, ought to take these things into Consideration, and remember that Oath which I presume most of you took in the Solemn League and Covenant.

I think, my Lord, I need make no further Apology, either for myself, or the Cause I plead for, there is so much of Justice in it, that it needs no Oratory to confirm, nor could that Cause be ever confuted but by the Sword, whose tyrannical Power we have sufficiently felt, and seen the Difference, between a Government by usurping and perjured Persons, and the Clemency of a too mild and gracious Prince.

I shall my Lord, add no further, but only conclude with this Prayer, that the God of Heaven would open your Eyes, and the Eyes of this whole Nation, and strengthen your Hands in the Settlement of these three distressed Nations in Peace and Quietness, which can no better be done than by your hearty Prayers and Endeavours for the Restauration of the lawful Heir to his Right: for how can we expect that he will ever let Justice flourish amongst us, whilst we deny Justice to our Sovereign.

The Humble PETITION and ADDRESS of the General Court sitting at *Boston* in *New-England*, unto the High and Mighty Prince CHARLES the Second. And presented unto his Most Gracious Majesty, *Feb.* 11. 1660. Printed the same Year.

To the High and Mighty Prince CHARLES the Second, by the Grace of God King of *Great Brittain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith;

Most Gracious and Dread Soveraign,

MAY it please your Majesty (in the Day wherein you happily say, you now know that you are again King over your *Brittish* Israel) to cast a favourable Eye upon your poor *Mephibosheths* now, and by reason of Lameness in

reſpect of Diſtance, not until now appearing in your Preſence, we mean *New-England*, kneeling with the reſt of your Subjects, before your Majeſty, as her reſtored King. We forget not our Ineptneſs as to theſe Approaches. We at preſent own ſuch Impotency, as renders us unable to excuſe our Impotency of ſpeaking unto our Lord the King: yet contemplating ſuch a King who hath alſo ſeen Adverſity, that he knoweth the Heart of Exiles, who himſelf hath been an Exile; the Aſpect of Majeſty thus extraordinary circumſtanced, influenceth, and animateth exanimated Out-caſts (yet Out-caſts as we hope for the truth) to make this Addreſs unto their Prince, hoping to find Grace in your Sight; we preſent this Script, the Tranſcript of our loyal Hearts, into your royal Hands, wherein we crave leave:

To ſupplicate your Majeſty for your gracious Protection of us, in the continuance both of our civil Privileges, according to (and of our religious Liberties, the Grantees known end of ſuing for) the Pattent conferred upon this Plantation by your Royal Father: This, this, *viz.* our Liberty to walk in the Faith of the Goſpel, with all good Conſcience, according to the Order of the Goſpel (unto which the former in theſe Ends of the Earth is but ſubſervient) was the Cauſe of our tranſporting Ourſelves, with our Wives, little Ones, and our Subſtance, from that pleaſant Land over the *Atlantic* Ocean, into this vaſt and waſte Wilderneſs: Chuſing rather the pure Scripture Worſhip with a good Conſcience, in this poor remote Wilderneſs, amongſt the Heathens, than the Pleaſures of *England*, with Subjection to the Impoſition of the then ſo diſpoſed, and ſo far prevailing Hierarchy, which we could not do without an evil Conſcience: For this Cauſe we are at this day in a Land, which lately was not ſown, wherein we have conflicted with the Sufferings thereof much longer then *Jacob* was in *Syria*; our Witneſs is in Heaven, that we left not our Country upon any Diſſatisfaction as to the Conſtitution of the Civil State; our Lot after the Example of the good old *Non Conformiſt*, hath been only to act a paſſive part throughout theſe late Viciſſitudes and ſucceſſive Overturnings of State; our Separation from our Brethren in this Deſart, hath been, and is a ſuffering, bringing to mind the Affliction of *Joſeph*, but the providential Exception of us thereby from the late Wars, and Temptations of either Party, we account as a Favour from God, the former cloathes us with Sackcloth, the latter with Innocency.

What Reception, Courteſy, and Equanimity thoſe Gentlemen, and other Adherers to the Royal Intereſt in their adverſe Changes viſited theſe Parts were entertained with amongſt us, according to the Meaneſs of our Conditions, we appeal to their own Reports.

Touching Complaints put in againſt us, our humble Requeſt only is, that for the Interim, wherein we are dumb, by reaſon of Abſence, your Majeſty would permit nothing to make an Impreſſion upon your Royal Heart againſt us, until we have Opportunity and Licence to anſwer for ourſelves; few will be Nocent, ſaid that Impleader, if it be enough to deny; few will be Innocent, replied the then Emperour, if it be enough to accuſe.

Concerning the *Quakers*, open Capital Blaſphemers, open Seducers from the Glorious Trinity, the Lord's Chriſt, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the bleſſed Goſpel, and from the Holy Scriptures, as the Rule of Life, open Enemies to Govern-

ment

ment itſelf, as eſtabliſhed in the Hands of any but Men of their own Principles, malignant and aſſiduous Promoters of Doctrines, directly tending to ſubvert both our Churches and State: After all other means for a long time uſed in vain, we were conſtrained, for our own Safety, to paſs a Sentence of Baniſhment againſt them upon Pain of Death; ſuch was their dangerous, impetuous and deſperate Turbulency to Religion, and to the State Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, as that how unwilling ſoever, could it have been avoided, the Magiſtrate at leaſt, in Conſcience both to God and Man, judged himſelf, called for the Defence of all, to keep the Paſſage with the Point of the Sword held toward them; this could do no harm to him that would be warned thereby, they willingly ruſhing themſelves thereupon was their own Act, and we with all Humility conceive a Crime bringing their Bloods upon their own Heads. The *Quakers* died not becauſe of their other Crimes how capital ſoever, but upon their ſuperadded preſumptuous, and incorrigible Contempt of Authority, breaking in upon us, notwithſtanding the Sentence of Baniſhment made known unto them; had they not been reſtrained ſo far as appeared, there was too much Cauſe to fear that we ourſelves muſt quickly have died, or worſe; and ſuch was their Inſolency, that they would not be reſtrained but by Death; nay, had they at laſt but promiſed to depart the Juriſdiction, and not to return without leave from Authority, we ſhould have been glad of ſuch an Opportunity to have ſaid they ſhould not die.

Let not the King hear Men's Words, your Servants are true Men, Fearers of God and the King, and not given to change, zealous of Government and Order, orthodox and peaceable in *Iſrael*, we are not ſeditious to the Intereſt of *Cæſar*, no Schiſmaticks as to the matters of Religion, we diſtinguiſh between Churches and their Impurities; between a living Man, though not without Sickneſs or Infirmities, and no Man; Irregularities either in ourſelves or others, we deſire may be amended; we could not live without the publick Worſhip of God, we were not permitted the Uſe of publick Worſhip, without ſuch a Yoke of Subſcription and Conformity, as we could not conſent unto without Sin: That we might therefore enjoy Divine Worſhip without human Mixtures; without Offence either to God or Man, or our own Conſciences; we with leave (but not without Tears) departed from our Country, Kindred and Father's Houſe, into this *Pathmos*; in relation whereunto we do not ſay, our Garments are become old, by reaſon of the very long Journey, but that ourſelves, who came away in our Strength, are by reaſon of very long Abſence, many of us become grey-headed, and ſome of us ſtooping for Age; the Omiſſion of the prementioned Injunctions, together with the walking of our Churches, as to the point of Order in the congregational way, is all wherein we differ from our Orthodox Brethren.

Sir, we lye not before your Sacred Majeſty, the Lord God of Gods, the Lord God of Gods he knoweth, and *Iſrael* he ſhall know, if it were in Rebellion or Schiſme that we willingly left our dwelling in our own, or continue our dwelling in the ſtrange Land, ſave us not this Day.

Royal Sir, if according to our humble Petition, and good Hope, the God of the Spirits of all Fleſh, the Father of Mercies (who comforteth the Abject) ſhall make the Permiſſion of the Bereavement of that All, for which we have and do ſuffer the Loſs of All, precious, ſo precious in your Sight, as that your

Royal Heart ſhall be inclined to ſhew unto us that Kindneſs of the Lord in your Majeſty's Protection of us in theſe Liberties, for which we hither came, and which hitherto we have enjoyed upon *Hezekiah*'s ſpeaking comfortably to us as to Sons; this Orphan ſhall not continue fatherleſs, but grow up as a revived Infant under its nurſing Father: Theſe Churches ſhall be comforted in a door of Hope opened by ſo ſignal a Pledge of the lengthening of their Tranquility; Theſe poor and naked Gentiles, not a few of whom through Grace, are come and coming in, ſhall ſtill ſee their wonted Teachers with Incouragement of a more plentiful Increaſe of the Kingdom of Chriſt amongſt them; and the Bleſſing of your poor Afflicted (and yet we hope, truſting in God) ſhall come upon the Head and Heart of that great King, who was ſometime an Exile as we are:

With a Religious Stipulation of our Prayers, we (proſtrate at your Royal Feet) beg Pardon for this our Boldneſs; craving finally that our Names may be enrolled amongſt

Your MAJESTY's moſt humble
Subjects and Suppliants,

JOHN ENDECOT, *Governor.*
In the Name, and with the Conſent
of the General Court.

The Earl of *Briſtol*'s SPEECH in the Houſe of LORDS, the 20th Day of *July* 1660. upon the BILL of INDEMNITY. Printed 1660.

My LORDS,

BEING to ſpeak unto your Lordſhips ſomewhat more extendedly than is my uſe, and upon a Subject, wherein there may be, perhaps, not only Difference, but even Fervour of Opinions, I find myſelf obliged by ſomwhat that happened to me here the other Day, to beg a favour of your Lordſhips, that if I ſhould chance to err in Forms and Orders of the Houſe, or that there ſhould ſlip from me unawares, any Expreſſion that may be diſſonant to the Ears of thoſe who underſtand better than I the Force and Propriety of Words, you will not be ſevere unto me, but be pleaſed to conſider, that I have been ſixteen Years out of my Country, and in a Profeſſion far differing from what I am now a doing: in Confidence of this Indulgence, I ſhall proceed.

My Lords, you have here before you in this Bill of Indemnity, the moſt important Buſineſs that perhaps the Houſe of Peers hath at any time had in Deliberation;

Deliberation; it is that upon which the Honour or eternal Reproach of the Nation abroad, and its Happineſs or Confuſion at home, ſeems (next under God's inſcrutable Providence) moſt principally to depend. For on the one ſide, how abhorred a Nation muſt we be to all others, if the *Infamy of our Sovereign's Murther* ſhould not be throughly waſhed away by Juſtice in the Blood of the Guilty? And on the other, what Happineſs or Quiet can we hope for at home; nay, what new Combuſtions ought we not to apprehend, if the Criminal and the Miſled (between whom the Eye of the Law can make little Diſtinction) making up ſo numerous a Part of the Nation, their Fears, which might urge them to new Crimes, ſhould not be ſecured by the firmeſt Aſſurances of *Impunity?* Puniſhing and ſecuring, are certainly the two principal Ends of this Bill, and wherein as certainly every one of your Lordſhips doth concur; but whether the means of attaining thoſe Ends, have been ſufficiently lighted upon by the Houſe of Commons in this Bill, that I ſuppoſe is the preſent Queſtion; and wherein I think myſelf in Duty obliged to expreſs unto your Lordſhips with Freedom and Sincerity my Judgment, in all humble Submiſſion unto yours.

As for that Part of the Bill which relates to our Sovereign's Murder, I find it ſo ſhort, and ſo much out of the way, of what we owe, both to the Severity and Solemnity of that Revenge, that I cannot but think it in ſome ſort (pardon the Expreſſion) a Prophanation of the due Rites of that ſacred Expiation, to handle it in the ſame Bill promiſcuouſly with other more vulgar things.

My Motion therefore ſhall be, that there be forthwith a Committee appointed, to conſider of all things fit to be done for the waſhing away of that Stain from the Nation, and from the Age wherein we live; and to draw up an Act purpoſely and ſolely for that end. In Confidence, that this Motion will either be embraced by your Lordſhips, or that, if it be oppoſed, I ſhall have the liberty to fortify it by my Reaſons, I ſhall ſet that Buſineſs apart, and apply my Diſcourſe to what concerns this Bill in all other relations: In which I ſhall not make nice to tell your Lordſhips, that I think it defective in many things reaſonable, and redundant in ſome things unreaſonable; and yet, notwithſtanding, not only my humble Motion, but my moſt earneſt Preſſure, as far as with Humility I may, ſhall be, that we may proceed immediately to the paſſing of this Bill, with little or no Alteration.

This, my Lords, may appear a ſurpriſing Motion from a Perſon thought to be, as indeed I am, as much inflamed as any Man living, with Indignation at the deteſtable Proceedings of the late uſurped Power, ſo pernicious to the Publick, and ſo injurious to my own particular; in whom, the Motion may ſeem yet more ſurpriſing, when I ſhall have told you with truth, that I am irreparably ruined in my Fortune for my Loyalty, (if this Bill of Indemnity to others for their Diſloyalty ſhould paſs, as it is here offered unto your Lordſhips) but the Ground I go upon is this received Maxim as to all publick Sanctions, *Better a Miſchief, than an Inconvenience: Yea, better innumerable Miſchiefs to particular Perſons and Families, than one heavy Inconvenience to the Publick.*

My Lords, I profeſs unto you I find myſelf ſet on fire, when I think that the Blood of ſo many vertuous and meritorious Peers, and Perſons, and others of all Ranks, ſo cruelly and impiouſly ſhed, ſhould cry ſo loud for Vengeance, and not find it from us.

That

That many of the wickedeſt and meaneſt of the People ſhould remain, as it were, rewarded for their Treaſons, rich and triumphant in the Spoils of the moſt eminent in Virtue and Loyalty, of all the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom.

What generous Spirit can make Reflection on theſe things, and not find his Heart burn into Rage within him?

Here it is, my Lords, that we Sufferers have need of all our Philoſophy.

But when I conſider, that theſe are Miſchiefs only to the Sufferers, and that to inſiſt upon a Remedy might, perhaps, expoſe the Publick to an irreparable Inconvenience. I thank God I find in an inſtant all my Reſentments calmed and ſubmitted to my primary Duty.

My Lords, we have here in our view, a Kingdom toſſed and rolling ſtill with the Effects of paſt Tempeſts; and though, God be thanked, the Storm be miraculouſly ceaſed, we cannot ſay that the Danger is, until we get into ſtill Water: That ſtill, that ſmooth Water is only to be found in the Generalities, Security from their guilty Fears, and in the two Houſes, Union between themſelves, and with their Soveraign.

Whether the latter may not be endangered, if we ſhould enter into Controverſy upon the particulars of this Bill, I leave unto your Lordſhips to judge. But certainly, as to the former, there can be no hopes of raiſing Monies, or diſbanding Armies, or of ſettling that Happineſs and Tranquility which we all ſigh for, of being governed under our Gracious Sovereign by the ancient and known Laws of the Land, whilſt univerſal Fears ſhall ſubſiſt by the Delay in paſſing this Bill.

My Lords,

I ſhall ſum up unto your Lordſhips my whole drift in a few Words.

I think that in this Bill there are many things wanting, which ſolid and important Reaſons would require to be added, and many things inſerted into it, which Juſtice to his Majeſty's Intereſts, and to particular Perſons, would require to be omitted or rectified: But I conceive at the ſame time that the Miſchiefs of the delay in paſſing it do far outweigh all the Advantages of improving it.

My Lords,

I ſhall conclude my Diſcourſe and your Lordſhips trouble with the Application to this Purpoſe, of a memorable Saying of that illuſtrious Miniſter, the Cardinal *Mazarine*, at a Council in the Wars of *France*, whereunto I had the Honour to be called. It was, that in the great Affairs of the World he had not known any thing do more hurt then theſe two Words, *Faiſous Mieux*, let us do better. For, ſaid he, whilſt good Wits endeavour by Debates to bring good Councils to a greater Perfection, they do for the moſt part loſe the Opportunity of timing things rightly, which in great Actions, is of far more Importance than the Preference, according to refined Reaſon betwixt Good and Better.

Upon this Ground, my Concluſion is, that that Part which concerns the King's Death being put in the way propoſed, we ſhould proceed to the ſpeedy paſſing of this Bill, without loſing any time in Emendations; but if we be deſtined to ſo fatal a loſs by raveling into Particulars, I ſhall in that caſe deſire leave to offer unto your Lordſhips therein my Reflections alſo.

The

The SPEECH which the SPEAKER of the House of COMMONS made unto the KING in the House of LORDS, at his passing of the Bills therein mentioned, the 29th of *August*, in the Year of our Lord 1660. Printed the same Year.

Most Gracious Soveraign,

NOT many Months since, *England* was but a great Prison, where the worst of Men were our Governors, and their vilest Lusts the Laws by which they governed.

The great and most wise God, conveyed divine Intelligence into your patient and pious Soul, and taught you how by Suffering for us, to deliver us from our Sufferings; to knock off our Shackles, and set your People at Liberty, when neither Power, nor Policy could effect it. So soon as your Majesty set your Foot upon your *English* Shore, our Prison was turned into a Paradice of Pleasure, and the whole Nation filled with Joy, and Love, and Peace.

Sir, this great Blessing is already registered in your Peoples thankful Hearts; and they desire that the Memory thereof might be perpetuated; and therefore they have laid it up amongst their choicest Jewels, and annext it to their *Magna Charta*; which they are willing to pawn unto your Majesty, upon Condition, when they forget this, to forfeit that and all.

Sir, amongst your many illustrious Titles, which like fair and beautiful Flowers, do adorn and bedeck your Royal Crown, there is one exceeds and excels all the rest, as well in Vertue as in Beauty, and that is your Title of *Defender of the Faith*. *Sir*, as that Title is your Honour, so the Truth of it is our Happiness. Neither the highest Provocations, nor the strongest Temptations, that ever Prince met withal, have been able to shake your victorious Faith, nor abate your holy Zeal; witness your first Act, after your return to the exercise of your Regal Power, in your early and timely suppressing Prophaneness, and discountenancing debauched Persons, who know not how to express their Thankfulness unto God for Mercies, but by a sinful drinking them away; a Practice your Soul abhors.

And as it is your highest Honour, to be the Defender of that Faith which we profess; so it is the greatest Interest, Prerogative, and Privilege your Majesty can be endowed and invested withal in this World, and will be your most lasting Comfort in the World to come; that God, who hath hitherto been a Sun to direct you, will be a Shield to protect you; and that Faith which you defend, will defend you against all your Enemies, maugre the Malice of the Devil, and all his wicked Instruments.

Royal Sir,

Your eminent Virtues, and those excellent Qualifications that God hath bestowed upon you, to make you every way worthy and fit for Government, in-

vites us at this time, with joyful Hearts, to make our humble Addreſſes unto your Majeſty, and to give you a chearful Accompt of our Proceedings this Parliament, wherein we have ſpent our whole time upon Publick Bills; ſome we muſt confeſs of very great Concernment to your Majeſty, and of all your People, are not yet ripe, nor brought to Perfection: But though like an After-crop, yet with the fair Weather of your Majeſty's wonted Patience, we hope likewiſe to inn them well at laſt, to your Majeſty's full Satisfaction, and the great Contentment of all your loyal and faithful Subjects.

Some Bills are paſſ'd both Houſes, and already lodged here, which attend and wait for your Majeſty's Royal Aſſent, and I ſhall humbly beg the Favour only but to touch upon ſome of thoſe of moſt publick Concernments, by the way, and *in tranſitu*, to that Bill here in my hand.

Sir, there is one Bill now before you, intituled, *An Act for the Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings*; the Scope and Intendment of that Bill, is to ſettle Mens Eſtates, which is the way to quiet their Minds; and when their Minds are at reſt, there will be no fear of their breaking the Peace, or forfeiting their Good-Behaviour any more in time to come.

There is another Bill, intituled, *An Act to prevent the taking of Exceſſive Uſury*. The reſtraining Men of avaricious Minds, whoſe Conſciences are as large as their Bags, will be a great Eaſe to your People, and an Inablement to your Merchants the better to go on with their Trades. They are the laborious Bees that bring in Honey into your Majeſty's Hive; and Uſurers are the lazy, idle Drones, that rob your Hive of the Honey.

There is another Bill, intituled, *An Act for a perpetual Anniverſary Thankſgiving to be obſerved and kept upon the* 29*th of* May: A Day that God himſelf was pleaſed to honour and adorn with a new additional Star, never ſeen before nor ſince; a Star of rare Aſpect, which declared to all the World at once, the happy News of your Majeſty's bleſſed Nativity, and as it was your Majeſty's Birth-day, ſo it was the Day of your Reſtauration to your Kingdoms, Parliament, and People: And likewiſe the Day of your People's Re-creation out of a Chaos of Confuſion and Miſery. And therefore they humbly pray, that not only we (for there would need no Act for that ſo long as we live) but that our Poſterity, and the Ages that ſhall ſucceed us, might for ever be obliged to ſet apart that Day, as a Holy-day, to dedicate their Praiſes and Thankſgivings up unto Almighty God for his miraculous Deliverance of this poor Nation, when it lay in Duſt and Aſhes, in a moſt miſerable, deſperate, forlorn, and deplorable Condition.

There is another Bill, entituled, *An Act of Free and General Pardon, Indemnity and Oblivion*. It may well be called a Free Pardon: for your Majeſty was pleaſed to offer it before we had Confidence enough to aſk it, and at a time when your People had moſt need of it: And it may as truly be called a General Pardon, in reſpect of the Extenſiveneſs of it. But looking over a long, black, prodigious, diſmal Roll and Catalogue of Malefactors, we there meet not with Men, but Monſters, guilty of Blood, precious Blood, precious Royal Blood, never to be remembered without Tears; incomparable in all the kinds of Villany that ever was acted by the worſt of Miſcreants, Perverters of Religion, Subverters of Government, falſe to God, diſloyal to the beſt of Kings, and perfidious to their Country: And therefore we found an abſolute and indiſpenſable Neceſſity incumbent

bent upon us, to except and ſet ſome apart for Treacle, to expel the Poiſon of Sin and Rebellion out of others, and that they might be made Sacrifices to appeaſe God's Wrath, and ſatisfy Divine Juſtice.

And now I am come to that Bill here in my Hand, which I am commanded humbly to preſent your Majeſty withal.

Royal Sir, your Commons, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes now aſſembled in Parliament, taking into Conſideration the great and unſupportable Burden of the Armies and Navy, that your People do now groane under; nd knowing, as Money is the Sinews of War, ſo as the State of Affairs now ſtand, that it is likewiſe the beſt *Medium* that can be uſed, in order to the attaining that end we have all ſo much deſired, and ſo long prayed for, the Settlement of a Happy Peace; and therefore they have paſſed this Bill, entituled, *An Act for a ſpeedy Proviſion of Money, to pay off and disband all the Forces of this Kingdom both by Sea and Land*, upon which they hope ſuch a Sum will be advanced and brought in, as may be ſufficient to diſcharge and diſpatch that Work. And they humbly pray your Majeſty's gracious Acceptance thereof, and your Royal Aſſent thereunto.

I am further to inform and aſſure your Majeſty, that your People have paſſed another Supply and Revenue unto your Majeſty, which far ſurmounteth all they have already done in value, and that is, their Hearts and Affections; having their Hearts, your Majeſty may command their Purſes.

Moſt Royal Soveraign, we have nothing more to offer, or to aſk at this time, but your Majeſty's gracious Favor, ſo ſoon as your Service, and the Publick Affairs will permit, that we might have leave to go into our Countries, where we ſhall make your People ſenſible of their Happineſs, in having ſuch a King to govern and rule over them; as we praiſe your Majeſty, ſo likewiſe to pray for your Majeſty, that you may live long, and reign proſperouſly.

His Majeſty's gracious SPEECH to both Houſes of PARLIAMENT, on the 29th Day of *Auguſt* 1660. At the paſſing of the Act of *Free Pardon, Indemnity* and *Oblivion*, and ſeveral other Acts. Printed in 1660.

Publiſhed at the Deſire of the Lords in Parliament, and by his Majeſty's Allowance.

My Lords, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I HAVE been here ſome times before with you, but never with more Willingneſs, than I am at this time: And there be few Men in the Kingdom, who have longed more impatiently to have theſe Bills paſſed, than I have

have done to paſs them; and I hope they will be the Foundation of much Security and Happineſs to us all.

I do very willingly pardon all that is pardoned by this Act of Indemnity, to that time which is mentioned in the Bill; nay, I will tell you, that from that Time to this Day, I will not uſe great Severity, except in ſuch Caſes where the Malice is notorious, and the publick Peace exceedingly concerned. But for the Time to come, the ſame Diſcretion and Conſcience which diſpoſed me to the Clemency I have expreſſed, which is moſt agreeable to my Nature, will oblige me to all Rigor and Severity, how contrary ſoever it be to my Nature, towards thoſe who ſhall not now acquieſce, but continue to manifeſt their Sedition and Diſlike of the Government, either in Action or Words. And I muſt conjure you all (my Lords and Gentlemen) to concur with me in this juſt and neceſſary Severity; and that you will in your ſeveral Stations be ſo jealous of the publick Peace, and of my particular Honour, that you will cauſe exemplary Juſtice to be done upon thoſe who are guilty of ſeditious Speeches or Writings, as well as thoſe who break out into ſeditious Actions: And that you will believe thoſe who delight in reproaching and traducing my Perſon, not to be well affected to you and the publick Peace. Never King valued himſelf more upon the Affections of his People than I do; nor do I know a better way to make myſelf ſure of your Affections, than by being juſt and kind to you all: And whilſt I am ſo, I pray let the World ſee that I am poſſeſſed of your Affections.

For your Poll-Bill, I do thank you as much as if the Money were to come into my own Coffers; and wiſh with all my Heart, that it may amount to as great a Sum as you reckon upon. If the Work be well and orderly done, to which it is deſigned, I am ſure I ſhall be the richer by it in the end; and upon my word, if I had wherewithal, I would myſelf help you, ſo much I deſire the Buſineſs done. I pray very earneſtly, as faſt as Money comes in, diſcharge that great Burthen of the Navy, and diſband the Army as faſt as you can; and till you can diſband the reſt, make a Proviſion for their Support.

I do conjure you, as you love me, let me not hear the Noiſe of Free-quarter, which will be imputed to my want of Care and Government, how innocent ſoever I am; and therefore be ſure you prevent it.

I am ſo confident of your Affections, that I will not move you in any thing that immediately relates to myſelf, and yet I muſt tell you, I am not richer, that is, I have not ſo much Money in my Purſe as when I came to you; the truth is, I have lived principally ever ſince upon what I brought with me, which was indeed your Money; for you ſent it to me, and I thank you for it. The Weekly Expence of the Navy eats up all you have given me by the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage. Nor have I been able to give my Brothers one Shilling ſince I came into *England*, nor to keep any Table in my Houſe but what I eat myſelf. And that which troubles me moſt is, to ſee many of you come to me to *Whitehall*, and to think that you muſt go ſome where elſe to ſeek your Dinner.

I do not mention this to you, as any thing that troubles me, do but take Care of the Publick, and for what is neceſſary for the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, and take your own Time for my own particular, which I am ſure you will provide for with as much Affection and Franckneſs as I can deſire. His

His Majesty's gracious COMMISSION to search into, and examine the pretended Sales and Purchases of the Honours, Mannors, Lands, and Hereditaments, of and belonging to his MAJESTIE, his Royal Mother, the Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, Prebends, and other Ecclesiastical Persons; giving such Powers and Authorities, as is necessary for the Ends, Intents, and Purposes, in and by the said COMMISSION specified and expressed. Printed in 1660.

CHARLES the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. to our Trusty and right Well-beloved Counsellour *Edward* Lord *Hyde* Lord High Chancellour of *England*; and to our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousins and Counsellours *Thomas* Earl of *Southampton* Lord Treasurer of *England*, and the Lord Chancellour, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, and the Chancellour of the Exchequer for the Time being: And to our right trusty and intirely beloved Cousin and Counsellour *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, and to our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousins and Counsellours, *James* Marquis of *Ormond* Steward of our Household, *Edward* Earl of *Manchester* Chamberlain of our Household, and to our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin *Jerome* Earl of *Portland*, and to our trusty and right well-beloved Counsellour *John* Lord *Roberts*, and to our trusty and right well-beloved *John* Lord *Finch*, *Francis* Lord *Seymour* Chancellor of our Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and to the Chancellour of our Dutchy of *Lancaster* for the Time being, *John* Lord *Lucas*; and to our trusty and well-beloved Counsellours, *Denzil Hollis*, Esq; Sir *Edward Nicholas* and Sir *William Morris*, Knights, our Principal Secretaries of State, Sir *Anthony Ashly Cooper*, Bart. *Arthur Annesley*, Esq; and to our trusty and well-beloved Sir *Robert Foster*, Knt. Chief Justice of our Bench, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Kt. and Bart. Lord Chief Justice of our Court of Common Pleas, Sir *Robert Hyde*, Kt. one other of the Justices of our said Court of Common Pleas, Sir *Edward Atkins* and Sir *Christopher Turner*, Knights, two of the Barons of our Court of Exchequer, and to the Barons of our Exchequer for the Time being, Sir *Jeoffrey Palmer*, Kt. and Bart. our Attorney General, Sir *Heneage Finch*, Knight and Baronet, our Sollicitor General, Sir *Charles Harbord*, Knight, our Surveyor General, and to our Attorney, Sollicitor and Surveyor General for the Time being, Sir *Edward Turner*, Sir *Allen Broderick*, Knights, *Samuel Brown* and *Matthew Hale*, Serjeants at Law, *John Crewe*, Esquire, *Richard Kinsman*, one of the Auditors of our Revenue, *Job Charleton*, Serjeant at Law, *Thomas Beverly*, Esquire, *Francis Phillips* and *Richard Newman*, Esquires. As it is our Duty to be ever mindful of the great Mercies of Almighty God, vouchsafed to us and our late oppressed People, in restoring us

to the Exercise of our Royal Authority, by a calme and miraculous Hand of Divine Providence, thereby delivering them from the Violence and Tyranny of the late usurped Powers, to the peaceable Enjoyments of their antient Rights, established by the known Laws of this Nation: So we have been most careful to pursue our Declaration made before our Return from beyond the Seas, in securing the Lives, Liberties and Estates of our good Subjects, by passing an Act of General Pardon, and such other Acts as have been tendered unto us by our Parliament, whereby we hope we have given a general Satisfaction to them, as we have received much Comfort and Contentment in their Expressions of their Affections to us and our Government. And albeit by the Vote of our Commons, as by the Order of the Parliament assembled, we have been restored to the immediate Possession of our Lands, and might in Justice as well as divers of our Subjects, have entered and taken the Profits thereof, from the four and twentieth Day of *June* last; yet that it may appear how really we intend to perform all our gracious Promises and Professions made to the Officers and Soldiers of our Army, who did correspond or join with our said General, or Sir *George Booth*, in their Design towards our happy Restauration, and to such other of our Subjects, as have been induced to purchase and to possess any of our said Lands, or those of the Jointure of our dear Mother the Queen, or any of the Lands or Possessions of any Archbishop, Bishop, Dean and Chapter, Prebend or other Ecclesiastical Person; we were graciously pleased to accept the humble Petition of the said Officers and Soldiers, presented unto us in *July* last, and to commend the same to the Commissioners of our Treasury, as we have since done to our High Treasurer of *England*, who have authorised our Surveyer General to receive such Particulars of our Lands purchased and claimed by the said Officers and Soldiers, to their own uses, and not in trust for others, as they should tender under their Hands, and thereupon to keep them in the quiet Possession of the same without Accompt (which hath been duly observed) until we should be informed of the true States of their several Interests, and should thereupon declare our further Pleasure touching their Satisfaction. And we were also graciously pleased to accept of another Petition presented unto us, in the Names of all the Purchasers of our Lands, together with certain Propositals touching the same; which by Advice of our Privy Council, we did refer to the Consideration of our Chief Baron, and other the Barons of our Court of Exchequer, and our Surveyor General, who taking the same into serious Consideration, did represent unto us, and our said Council, the various Natures of the said Purchases, and that it will require much Time and Industry to examine and consider the particular Interests of the several Purchasers, before it will be possible to make any Report upon their said Petition and Propositals, fit for our Judgment therein. Whereupon we were pleased, and did command that our said Surveyer General should allow unto them all their Arrears of Rent due before the four and twentieth Day of *June* last, to their own use without Account, and the *Michaelmas* Rent also since due, upon such Security as he should think reasonable to be answerable for the same, which hath been accordingly pursued by him as we commanded, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the same. Now to the end that we may leave nothing undone, which Honour and Justice can require at our Hands, for the Establishment of the just Rights and Interests of all Persons,

and quiet their Minds, and reconcile their Affections, which the Injury of the late Times of Change, and abſolute, arbitary Power, hath corrupted and alienated from us, and divided amongſt themſelves: We have thought fit to iſſue this our Commiſſion, and do thereby require, and authoriſe you the ſaid *Edward* Lord *Hyde*, *Thomas* Earl of *Southampton*, the Lord Chancellour, Lord Treaſurer of *England*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the Time being, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *James* Marquis of *Ormond*, *Edward* Earl of *Manchester*, *Jerome* Earl of *Portland*, *John* Lord *Roberts*, *John* Lord *Finch*, *Francis* Lord *Seymore*, Chancellor of our Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and the Chancellor of our Dutchy of *Lancaſter* for the Time being, *John* Lord *Lucas*, *Denz l Hollis*, Sir *Edward Nicholas*, Sir *William Morris*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, *Arthur Anneſley*, Sir *Robert Foſter*, Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, Sir *Robert Hyde*, Sir *Edward Atkins*, Sir *Chriſtopher Turner*, Barons of the Exchequer for the Time being, Sir *Jeofry Palmer*, Sir *Heneage Finch*, Sir *Charles Harbord* our Attorney, Solicitor, and Surveyor General for the Time being, Sir *Edward Turner*, Sir *Allen Brodricke*, *Matthew Hale*, *Samuel Brown*, *John Crew*, *Richard Kinſman*, *Job Charleton*, *Thomas Beverly*, *Francis Phillips*, and *Richard Newman*, to be our Commiſſioners, for and touching the Premiſſes, hereby giving and granting unto you, or any five or more of you, full Power and Authority, to call, and cauſe to appear before you, as well the ſaid Officers and Soldiers, and all other Perſons, who have purchaſed, or do claim any of the ſaid Lands of us, or of the Jointure of our dear Mother, or of any the ſaid Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters, Prebends, and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons whatſoever, and every, or any of them, as alſo the Officers, Servants, or Agents of the ſaid Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, Prebends, or other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, all, or any of them, by your good Diſcretion, and to enquire and inform yourſelves, or by ſuch other lawful Ways or Means, as you in your Diſcretion ſhall think meet, which of the ſaid Lands, Honours, Mannors, Lordſhips, Caſtles, Parks, Chaſes, Foreſts, Houſes, Timber, Trees, Woods, Underwoods, Mills, Mines, Fee-Farm-Rents, or other Rents, or Hereditaments, Leaſes, or Farms, were ſold, given, or granted by or under the late pretended Parliament, or uſurped Power or Authority; and to enquire and find out the true Value of the ſaid Lands, Honours, Mannors, Lordſhips, Caſtles, Parks, Chaſes, Foreſts, Timber Trees, Woods, Underwoods, Mills, Mines, Fee-Farm-Rents, or other Rents or Hereditaments, Leaſes, or Farms, as the ſame were then worth by the Year, or otherwiſe by your Judgments and Diſcretion, and how much ready Money was then, or at any Time ſince really, and *bona fide* paid for the ſame, and how much in true Bills and Debentures, as they were then worth in ready Money, and whether any Bills or Debentures, which have been allowed upon any of the ſaid Sales or Purchaſes, were counterfeited or altered in part, or in all, and by whom the ſame were done, and to what Value and Proportion, and how far the ſame have been diſcovered, and when, and by whom, and what manner; and what Profits, or Sums of Money have been raiſed, or made by any of the Purchaſers or Poſſeſſours, or pretended Owners of any the ſaid Lands, or other Premiſſes ſo ſold or given as aforeſaid, or any Part thereof by after Sales or Exchanges of Land, or by Sale of Woods or Timber, or

by

by plowing up, or improving the ſame Lands, or any other Part of the Premiſſes, or by Sale of any Iron, Stone, Lead, Timber, or other Materials of Churches, Chappels, or other Houſes that have been pulled down, altered or defaced, or by the Receits, or Rents, or by any ways or means whatſoever, and when, and by whom, and for whoſe Uſe and Benefit the ſame have been ſo raiſed or made. And to enquire and find out which of the Purchaſers of any of the ſaid Lands or Premiſſes were made by the Tenants themſelves to preſerve their Houſes, Tenuaries, Lands, Woods or Eſtates, from Waſte or Injury, and which of them were made by others for Gain and Advantage, and when, and by whom the ſame was done, and what Profit, Gain or Advantage hath been made thereby. And to inquire and find out what Dammage or Danger hath accrewed, or may ariſe to us, and theſe our Kingdoms, by the Deſtruction or Waſte of Timber-Trees from off any the Premiſſes that were ſerviceable for our Navy, or otherwiſe, and to enquire which of the ſaid Purchaſers, or late pretended Owners of any of the ſaid Lands or Premiſſes, have relinquiſhed or offered up the ſame unto us, or any of the ſaid Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, or ſhall yield up the ſame unto you for our uſe, or for the uſe of any of the ſaid Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, or any of them. And alſo to enquire and find out all other Things which you in your Diſcretion ſhall think meet for your perfect Information, in and touching the Premiſſes. And thereupon you are to proceed and compoſe all Differences ariſing between the ſaid Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, Prebends and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and the ſaid Purchaſers or pretended Owners, and thereupon to make Orders and Agreements between them in Writing under your Hands and Seals, and in ſuch manner as you in your Diſcretion ſhall find juſt and reaſonable with their Contents, and in caſe of Refuſal or Diſagreement on either Part, then you are forthwith to certify the ſame unto us, and our Council, whereupon you ſhall receive ſuch further Order therein as ſhall be meet, and you are then alſo to propoſe unto the ſaid Officers and Soldiers, and other Purchaſers of our Lands, ſuch Satisfaction for and in reſpect of their ſeveral pretended Intereſts in the ſame, as upon Conſideration of their ſeveral Intereſts, you ſhall think fit to adviſe in that behalf, and thereof you ſhall certify us with all convenient Speed. And for your better Information and Proceeding in the Premiſſes: We do hereby will and authorize you to ſend for and convene before you all ſuch Treaſurers, Receivers, Accountants, Regiſters, Witneſſes, Clerks, Officers and other Perſons as you ſhall think fit, and to examine all or any of them upon their corporal Oathes to be adminiſtered unto them, or any of them by your Diſcretion, and to ſend for and peruſe all ſuch Books of Account, Regiſter Books, Surveyes and other Writings, as you ſhall think meet for your better Diſcovery, and finding out of the Truth in all Things touching the Premiſſes, and what Monies have been raiſed by the ſaid Sales, and to whom the ſame hath been paid, and how the ſame hath been accounted for and diſpoſed of, and how much remains in the Treaſurers, Receivers or Accountants Hands, or any others, and how long it hath remained. And we do alſo hereby will and authoriſe you, to enquire by the Oathes of good and lawful Men of every County, City, or priviledged Place, wherein the ſaid Lands and Premiſſes or any of them do lie, of all things comprehended in this our Commiſſion. Hereby willing and commanding all our Sheriffes, Mayors, Bailiffs, and all other Officers and Miniſters whom it may con-

concern, upon your Precepts and Warrants to return good and ſufficient Jurors, for the better Inquiry and finding out of the Truth of the Premiſſes, and to be obedient, aiding and aſſiſting unto you in all things, tending to the Execution of this our Commiſſion. And whatſoever you or any five or more of you ſhall do or cauſe to be done in or about the Premiſſes, we do hereby ratify, confirm and approve of. And our Will and Pleaſure is, and we do hereby require the ſaid Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, Prebends, and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons by themſelves or by other Perſons ſufficiently authoriſed by them, to appear before you, when they ſhall be ſo required, to the end that your Mediation and Interpoſition may be the more effectual. We in no wiſe doubting of their readineſs to comply with us in the end of this Commiſſion: And that they will accept ſuch reaſonable Conditions as ſhall be tendered to them by you, on the behalf of ſuch as have been Purchaſers of any Lands held from them or their reſpective Churches, according to the ſeveral Conſiderations of the Perſons and their Intereſts, and that they will do no Act to the Prejudice of any Purchaſers, by granting any new or concurrent Leaſes, whereby their preſent Intereſt or Poſſeſſion may be hurt or diſturbed, whilſt the ſame is under your Deliberation, and until our Pleaſure be further known. In Witneſſe whereof we have cauſed theſe Letters to be made Patents. Witneſſe ourſelf at *Weſtmirſter* the Seventh Day of *October*, in the Twelfth Year of our Reign.

The JUDGMENT of Sir ORLANDO BRIDGEMAN, declared in his CHARGE to the JURY at the Arraingment of the *Twenty-nine Regicides* (the Murtherers of King *CHARLES* the Firſt, of moſt Glorious Memory) began at *Hicks*'s-*Hall*, on *Tueſday* the Ninth of *October* 1660, and continued at the *Seſſions-Houſe* in the *Old-Baily*, until *Friday* the Nineteenth of the ſame Month.

Theſe are the very Words of Sir Orlando Bridgeman, *p.* 10. *in the Book of the Trials.*

I Muſt deliver for plain and true Law, that no Authority, no Single Perſon, *no Community of Perſons, not the People collectively*, or *repreſentatively, have any coercive Power over the King of* England; and I do not ſpeak mine own Senſe, but *the Words of the Laws* unto you.

It was the *Treaſon* of the *Spencers* in King *Edward* the Second's Time, in *Calvin*'s Caſe, in the 7th Report; the *Spencers* had an Opinion, that all Homage and Allegeance was due to the King by reaſon of the Crown, as they called it; and thereupon (ſay the Books and Records) they drew out this execrable Inference (among others) *That if the King did not demean himſelf according to Right, becauſe he could not be reformed by Law, he might* per Aſpertee, *that is, by ſharp Impriſonment.*

But

But this was adjudged *horrid Treason* by two Acts of Parliament. [Let me tell you what our *Law Books* say, for there is the ground, out of which (and the Statues together) *we must draw all our Conclusions for Matters of Government*] How do they stile the King? They call him the LIEUTENANT OF GOD, and many other Expressions. In the Book of 1 *Hen.* 7. says that Book there, *The King is* IMMEDIATE FROM GOD, AND HATH NO SUPERIOR. The Statute says, *That the Crown of* England *is* IMMEDIATELY SUBJECT TO GOD AND TO NO OTHER POWER. The King, says our Books, he is not only *Caput Populi*, the Head of the People; but *Caput Reipublicæ*, the Head of the Commonwealth, the three Estates. And truly thus our Statutes speak very fully. Common Experience tells you when we speak of the King, and so the Statutes of *Edward* the Third, we call the King, *Our Sovereign Lord the King*. Sovereign, that is, *Supreme*. And when the Lords and Commons in Parliament apply themselves to the King, they use this Expression, YOUR LORDS AND COMMONS, YOUR FAITHFUL SUBJECTS, *humbly beseech*. I do not speak any Words of my own, but the Words of the Laws. In the Statute 24 *Hen.* 8. *cap.* 12. it is thus expreſt, *Whereas by divers, sundry, old, authentick Histories and Chronicles, it is manifestly declared, that this Realm of* England *is an Empire, and so hath been accepted in the World, governed by one Supreme Head and King, having the Dignity and Royal Estate of the Imperial Crown.* 25 *Hen.* 8. *c.* 21. there it is the People speaking of themselves, *That they do recognize no Superior under God but only the King's Grace.* Gentlemen, you see if the King be immediate under God, he derives his Authority from nobody else; if the King have an Imperial Power, if the King be Head of the Common-wealth, Head of the Body Politick; if the Body Politick owe him Obedience, truly I think it is an undenied Consequence, *he must needs be Superior over them.* The *Imperial Crown* is a Word that is significative, you shall find in all Statutes, 1 *Eliz.* and 1 *Jacobi*, nay even in the Act of Judicial Proceedings of this Parliament, it is called an *Imperial Crown.* They that take the *Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy*, they swear, That they will to their power, *assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Privileges, Preheminencies, and Authorities granted or belonging to the King, his Heirs and Successors, or annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm.* What is an *Imperial Crown?* That, which as to the coersive Part, *is subject to no Man under God, is not subject to any humane Tribunal or Judicature whatsoever.*

Gentlemen, since this is so, consider the *Oath* of *Supremacy*, which most Men have taken or should take. All Men that enter into the Parliament House they are expresly enjoin'd by Statute to take the Oath of Supremacy.

What says that Oath? We swear, *That the King is the only supream Governor within this Realm and Dominions.* He is Supream, and the only Supream, and truly if he be Supream, *there is neither Major nor Superior.*

I declare this, to you, to let you know that *the King is immediately subject to God, and so is not punishable by any Person.* He is the Supream Head, he is not punishable by any coersive Power, the Laws provide for that, *the King can do no wrong; it is a Rule of Law, it is in our Law Books very frequent,* 22 *Ed.* 4. Lord *Coke* and many others. If he can do no wrong, *he cannot be punished for any wrong.* The King hath the Infirmities and Weakness of a Man, but he cannot

cannot do any Injury, at leaſt not conſiderable in Perſon. He muſt do it by Miniſters, Agents, and Inſtruments. Now the Law, though it provide for the King, yet if any of his Miniſters do wrong, though by his Command, *they are puniſhable*. He is not to be touched, *Touch not mine Anointed*.

Thus far that great and eminent Lawyer, afterwards made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* by King *Charles* the Second of ever-bleſſed Memory. And if his Judgment be falſe, unto which moſt of the *Lords of England*, at leaſt of the *Privy Council*, ſitting with him, did aſſent, ſhall not we make Martyrs of the King's *Regicides?* To be ſure they had hard meaſure, after the Reaſons that were given by Mr. *Cook* and Mr. *Scott* for what they did, if this were not Law.

The LIFE and DEATH of *NEBUCHADNEZZAR* the Great, the firſt Emperor of the CHALDEANS, who was repreſented by the *Golden Head of that Image*, Dan. ii. 32. and by the *Lion with Eagle's Wings*, Dan. vii. 4. Whereby much Light is given to many of the Prophecies of *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*. By SAMUEL CLARKE, ſometime Miniſter of *St. Bennet Fink*, *London*. Printed 1664.

NEBUCHADONAZAR, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, was the Son of *nebuchadonazar*, or *Nabopolaſer* of *Babylon*, who was made General of the Army by *Saraco*, King of *Aſſyria* and *Chaldea*; after whoſe Death, *Nabopolaſer* took into his Hands the Kingdom of *Chaldea*, which he held by the Space of one and twenty Years; at the ſame time *Aſtyages* was made Governor of *Media* by *Cyaxares* his Father; and the better to ſtrengthen themſelves, they entred into Affinity, by *Aſtyages* his giving his Daughter *Amytis* to *Nebuchadnezzar*, the Son of *Nabopolaſar*, and thereupon joining their Forces together, they took *Nineveh*, together with *Saraco*, the King thereof, placing a Viceroy in his ſtead.

Shortly after, the Governor of *Cæloſyria*, and *Phœnicia*, revolting from *Nabopolaſer*, he ſent againſt him his Son *Nebuchadnezzar* (having firſt aſſociated him with himſelf in the Kingdom of *Babylon*) with a great Army, which was in the latter end of the third, and the beginning of the fourth Year of *Jehoiakim*, King of *Judea*; as appears *Dan.* i. 1. compared with *Jer.* xxv. 1.

Nebuchadnezzar was no ſooner thus aſſociated with his Father in the Kingdom, but the things which he was to act, were preſently revealed to the Prophet *Jeremiah*; the firſt whereof was the Overthrow of the *Egyptians*; firſt at the River *Euphrates*; then in their own Country, *Jer.* xlvi. The firſt of theſe

came to paſs preſently, *Pharaoh Necho*'s Forces, which he left at *Carchemiſh*, being cut off by *Nebuchadnezzar* in the fourth Year of *Jehoiakim*, *Jer.* xlvi. 2. The ſecond was not till after the taking of *Tyre*, in the ſeventeenth Year of the Captivity of *Jechonia*. Ezek. xxix. 17, 18, 19.

In the third Year of *Jehoiakim*, *Nebuchadnezzar* the ſecond, his Father being yet alive, entred *Judæa* with a great Army, who, beſieging, and forcing *Jeruſalem*, made *Jehoiakim* his Vaſſal, in deſpight of *Pharoah Necho*, who had made him King, and took with him to *Babylon*, for Pledges, *Daniel*, who was yet a Child, with *Ananias*, *Miſael*, and *Azarias*. He took alſo part of the Treaſures belonging to the Temple; but ſtayed not to ſearch thoroughly for all. For *Necho* haſted with his Army to the relief of *Jehoiakim*, hoping to find *Nebuchadnezzar* in *Judæa*. But this great *Babylonian* had no mind to hazard himſelf and his Army againſt the *Egyptian*, *Judæa* being ſo ill affected towards him, and himſelf far from all Succour, or ſure Place of Retreat. If he had (as may be ſuppoſed) any great Strength of *Scythian* Horſemen, it was wiſely done of him to fall back out of that rough, mountainous, and hot Country, into Places that were more even and temperate. And beſides theſe Reaſons, the Death of his Father happening at the ſame time, gave him juſt occaſion to return Home, and take poſſeſſion of his own Kingdom, before he proceeded in the ſecond Care, of adding more unto it.

And this he did at reaſonable good leiſure. For the *Egyptian* was not provided to follow him ſo far, and to bid him Battle, until the new Year came in, which was the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, the firſt of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the laſt of *Necho*. In this year the *Babylonian*, lying upon the Banks of *Euphrates* (his own Territories bounding it on the North-ſide) attended the coming of *Necho*: there, after a cruel Battel fought betwixt them, *Necho* was ſlain, and his Army forced to ſave itſelf by a violent Retreat, wherein it ſuffered great Loſs.

This Victory was ſo well purſued by *Nebuchadnezzar* that he recovered all *Syria*, and whatſoever the *Egyptians* held out of their proper Territories towards the North. The *Egyptians* being thus beaten, and altogether for the preſent diſcouraged, *Jehoiakim* held himſelf quiet, as being in heart a Friend to the *Egyptians*, yet having made his Peace with the *Chaldeans* the Year before, and *Nebuchadnezzar* was contented with ſuch Profit as he could there readily make: he had forborn to lay any Tribute upon the *Jews*.

But this cool Reſervedneſs of *Jehoiakim*, was, on both ſides, taken in ill Part. Whereupon, the *Egyptian* King *Palmnis*, who ſucceeded *Necho*, began to think of reſtoring *Jehoahaz* (who had been taken Priſoner by his Father, and carried into *Egypt*) and of ſetting him up, as a domeſtical Enemy againſt his ungrateful Brother. But to anticipate all ſuch Accidents, the *Judean* had put in Practice the uſual Remedy, which his Fore-fathers uſed: For he had made his own Son *Jechonia*, King with him long before; * in the ſecond Year of his own Reign, when the Boy was but eight Years old. As for this Rumour of *Jehoahaz* his Return, the Prophet *Jeremiah* foretold, that it ſhould prove a vain Attempt, ſaying, *He ſhall not return thither, but he ſhall die in the Place whither they have led him Captive, and ſhall ſee this Land no more.* Jer. xxii. 11, 12.

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* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9.

The *Egyptians*, having loſt all their mercenary Forces, and received that heavy Blow at *Carchemiſh*, had more Gold than ſharp Steel remaining, which is of ſmall Force without the others Help. Beſides, the Valour of *Necho* was not in *Pſamnis Apries*, who, reigning after *Pſamnis*, did indeed once adventure to ſhew his Face in *Syria*; but after a big Look, he was glad to retire, without adventuring the Hazard of a Battel. Wherefore this declining Nation fought only with brave Words, telling ſuch frivolous Tales, as Men that mean to do nothing uſe, boaſting of their former glorious Acts againſt *Joſias*, and *Jehoahaz*. And truly in ſuch a Time and Caſe, it was eaſy for *Jehoiakim* to give them Satisfaction, by letting them underſtand the Sincerity of his Affections towards them, which appeared in Time following.

But *Nebuchadnezzar* went more roundly to work: For he ſent a peremptory Meſſage to *Jehoiakim*, requiring him not to ſtand upon any nice Points, but preſently to acknowledge himſelf his Subject, and to pay him Tribute; Adding thereunto ſuch terrible Threatnings, as made the poor *Judæan* lay aſide all Thoughts of adhering under *Pharaoh*; and to yield to do, as the more powerful would have him.

Thus he continued in Obedience to *Nebuchadnezzar* three Years; during which Time the Prophet *Jeremiah*, cryed out againſt the Impiety of the *Jews*, putting them in Mind that he had now for three and twenty Years exhorted them to Repentance; but becauſe they had ſtopped their Ears againſt him, and the reſt of the Prophets, he now foretold that their Captivity was at hand, and that they ſhould bear the Yoak of Bondage for ſeventy Years.† The ſame Calamity he threatned to all the neighbouring Nations, to the *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumæans*, and the reſt;‡ foretelling that they ſhould all drink out of the *Babylonian* Cup the Wine of his Fury, whom they had forſaken; and that after the ſeventy Years ſhould be expired, the *Babylonians* themſelves ſhould taſte of the ſame Cup, and be utterly ſubverted by the *Medes* and *Perſians*, by which means the *Jews* ſhould be permitted to return into their own Country, and Cities. The firſt Impriſonment of the Prophet *Jeremiah*‖ ſeems to have been in the fourth Year of this *Jehoiakim*, at which time, *Baruch* the Scribe wrote all his Propheſies from his Mouth, whom he ſent to read them unto the People, and afterwards to the Princes, who preſented them to the King: But fearing the King's Fury, they had firſt ſet *Jeremiah* at liberty, and adviſed him and *Baruch* to hide themſelves, *Jer.* xxxvi. 19, &c.

Jehoiakim having heard Part of it read to him, and perceiving the ill News contained therein, he made no more ado, but cut the Book in pieces, and caſt it into the fire. All which, *Jeremiah* cauſed to be new written, with this addition, *that the dead Body of* Jehoiakim *ſhould be caſt out, being expoſed in the Day to the Heat, and in the Night to the Froſt, and that there ſhould be none of his Seed to ſit upon the Throne of* David.

Time thus running on, *Jehoiakim* thought himſelf ſecure from all Danger, as being Tributary to the *Babylonian*, and yet withal, well thought on by the *Egyptian*: About which Time the mighty City of *Tyre* oppoſed itſelf againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*: and upon juſt Confidence of her own Strength, deſpiſed all Preparations that could be made againſt her. Now for as much as the term of ſeventy Years was preſcribed for the Deſolation, as well of *Tyre*, as of *Jeruſalem*, and other Places, and Countries, it is apparent that they that refer the winning of this

† Jer. xxv. 25, &c. ‡ Jer. xxvii. ‖ Jer. xxv. 12, &c.

City to the nineteenth Year of *Nebuchadnezzer*, have good Ground and Warrant for it. For the Siege thereof began in the seventh Year of his Reign, and lasted thirteen Years.

Here it will not be amiss to insert a brief Note concerning the beginning of this great Prince's Rule; The third Year of *Jehoiakim*, was the last of *Nabulasser*, who being freed from other Cares, and Businesses, took notice of such as had revolted from him to *Pharaoh Necho*, and sent this noble Prince, his Son, with an Army into *Syria* to reclaim them. In this Expedition was *Daniel* carried to *Babylon*, who therefore makes mention of it, *Dan.* i. 1. The Year next following, being the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, was the first Year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which *Jeremiah* affirmeth in expres words, *Jer.* xxv. 1. And from this we must reckon all his Time, and Actions which follow to be spoken of. In his three and twentieth Year he conquered *Egypt*, and then began his great Empire, there being none left that durst offend, or oppose him. The second from this Year it was wherein *Daniel* saw that Vision of the Image consisting of sundry Metals, which prefigured the Succession of great Kingdoms, that should rule the World before the Coming of Christ. But to return to the Siege of *Tyre*, which began in the seventh Year of his Reign.

The stately City of *Tyre* covered all the Ground of an Island, that was divided from the Continent by a deep, and broad Channel of the Sea. The *Chaldæans* had no Fleet of Ships, neither were they Seamen: the *Tyrians* excelled all other Nations in Multitude of goodly Ships, and Skill to use them: and every Wind, from one part or other, brought in all needful Provisions to the City: Wherefore neither Force, nor Famine could greatly hurt the Place; whereof nevertheless, the Judgments of God (denounced against it by *Isaiah*, * *Jeremiah*, † and *Ezekiel* ‡) had threatned the Destruction; and the obstinate Resolution of *Nebuchadnezzar* had fully determined to accomplish it.

This haughty King, impatient of Resistance, undertook a vast Piece of Work, which was, to fill up that Part of the Sea which divided the Island from the Continent. The City of old *Tyre*, that stood opposite to the new, upon the firm Land, and the Mountain of *Libanus* near adjoyning, that was loaden with stately Cedars, and abundance of other Trees, furnished him with Materials to effect it. Thirteen Years were spent in this difficult, and hopeless Undertaking, which need not seem strange, if we consider, that *Alexander*, working upon that Foundation which was remaining of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Pier, and being withal assisted with a strong Fleet, was yet seven Months ere he could make way into the City. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that wherewith *Alexander* laboured to cover a Shelve, with much more Violence could it overturn, and, as it were, consume the Work of *Nebuchadnezzar*, who laid his Foundation in the bottom of the Deep; striving, as it were, to fill the empty Belly of this greedy Cormorant, whereas the *Macedonian* did only stop the Throat of it. All may know that God could easily have accomplished his own Threatnings against this Place (though it had not pleased him to use, either a Miracle, or such of his more immediate Engines, as are Earthquakes, *&c.*) by making at least the Seas calm, and adding the favourable Concurrence of all second Helps. But so it pleaseth him oft-times, in chastising the Pride of Man, to use the Hand of Man,

* Isaiah xxiii. † Jer. xxv. ‡ Ezek. xxvi. ‖ Jer. xxii. 18, 19. & 36. 30.

even

even the Hand of Man, ſtriving, as it may ſeem, againſt all Reſiſtance of Nature, and Providence. So that by this exceſſive Labour of the *Chaldeans*, that Scripture was fulfilled, that *every Head ſhould be made bald, and every Shoulder ſhould be made bare*, Ezek. xxix. 18. Yet would not *Nebuchadnezzar* give over till he was maſter of the Town.

When he was entred upon this deſperate Undertaking, whether it were by ſome Loſſes received, or ſome Mutiny in his Army, or ſome glorious Rumour of the *Egyptians* Strength, his Evil-willers took Courage to rebel againſt him; and amongſt them, *Jehoiakim* renounced his Subjection, and began to hope for the contrary which ſoon after fell out. For *Nebuchadnezzar* gave him no leiſure to do much Hurt: But with Part of his Army, he marched ſtrait into *Judea*; where the amazed King made ſo little Reſiſtance (the *Egyptians* having left him, as it were in a Dream) that *Nebuchadnezzar* entred *Jeruſalem*, laid Hands on *Jehoiakim*, whom at firſt he bound, ‖ intending to ſend him to *Babylon*, but his Mind changing, he cauſed him to be ſlain in that Place, and gave him the Burial of an Aſs, to be devoured by Beaſts, and ravenous Birds, according to the former Prophecy; leaving in his Place his Son, *Jehoiakim*, or *Jeconias*; whom yet after three Months, and ten Days, he depoſed, and ſent him Priſoner to *Babylon*, together with *Eſekiel*, *Mordecai*, and *Joſedech*, the High Prieſt.

The Mother of *Jeconias*, * together with his Servants, Eunuchs, and all the ableſt Men, and beſt Artificers in the Land, were alſo then carried away Captives. This *Jeconias*, following the Counſel of the Prophet *Jeremiah*, made no Reſiſtance, but ſubmitted himſelf to the King's Will, wherein he both pleaſed God, and did that which was moſt profitable for himſelf, though at the preſent it might ſeem otherwiſe, to ſuch as conſidered the Evil that befel him, rather than the greater Evil that he thereby avoided. This only particular Act of his is recorded in Scripture which was good: But it ſeems that he was at leaſt a Partaker in his Father's Sins, if not a Provoker, which was the Cauſe, that though he ſubmitted himſelf to God's Will, yet did he not preſerve his Eſtate: For ſo it is ſaid; *That he did Evil in the ſight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done.* In his ſtead, *Nebuchadnezzar* ſet up *Mattania*, his Uncle, making him King of *Judea*, and called him *Zedekiah*. For like as *Necho*, King of *Egypt*, had formerly diſplaced *Jehoahaz*, after he had ſlain his Father *Joſias*, † and ſet up *Jehoiakim*, the Son by another Mother; ſo *Nebuchadnezzar* ſlew *Jehoiakim*, who depended on the *Egyptians*, and, carrying his Son *Jeconias* Priſoner to *Babylon*, he gave the Kingdom to this *Zedekiah*, who was whole Brother to that *Jehoahaz*, whom *Necho* took with him into *Egypt*; and from *Zedekiah* he required an Oath for his Loyalty, and faithful Subjection, which *Zedekiah* gave him, and called the living God to witneſs in the ſame, that he would remain aſſured to the Kings of *Chaldea*, 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 13. *Ezek.* xvii. 13, 14, 18.

In the firſt Year of *Zedekiah*, *Jeremiah* ſaw, ‡ and expounded the Viſion of ripe, and rotten Figs, the one ſignifying thoſe that were already carried away Captives, the other ſignifying thoſe *Jews* that yet remained, and were afterwards deſtroyed, *Jer.* xxix. 17.

In the fourth year of *Zedekiah*, *Jeremiah* wrote in a Book all the Evil which ſhould fall upon *Babylon*, which Book, or Roll he gave to *Seriah*, when he went

‖ Jer. xxii. 18, 19. and xxxvi. 30.
* Jer. xxix. 2. 2 King. xxviii. 8, 16. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10. Jer. xxiv. 1. xxix 1, 2. Ezek. xvii. 12. † Jer. xxxvii. 1. 2 King. xxvi. 17. ‡ Jer. xxiiii. 2.

with

with King *Zedekiah* to *Babylon*, to visit *Nebuchadnezzar*, willing him first to read it to the Captive *Jews*, and then to bind a Stone to it, and cast it into *Euphrates*, pronouncing these words; *Thus shall* Babel *be drowned, and shall not rise from the Evil which I will bring upon her.* This Journey of *Zedekiah* to *Babylon* is probably thought to be in way of a Visit, and to carry some Presents to *Nebuchadnezzar*; * but yet its likely he had some Suit to make, which his lordly Master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his Return, all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him (as it seems) to those unquiet Courses from which the Prophet *Jeremiah* † dehorted both him, and them. About which time the Prophet, by God's Appointment, made Bonds, and Yokes, one of which he wore about his own Neck, others he sent unto the five Kings of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre*, and *Zidon*, by those Messengers which came to visit *Zedekiah*, making them know, that if they, and the King of *Juda* continued in Subjection to *Babylon*, they should then possess, and enjoy their own Countries; if not, they should assuredly perish by the Sword, by Famine, and by Pestilence.

He also foretold them that those Vessels which yet remained in *Jerusalem*, should be carried after the other to *Babylon*, yet at length should be restored again.

The same year *Ananias*, the false Prophet, took off the wooden Yoke which *Jeremiah* did wear, as a Sign of the Captivity of the *Jews*, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two years, ‡ God would break the Strength of *Babel*, and the Yoke which he laid on all Nations: and that he would restore *Jeconias* and all the *Jews*, with the Vessels, and Riches of the Temple, and put an End to all these Troubles. But *Jeremiah*, instead of his wooden Yoke, wore a Collar of Iron; and in sign that *Ananias* had given a false, and deceitful Hope to the People, he foretold the Death of this false Prophet, ‖ which accordingly came to pass in the seventh Month.

After this, when *Zedekiah* had wavered long between Faith, and Passion, ** in the eighth Year of his Reign, he practised more seriously against *Nebuchadnezzar* with his Neighbours, the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Tyrians*, and others who were promised great Aids by the *Egyptians*, in Confidence of whose assistance he resolved to shake off the *Babylonian* Yoke, whereof when *Nebuchadnezzar* was informed, he marched with his Army in the dead of Winter, towards *Jerusalem*, and besieged it. *Jeremiah* perswaded *Zedekiah* to render the City, and himself to him: But *Zedekiah*, being confident of Help from *Egypt*, and being perswaded by his Princes, and false Prophets, that it was impossible that the Kingdom of *Judah* should be extirpated until the Coming of *Shilo*, according to *Jacob*'s Prophecy, *Gen*, xlix. 10. he despised the Counsel of *Jeremiah*, and imprisoned him. For *Jeremiah* † had told the King that the City should be taken and burnt; that the King should not escape, but be taken Prisoner, and brought to the Presence of *Nebuchadnezzar*: That he should not perish by the Sword, but, being carried to *Babel*, should there die a natural Death.

‡ The following year, *Jerusalem* was surrounded, and more strictly besieged by *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Army; whereupon the King of *Egypt*, *Pharaoh Hophra*, entered into *Judea* with his Army, to succour *Zedekiah*, of whose Revolt he had been the principal

* Jer. li. 59. † Jer. xxvii. 8. ** Ezek. xvii. 15, 17.
‡ Jer. xxviii. ‖ Jer. xxviii. 15. †† Jer. xxxii. & xxxiv. ‡‡ Jer. xliv.

principal Author. But *Jeremiah* ‖ gave the *Jews* faithful Counsel, willing them not to have any Truſt in the Succours of *Egypt*: for he aſſured them that they ſhould return back again, and in no ſort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldeans* removed from *Jeruſalem* to encounter the *Egyptians*, theſe bragging Patrons abandoned their Enterpriſe, and taking *Gaza*, in their way homewards, returned into *Egypt* as if they had already done enough, leaving the poor People in *Jeruſalem* to their deſtined Miſeries, *Jeremiah* xxxiv. 11, 22.

In the mean while the *Jews*, * who in the Time of their Extremity had releaſed their *Hebrew* Bondmen, and Bondwomen, according to the Law, in the Year of *Jubilee*, and made them free, thereby to encourage them to fight, did now upon the breaking up of the *Chaldean* Army, repent of what they had done, and thinking that all danger had been paſt, they held them by force to their former Slavery. But the *Chaldeans* being returned to the Siege, the Prophet *Jeremiah*, † when the State of *Jeruſalem* began now to grow to Extremity, counſelled *Zedekiah*, to render himſelf to the *Babylonians*, ‡ aſſuring him of his own Life, and of the Safety of the City if he would do ſo. But his obſtinate Heart led him on to that wretched end, which, his Neglect of God, and his Infidelity and Perjury had provided for him.

Three and twenty Months the *Chaldean* Army lay before *Jeruſalem*, ‡ and held it exceeding ſtraitly beſieged; For they built Forts againſt it round about, 2 *King.* xxv. 1. or, they ſurrounded the City with wooden Towers, ſo as the Beſieged could neither ſally out, nor receive into the City any Supplies of Men or Victuals. *Joſephus* ſaith, ‖ that they over-topped the Walls with their high Towers which they erected upon Mounts, from which, with their Engines, they did ſo beat upon the Walls, that the Defendants were forced to forſake their Stations. And though the Beſieged alſo raiſed Counter-Buildings, like unto theſe, yet the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, who commanded all the Regions thereabouts, and had the Woods, and Rivers at his Command, found out Means to diſappoint and overthrow all the Citizens Endeavours, and to beat down their Towers as faſt as they raiſed them. For his own Works were guarded by the Walls of *Jeruſalem*, whereas theirs within lay open to his Batteries. Beſides, both Famine, and Peſtilence (which commonly accompany Men ſtraitly beſieged) grew faſt upon them, whereby, when the Number, Strength and Courage of the *Jews* failed, the *Chaldeans* made a Breach, and forcing an Entry, their Princes did ſeat themſelves as Lords of the Town, in the middle Gate, 2 *King.* xxvi. 2, 3, 4. *Jer.* xxxix. 2, 3. and lii. 5, *&c.*

Zedekiah, beholding this uncomfortable Sight, and finding no other Means to eſcape the preſent Danger, loſt both his Courage and Hope at once, and ſhifted himſelf, together with his Wives, Children, Princes, and principal Servants, out of the City, by a Way under-ground, leaving his amazed, and now headleſs Subjects to the mercileſs Swords of their enraged Enemies. Thus he, who when the Prophet *Jeremiah* perſwaded him to render himſelf, deſpiſed both the Counſel of God, and the Army and Force of *Nebuchadnezzar*, uſed now the remedy which one calls, *A woeful, ſhameful and unfortunate Shift.*

By

‖ Jer. xxxxvii. 3, 10.
* Lev. xxv. 39. 40. &c. † Jer. xxxiv.
‡ Jer. xxxix. ‖ Jer. xxxix.
* Jer. xxxix. 1. &. lii. 4.

By this ſecret ſubterranean Vault, *Zedechiah* ſtole away, and by the help of the dark Night, recovered the Plains, or Deſarts of *Jericho*. But by reaſon of the Train that followed him and his (every one leading with him thoſe whom he loved beſt) he was eaſily traced and purſued. How great ſoever the Company was that attended him, yet certain it is, that they, on whoſe Fidelity he moſt relied, no ſooner beheld the *Chaldeans* to draw near, but they all abandoned his Defence, and ſhifted for themſelves in the Deſarts, as they could. For *whom God had forſaken, no Man regarded.* And thus *Zedekiah* was taken by the Miniſters of God's Vengeance, and being made a Priſoner, together with his Children, and Princes, he was carried to *Riblah*, in the Tribe of *Nepthalim*, where *Nebuchadnezzar* then lay, as a Place indifferent between *Jeruſalem* and *Tyre*, with both which Places he had at one Time to do.

Now when *Nebuchadnezzar* had laid before *Zedekiah*, the many Graces and Favours which he had conferred upon him, † together with the notable Falſhood and Perjury wherewith he had requited him, he commanded his Children, Princes, and Friends to be ſlain before his Face. This being done, to the end that ſo lamentable a Spectacle ſhould be the laſt, that ever he ſhould behold in this World, he cauſed his Eyes to be put out, and ſo carried him like a Slave to *Babylon*, where he conſumed the reſt of his Life in perpetual Impriſonment. Herein was that marvellous Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, fulfilled: *I will bring him to* Babylon, *and he ſhall not ſee it*, Ezek. xii. 13.

Thus in the eleventh, and laſt Year of *Zedekiah*, which was the eighteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the *Chaldeans* entred *Jeruſalem*, by Force, where ſparing neither Sex nor Age, they put all to the Sword that they found therein.

In the Year next following, *Nebuzaradan*, * the General of the *Babyloniſh* Army, burnt the King's Palace, and the whole City of *Jeruſalem*, and after the Fire had laſted from the ſeventh to the tenth Day, he alſo burnt the Temple of God to the Ground, the richeſt and moſt magnificent Place that ever the Sun ſaw, when it had ſtood four hundred thirty and one Years.

After this, upon a ſecond Search, † *Nebuzaradan* (not yet ſatiated with Blood) commanded ſeventy and two others to be ſlain, which had hidden themſelves from the firſt Fury, to wit, the chief, and the ſecond Prieſt, two Commanders of *Zedekiah* his Men of War, five of houſhold Servants, and ſome others, carrying away to *Babylon* the ableſt of the People through all *Judea*, and leaving the pooreſt labouring People, with ſome that followed the Party of *Nebuchadnezzar*, to till the Ground, ‡ over whom he placed *Gedaliah*, the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Joſias* had formerly employed in the Reformation of Religion. This *Gedaliah*, a *Jew* by Nation, left *Zedekiah*, as it ſeemeth, in the beginning of the War, and by *Jeremiah*'s Deſire to live with him, its probable had embraced the ſame advice, which the Prophet gave to *Zedekiah*, which was, to ſubmit himſelf to the *Babylonian* King, who being ordained of God for them, as an Inſtrument of his Juſtice, was therefore irreſiſtble.

The Prophet *Jeremiah*, being left to his own choice to live where he pleaſed, choſe to go to *Gedeliah*, to whom he was commended by *Nebuzaradan*, ‡ and he, not

† Jer. xxxiv. 3, &c. 2 King. xxv. 4, 7. Jer. xxxix. 4, 7 and xxii. 7, 11.
* 2 King. xxv. 8. † Jer. lii. 13. with 39. 8.
‡ xx Jer. xl. 6.
‡ 2 King. xxv. 18. Jer. xxxix. 8, 9. and lii. 14, 23. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 18. &c.
‖ Jer. xxxix. 10. and xl. 16. xx.

not only entertained him kindly, † but comforted him, and all the other *Jews* that were left under his Charge, promising them Favour, and Liberty, so long as they remained obedient Subjects to *Nebuchadnezzar*, by whom he was established Provincial Governour over his own Nation.

But ere the Year was expired, a Prince of the late King's Family (who during the Siege of *Jerusalem* had sheltered himself from the Storm with *Baalis*, King of the *Ammonites*) being attended by ten other chosen Men, whilst *Gedaliah* feasted them in *Mitspah*, the City of his Residence, they traiterously slew him, together with diverse *Chaldeans* and *Jews* that accompanied him ‡. This done, they escaped, and in their way, encountring with eighty Persons, repairing toward *Gedaliah*, with Presents, they slew most of them, and only spared some, who promised to discover to them some Treasures that were hidden in the Fields during the War. They took with them also a Daughter of *Zedekiah* committed to the care of *Gedaliah* by *Nebuchadnezzar:* This Treachery of *Ismael* had been formerly discovered to *Gedaliah*, by *Johanan*, one of the Captains of the few remaining *Jews*, but he would not believe it.

Judea being now without a Governour (for *Ismael* durst not take it upon him, but fled as fast as he could to the *Ammonites*) the Residue of the *Jews*, fearing the Revenge of the *Chaldeans*, resolved to fly into *Egypt*, and besought *Jeremiah* to ask Counsel of God for them, who returned answer, that if they remained in *Judea*, God would provide for them, and shew them Mercy; but if they sought to save themselves in *Egypt*, ‖ they should then undoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding which Advice, the *Jews* held their Determination, and despised the Oracle of God; and constraining *Jeremiah*, and *Baruch*, to accompany them, they went into *Egypt*, and by the Permission of *Pharaoh*, they dwelt in *Taphnes*; where, when *Jeremiah* often reproved them for their Idolatry, foretelling the Destruction of themselves, and the *Egyptians*, he was, by these his own hard-hearted and ingrateful Countrymen, stoned to Death, and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly reverenced him, buried near the Sepulchre of their Kings, *Jer.* xlii. and xliii.

The nineteenth Year of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Reign it was, when destroying utterly the great and mighty City of *Jerusalem*, he exceedingly enriched himself with the Spoils of it, and the Temple, and by that dreadful Example terrified all those that should dare to resist him. From that Time forward, he, to his three and twentieth Year, laboured in the Conquest of those adjoining Countries, which God hath exposed unto his Sword, and commanded to wear his Yoke, namely, the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians*, *Sidonians*, and *Egyptians*, though some of these were already become his Followers, and served under him when *Jerusalem* was taken, and burnt. But the *Tyrians*, whose City was built upon an Island; and therefore secure from the Invasion of any Land-Army, and whose Fleet was so strong, that they needed not to fear any Enemy at Sea, were neither daunted with the Fall of their neighbour City, nor with the obstinate Resolution of this mighty King, employing all his Wit, and Power, to work their Subversion.

That the City of *Tyre* was rather well pleased than any way discouraged with the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, it appeareth by the Words which *Ezekiel* condemneth, as the common Voice of *Tyrus*, Ezek. xxvi. 2. *Aha! the Gate of the People is*

† Jer. xl. 6. ‡ Jer. xli. 2. 2 King. xxv. 25. ‖ Jer. xliii.

broken, it is turned unto me; For seeing she is desolate, I shall be replenished. Yet at length, that great Work before-mentioned began to appear above Water, and so to threaten them with inevitable Mischief.

Nebuchadnezzar still follows his Work hard, notwithstanding all Discouragements, and in the thirteenth Year of the Siege, and the nineteenth of his Reign, he had brought it to such Perfection, that now the Citizens despaired of holding out against him; whereupon all the chiefest of them imbarked themselves, their Families, and Treasures in their Fleet, and escaped to the Isle of *Cyprus*, but the poorer sort were left to the Fury of the Enemy; who being enraged for being put to so much pains, slew with the Sword, not only such People of *Tyre* as dwelt on the Continent (who are called her *Daughters in the Field*) but the like Execution was done in the Street, into which, with excessive Labour, the *Chaldeans* made way for his Horses, and Chariots. Thus *Nebuchadnezzar made his Army serve a great Service, against* Tyrus, *wherein every Head was made bald, and every Shoulder was made bare; yet had he no Wages, nor his Army*, Esek. xxix. 18. but was fain to rest contented with the Honour of having destroyed that City, which in all Mens Judgments had been held invincible.

The Destruction of these two great, and powerful Cities, having made the Name of the *Chaldeans* dreadful in the Ears of all the Nations round about, *Nebuchadnezzar* used this Advantage of that Reputation, which he had obtained by his Victories already gotten, to the getting of more and more profitable, with less pains. The Kingdom of *Egypt* was the Mark which he chiefly aimed at; a Country so abounding in Riches and Pleasures, that it might well have tempted any Prince, finding himself strong enough, to pick occasion of Quarrel against it. Besides, it was so far an Enemy to the Crown of *Babylon*, that, had it been far poorer, yet it must have been subdued, or the Conquest of *Syria* could not have been secured.

Yet was it needful, that before he entered upon this Business, the Countries adjacent should be reduced into such Terms, that either they should wholly stand at his Devotion, or, at least, be able not to work him any Displeasure. And herein the Decree of God concurred (as in all prosperous Enterprizes) with Reason of State. For the People of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Damascus*, *Kedar*, *Hazor*, and other adjoining Regions, whom God for their Sins, had condemned to fall under the *Babylonian* Yoke, were such, as regarding only their own Gain, had, some of them, like Ravens, followed the *Chaldean* Army, to feed upon the Carcasses that fell by the Cruelty thereof. Others taking advantage of their Neighbours Miseries, occupied the Countries, which, by his Victories, belonged to *Nebuchadnezzar*; all of them thinking, that when the *Babylonian* had satisfied his Fury, he would be forced to forsake those desolate Countries, and leave the Possession of them to those who could first seize upon them. Particularly, the *Edomites*, and *Philistines*, had shewed much Malice against the *Jews* when their City was taken, *Ezek.* xxv. 12, 15. Whether they had done any good Service to the *Chaldeans*, it appears not, if they did any, it is like to have been in reference to their own Advantage, wherein yet they were deceived. The *Ammonites* were not contented to rejoice only at the Fall of *Jerusalem*, but presently they entered upon the Country of *Gad*, and took possession of it, as if, not the *Chaldeans*, but they had subdued *Israel*, *Ezek.* xxv. 3. *Jer.* xlix. 1. Neither can it be imagined what other design *Baalis*, King of the

Ammo-

Ammonites had, when he ſent *Iſmael*, a Prince of the Blood of *Judah*, to murther *Gedaliah*, whom the King of *Babel* had made Governour over thoſe that remained in *Iſrael*, and to carry Captive into the *Ammonites* Country, the People that abode in *Mizpah*, than a deſire of entangling *Nebuchadnezzar* with ſo many Labours at once, as ſhould force him to retire to his own Country, and abandon thoſe waſted Lands, to himſelf, and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such, or the like Policy, the *Moabites* alſo did exerciſe, whoſe Pride, and Wrath were made fruſtrate by God, and their Diſſimulation condemned, as not doing right, *Jer.* xl. 14. and xli. 2. and x. and xxviii, 27, *&c.*

All theſe Nations had the Art of ravening, which is familiar to ſuch as either live in, or that border upon Deſarts; and now the time miniſtred occaſion to them to ſhew the uttermoſt Cunning of their thieviſh Wits. But *Nebuchadnezzar* made void all their Devices by ſharp, and ſudden War upon them, overwhelming them with unexpected Ruin, as it were in one Night, according to the Propheſies of * *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*, who all foretold, with little difference of Words, the Greatneſs, and Swiftneſs of the Miſery that ſhould come upon them. It appears not with which of them he firſt began; but it ſeems that *Moab* was the laſt that felt his heavy Hand; for ſo many interpret that Propheſy of *Iſaiah*, threatning *Moab* with Deſtruction after three Years, as having reference to the third Year following the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem:* the next Year after it, being ſpent in the *Egyptian* Expedition. This is evident, that all the principal Towns in theſe Countries were burnt, and the People either ſlain, or made Captives, few excepted, who ſaved themſelves by Flight, and had not the Courage to return to their Habitations too haſtily, much leſs to attempt any thing againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*: but lived as miſerable Out-laws, until the end of the ſeventy Years which God had appointed for the Deſolation of the Countries, as well as of the Land of *Judea*.

When by a long courſe of Victory *Nebuchadnezzar* had brought into Subjection all the Nations of *Syria*, and the bordering *Arabians*, in ſuch wiſe as that no Enemy to himſelf, or Friend to the *Egyptian*, was left at his Back, that might either impede his Proceedings, or take Advantage of any Misfortune that might befall him; then did he forthwith apply himſelf to the Conqueſt of *Egypt*, upon which thoſe other Nations had formerly been Dependants. Of this Expedition, and the victorious Iſſue thereof, the three great Prophets, *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel* have written ſo plainly, that its altogether needleſs to ſeek after any other Authority to confirm the ſame. It was long before propheſied by *Iſaiah*, that the King of *Aſſyria*, or *Babylon*, ſhould lead away the *Egyptians* Priſoners, and the *Ethiopians* Captives, young, and old, naked and barefoot, even with their Buttocks uncovered to the Shame of *Egypt*, *Iſaiah.* xx. 4.

But *Ezekiel*, and *Jeremiah*, as their Propheſies were nearer to the time of Execution, ſo they handled this Argument more plainly, and preciſely. For *Ezekiel* tells us clearly, that *Egypt* ſhould be given to *Nebuchadnezzar* as Wages for his great Service which he had done againſt *Tyre*, Ezek. xxix. 18, 19, 20. He recounteth alſo in particular all the chief Cities in *Egypt*, ſaying, that theſe by name ſhould be deſtroyed, and go into Captivity: yea, and that *Pharoah*, and all his Army ſhould be ſlain by the Sword, *Ezek.* xxx. 4, 10, *&c.* Chap. xxxii. 2. *&c.* And the Prophet *Jeremiah* ſaith thus,

* Iſaiah xvi. 14.

Behold I will visit the common People of Noe, *and* Pharoah, *and* Egypt, *with their Gods and their Kings, even* Pharoah *and all that trust in him; and I will deliver them into the Hands of those that seek their Lives, and into the Hand of* Nebuchadnezzar *King of* Babel, *and into the Hands of his Servants,* Jer. xlvi. 25, 26. *Josephus* accordingly saith, that *Nebuchadnezzar* in the three and twentieth Year of his Reign, and in the fifteenth Year after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, did conquer *Egypt*, and kill the King thereof, appointing a Viceroy to govern it. And it is evident that his Victories, which followed his Conquest of *Syria*, were such as did more enlarge his Dominions, than all his former Wars had done. For *Ezekiel* in his xxxth Chapter reckoneth up (besides the whole Country of *Egypt*) *Phut* and *Lud*, with other Nations that may seem to have reached as far as into *Mauritania*, which were conquered by him, and added to his Empire. And truly it is worth Observation how *Pharoah*, King of *Egypt*, was infatuated by God, who thought himself most safe in his own Country by reason of the well-defenced Situation thereof, and therefore very unwisely suffered his Enemies to make a clear way to his own Doors by the Conquest of all his Friends and Allies in *Syria*. For as the Labour of this Business did more harden than weary the *Chaldean* Army, so the Confidence, and vain Security of the *Egyptians*, relying upon the Difficulty of the Passages which the Enemy was to make through the *Arabian* Deserts, and the great Advantage which the River *Nilus* afforded, did little avail them, when the War came on; yea, it did much astonish them (as may justly be thought) in the time of Execution. It *being usually seen, that the Hearts of Men fail, when those Helps deceive them, in which they had reposed more Confidence than in their own Virtue, and Valour.*

Until this time, the Kingdom of *Egypt* had flourished under the Rule and Government of the *Pharaohs* for above the Space of one thousand four hundred and eighty Years. But from this time forward, it remained forty Years without a King, under the Subjection of the *Babylonians*; and then at length, it began to recover, by little and little, the former Greatness: Yet so, that it was never dreadful unto others as it had been, God having said of that People; *At the end of forty Years I will gather the* Egyptians *from the People whither they were scattered; and I will bring again the Captivity of* Egypt, *and will cause them to return into the Land of* Pathros, *into the Land of their Habitation, and they shall be yet a base Kingdom. It shall be the basest of the Kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any more above the Nations; for I will diminish them that they shall no more rule over the Nations, and it shall be no more the Confidence of the House of* Israel, *Ezek.* xxix. 13, 14, 15, 16. For whereas it had been said of *Pharaoh*, *I am the Son of the wise, the Son of ancient Kings*, Isa. xix. 11. and whereas they had vaunted, *the River is mine, and I have made it*, Ezek. xxix. 9. *The Princes of* Egypt, *now became Fools, the River failed them, the King himself was now taken and slain, and that ancient Lineage was quite extinguished.*

Of any Wars made by *Nebuchadnezzar* after such time as he returned from the Conquest of *Egypt*, we read not, except that against *Nineveh*, the Destruction whereof was foretold by the Prophet. *Nineveh* indeed had been taken long before by *Merodoch*, and together with the rest of *Assyria*, made subject to *Babylon*. Yet was it left under a peculiar King, who rebelling against *Nebu-*

chadnezzar,

chadnezzar, as *Jehoachim* and *Zedekiah*, Tributary Kings of *Judah*, had done, was made Partaker alſo of the ſame Ruin. That the Deſtruction of *Nineveh* followed the Conqueſt of *Egypt*, is clear by the Compariſon which *Nahum* the Prophet made, between this City that was to fall, and the City of *Noe* in *Egypt*, which was fallen already; *Nahum* iii. 8, &c. *Art thou better than populous* Noe, *that was ſituate amongſt the Rivers, that had the Waters round about it; whoſe Rampart was the Sea, and her Wall was from the Sea.* Ethiopia *and* Egypt *were her Strength, and it was infinite:* Put *and* Lubim *were her Helpers. Yet was ſhe carried away, ſhe went into Captivity; her young Children alſo were daſhed in Pieces at the top of all the Streets, and they caſt Lots for her honourable Men, and all her great Men were bound in Chains. Thou alſo ſhall be drunken; thou ſhall be hid; thou alſo ſhalt ſeek Strength becauſe of the Enemy*, &c.

This great Monarch having thus ſpent his younger Days in enlarging his Dominions, he betook himſelf to Reſt, that he might reap the Fruit of his former Labours; and the firſt thing that he applied himſelf to, was to beautify his Imperial City of *Babylon*, adding a new City to the old, which he compaſſed about with three Walls, and made in them ſtately Gates. And near the former Palace he built a new one, more ſtately than it, wherein he raiſed Stone-works, like unto Mountains, which he planted with all manner of Trees. He made alſo *Penſile* Gardens (one of the World's Wonders) borne upon Arches, four Square, each Square being four hundred Foot long, filled above with Earth, whereon grew all ſorts of Trees and Plants. The Arches were built one above another in a convenient Height, ſtill increaſing as they aſcended. The higheſt, which did bear the Walls on the Top, were fifty Cubits high, ſo that they equalized the higheſt Mountains. He made alſo *Aquæducts* for the watering of this Garden, which ſeemed to hang in the Air. This moſt ſumptuous Frame, which outlaſted all the Remainder of the *Aſſyrian*, and all the *Perſian* Empire, is ſaid to have been reared and finiſhed in fifteen Days. He erected alſo an Image of Gold in the Plain of *Dura*, ſixty Cubits high, and ſix broad, commanding all his Servants, and Subjects to fall down and worſhip it, *Dan.* iii. 1, &c.

But of all this, and other his Magnificence, we find little elſe recorded, ſave that which indeed is moſt profitable for us to conſider, to wit, his overvaluing of his own Greatneſs, which abaſed him to a Condition inferior to the pooreſt of Men. For, whereas God had honoured him, not only with many great, and glorious Victories, and much Happineſs in his own Life; but with a rare Diſcovery of Things that were to come after him; yea, and had manifeſted the Certainty of his Dreams, by the miraculous reducing of it into his Memory, and given him the Interpretation thereof by the Prophet *Daniel* *: He, notwithſtanding, became ſo forgetful of God, whoſe wonderful Power he had ſeen, and acknowledged, that he cauſed that Golden Image to be ſet up, and worſhipped, appointing a cruel Death for them that ſhould dare to diſobey him, which was utterly unlawful, and repugnant to the Law of him that is King of Kings: and thus, he who ſo lately had worſhipped *Daniel*, the Servant of God, as if he had been God himſelf, now commanded a Statue to be erected unto himſelf, wherein himſelf might be worſhipped as God: From this Impiety it pleaſed God to recall, and reclaim him, by the wonderful and miraculous Delivery of thoſe three

* Dan. ii. 31, &c.

three bleſſed Saints †, out of the fiery Furnace, who being thrown bound into the midſt of it, for refuſing to commit that abominable Idolatry, were preſerved from all Hurt of the Fire, looſened from their Bonds, accompanied by an Angel, and at laſt, called out by the King, and reſtored to their former Honour.

Nebuchadnezzar being amazed at the Miracle, made a Decree tending to the Honour of God, whom by the Erection of his Image ‖ he had diſhonoured. Yet was not this Devotion ſo rooted in him, that he could bring forth Fruit anſwerable to his haſty Zeal: Therefore was he forewarned of God in a Dream, of a terrible Judgment which hung over his Head, which *Daniel* expounding, withal counſelled him *to break off his Sin by Righteouſneſs, and his Iniquities by ſhewing Mercy to the Poor, that there might be a lengthening of his Tranquility*, Dan. iv. whence it ſeems, that Injuſtice, and Cruelty were his Faults, for which he was thus threatned: But neither did the Dream, nor Advice of *Daniel* ſo prevail. For probably he believed it not, but looked upon it as an idle Dream; for that it ſeemed altogether unlikely, that ſo great a Monarch ſhould be driven from amongſt Men, yea, compelled to dwell with the Beaſts of the Field, and made to eat Graſs as the Oxen; this was altogether incredible in Man's Judgment, and therefore giving ſo little heed to it, its no marvel that he had forgotten it at the Year's end.

One whole Year was given to this haughty Prince wherein to repent, which reſpiting of the Execution may ſeem to have bred in him Forgetfulneſs of God's Sentence. For at the end of twelve Months, as he was walking in his Royal Palace of *Babel*, he was ſo overjoyed, and tranſported with a vain Contemplation of his own ſeeming Happineſs, that without all Fear of God's heavy Judgment pronounced againſt him, he uttered theſe proud Words: *Is not this great* Babylon *that I have built for the Houſe of the Kingdom, by the Might of my Power, and for the Honour of my Majeſty?*

But his proud Speeches were not fully ended, when a Voice from Heaven told him, that his *Kingdom was departed from him, &c.* And the ſame Hour the thing was fulfilled upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, and *he was driven from Men, and did eat Graſs as Oxen, and his Body was wet with the Dew of Heaven, till his Hair was grown like Eagles Feathers, and his Nails like Birds Claws*, Dan. iv. 33, *&c.*

This his Puniſhment was ſingular, and unexpected. For he ran amongſt Beaſts in the Fields, and Woods, where, for ſeven Years he lived, not only as a ſavage Man, but as a ſavage Beaſt; for a Beaſt he thought himſelf to be, and therefore fed himſelf in the ſame manner, and with the ſame Food that Beaſts do. Not that he was changed in his external Shape from a Man to a Beaſt. For as St. *Jerome* well expounds it, when he ſaith, *ver.* 34. that his *Underſtanding was reſtored unto him*, he ſhewed that he had not loſt his human Shape, but his Underſtanding, being ſtricken with a Frenzy, or deep Melancholy, which made him think himſelf a Beaſt.

Seven Years being expired, *Nebuchadnezzar* was reſtored both to his Underſtanding, and to his Kingdom: and (ſaith he) *I bleſſed the moſt High, and I praiſed, and honoured him that liveth for ever, whoſe Dominion is an everlaſting Dominion,*

† Dan. iii. 26. ‖ Dan. iii. 29.

Dominion, and his Kingdom is from Generation to Generation; and all the Inhabitants of the Earth are reputed as nothing, and he doth according to his Will in the Army of Heaven, and amongſt the Inhabitants of the Earth: And none can ſtay his Hand, or ſay unto him, what doth thou? At the ſame time my Reaſon returned unto me; and for the Glory of my Kingdom, my Honour, and Brightneſs returned unto me, and my Counſellers, and my Lords ſought unto me, and I was eſtabliſhed in my Kingdom, and excellent Majeſty was added unto me. Now therefore I Nebuchadnezzar *praiſe and extol, and honour the King of Heaven, all whoſe Works are Truth, and his Way is Judgment, and thoſe that walk in Pride he is able to abaſe,* Dan. iv. 34, 35, 36, 37.

How long he lived after this is uncertain, but all agree that he reigned about twenty Months Co-partner with his Father in the Kingdom, and about three and forty Years by himſelf alone.

Whilſt *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon* raged in *Judea*, God prepared a Worm, which in due Time ſhould eat out this ſpreading Tree, by reaſon of the Cry of his poor People which entred into his Ears: According to that of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* cxxxvii. 8, 9. *O Daughter of* Babylon, *who art to be deſtroyed: Happy ſhall he be that rewardeth thee, as thou haſt ſerved us. Happy ſhall he be that taketh and daſheth thy little ones againſt the Stones.* For in this very Year was *Cyrus*, the *Perſo-Median* born; whoſe Father was a *Perſian*, and his Mother a *Mede*; of whom this very *Nebuchadnezzar* at the Hour of his Death, uttered this Prophecy: *There ſhall come a* Perſian *Mule*, who ſhall make uſe of your Devils, as his Fellow-Soldiers, to bring you into Bondage.* He calls *Cyrus* a *Mule*, becauſe he was to be born of a Father and Mother of two diverſe Nations.

The LIFE and DEATH of *CYRUS* the Great, the firſt Founder of the Empire of the MEDES and PERSIANS; repreſented by the *Breaſt*, and *Arms of Silver, in that Image, Dan.* ii. 32. and by a *Bear, Dan.* vii. 5. and by a *Ram with two Horns, Dan.* viii. 3, 20. and the Deliverer of the *Iſraelites* out of *Babylon*, the Seventy Years of their Captivity being expired. Whereby much Light is given to many of the Prophecies of *Iſaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel*, and *Daniel*. By *Samuel Clarke*, ſometime Miniſter in *St. Bennet Fink, London.* Printed 1664.

CYRUS was the Son of *Cambyſes*, King of *Perſia*, by *Mandanes* the Daughter of *Aſtyages*, King of *Media*; he was ſo named by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, almoſt two hundred Years before he was born, *Iſa.* xlv. 1, 4. *Thus ſaith the Lord unto* Cyrus *his anointed*, &c. *Cyrus's*

Cyrus's first Education was under his Father *Cambyses*, with whom he lived till he was twelve Years old, and somewhat more; at which time, he was sent for, together with his Mother *Mandanes*, by his Grandfather *Astyages*, into *Media*.

In *Media* he served *Astyages*, first as one of his Halberdiers, and then as one of his Armour bearers till he was called home into *Persia* by his Father *Cambyses*, when as yet he had one Year to spend at School; and when he had spent sixteen Years at School amongst Boys, he spent ten Years more amongst Youths.

When *Cyrus* was now almost sixteen Years old, *Evilmerodach* the King of *Assyria*, being about to marry a Wife, called *Nicotris*, made an Inroad with a great Army of Horse and Foot, into the Borders of *Media*, there to take his Pleasure in Hunting, and harrassing of the Country: against whom *Astyages*, and *Cyaxares* his Son, and *Cyrus* his Grandchild, who then first began to bear Arms, being but about fifteen or sixteen Years old, marched out, met with him, and in a great Battle, overthrew him, and drove him out of his Borders. Indeed the Death of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the Father of *Evilmerodach*, gave Courage to those that had found him a troublesome Neighbour, to stand upon prouder terms with the *Babylonians*, than in his flourishing state, they durst have used.

But *Evilmerodach*, being too proud to digest this Loss which he had received by the *Medes* and their Allies the *Persians* under *Cyrus*, he drew unto his Party the *Lydians*, and all the People of the *Lesser Asia*, with great Gifts and strong Persuasions, hoping by their Assistance to overwhelm his Enemies with a strong Invasion, whom in vain he had sought to weary out by a lingering War.

The Issue of these great Preparations made by *Evilmerodach* against the *Medes*, was such as opened the way to the fulfilling divers *Prophecies*, which were many Years before uttered against *Babel*, by *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*. For the *Babylonians* and their Confederates, who, trusting in their Numbers, thought to have buried the *Medes* and *Persians* under their thick Showers of Arrows and Darts, were encountered with an Army of stout and well trained Men, weightily armed for close Fight, by whom they were beaten in a great Battle, wherein *Evilmerodach* was slain. After which, that great Empire, that was raised and upheld by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was grievously shaken and enfeebled under his unprosperous Son, and left to be sustained by his Grandchild *Belshazzar*: A Man more like to have overthrown it when it was greatest and strongest, than to repair it when it was in a way of falling.

Xenophon relates the Matter thus; when the *Babylonian* had enlarged his Empire with many Victories, and was become Lord of all *Syria*, and many other Countries, he began to hope, that if the *Medes* could be brought under his Subjection, there would not then be left any Nation adjoining, able to make Head against him. For the King of the *Medes* was able to bring into the Field sixty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse, to which the Forces of *Persia* being joined, made an exceeding great Army.

Considering therefore the Strength of such a Neighbour, he invited *Cræsus* King of *Lydia*, a Prince very mighty both in Men and Treasure, and with other Lords of *Asia the Less*, to his Assistance, alledging that those *Eastern* Nations, were very powerful, and so firmly conjoined by League, and many Alliances,

Alliances, that it would not be eaſy, no nor poſſible for any one Nation to reſiſt them.

With theſe Suggeſtions, backed with rich Preſents, he drew to himſelf ſo many Adherents, as he compounded an Army of two hundred thouſand Foot, and ſixty thouſand Horſe: Of which ten thouſand Horſe, and forty thouſand Foot were brought by *Cræſus*, who had great Cauſe of Enmity againſt the *Medes*, for that they had made great Wars againſt his Father *Allyattes*. Whereupon *Cyrus* was by his Father *Cambyſes*, and the Council of the Kingdom, made General of the *Perſian* Army, and ſent away into *Media* with thirty thouſand Soldiers, and one thouſand Commanders, all of equal Authority under him; and when he came thither, he was alſo made by his Uncle *Cyaxares*, who had ſent for him, General of the *Median* Forces, and the Management of the War againſt the *Babylonian* was wholly committed to him; with this Army he marched againſt *Evilmerodach*, and his Aſſociates, and in a very bloody Battle, overthrew them. In which Defeat *Evilmerodach*, King of *Babylon*, being ſlain, ſo many of his Subjects revolted, that *Babylon* itſelf could no longer be ſecured, but by the help of Mercenaries, paid with great Sums of Money out of *Aſia the Leſs*, *Egypt*, and other Countries, which new levied Forces were alſo defeated, and ſcattered by *Cyrus*, who following his Advantage, poſſeſſed himſelf of a great Part of the *Leſſer Aſia*. Thoſe *Perſians* which followed *Cyrus*, and were by him levied, are reckoned to be thirty thouſand Foot, of which one thouſand were armed Gentlemen; the reſt of the common ſort were Archers, and ſuch as uſed the Dart, or Sling.

Cræſus, notwithſtanding the Men loſt, and the Treaſure ſpent in the Quarrel of the *Babylonians*, yet did he conquer *Æolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*, Provinces poſſeſſed by the *Greeks* in *Aſia the Leſs*, adjoining to his Kingdom of *Lydia*. He gave Laws alſo to the *Phrygians*, *Bithynians*, *Carians*, *Cyſians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other Nations. He alſo enforced the *Epheſians* to acknowledge him for their Lord; he alſo obtained a ſignal Victory againſt the *Sacæans*, a Nation of the *Scythians*; all which he performed in fourteen Years.

And being now confident by reaſon of his good Succeſſes, and withal, envious at *Cyrus*'s Fame and Proſperity; doubting alſo that his great Victories might in the end grow perilous to himſelf, he conſulted with the Oracle of *Apollo* *, whom he preſented with marvellous rich Gifts, what Succeſs he might hope for in his Undertakings againſt *Cyrus*; from whom he received this ambiguous Anſwer, Crœſus Halym *penetrans*, *magnam pervetet opum vim*: *Crœſus* paſſing over the River *Halys*, ſhall diſſolve a great Dominion: For the Devil being doubtful of his Succeſs, gave him this Riddle, which might be conſtrued either way, to the Ruin of *Perſia*, or of his own *Lydia*.

Hereupon *Cræſus* (interpreting it as he moſt deſired) reſolved to ſtop the Courſe of *Cyrus*'s Progreſs, and therefore deſpiſed all the Arguments uſed by *Sandanes* to the contrary, who deſired him to conſider afore-hand, that he provoked a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountanous Region; a People not covered with the ſoft Silk of Worms, but with the hard Skins of Beaſts; not fed with Meat to their Fancies, but content with what they found; Drinkers of

Water, and not of Wine; and in a word, a Nation warlike, patient, valiant, and prosperous, over whom if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himself in nothing but Fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them he should be beaten, and subdued, so great would his Loss appear of all things, which the World makes account of, that the same could neither be hastily recounted, nor easily conceived.

Notwithstanding this solid, and seasonable Counsel, *Cræsus* having prepared a powerful Army, advanced with the same toward *Media:* But in his Passage he was retarded at *Pterium*, a City of *Cappadocia* of great Strength; which whilst he attempted, both by Power and Policy to take and conquer, *Cyrus* came on, and found the *Lydians* encamped before it. Neither of these Champions were inferior to other, either in Strength, or Opinion. For out of doubt, *Cræsus*, as he excelled any Prince of that Age in Riches and Ability, so was he not inferior unto any in Territories and Fame, that then lived. *But Kingdoms and Commonwealths have their Increase and Periods from Divine Ordinance.* This Time was the Winter of *Cræsus*'s Prosperity, the Leaves of his flourishing Estate being ready to fall; and that of *Cyrus* but in the first Spring and Flower; *the God of all Power had given a Date to the one, and a Beginning of Glory to the other.*

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after diverse Skirmishes had passed between them, the *Persians* and *Lydians* began to join together, and to encounter each other in gross Bodies; and as either of them began to retreat, fresh Supplies were sent in from both their Kings. And as the *Persians* had somewhat the better of the Day, so when the dark Veil of Night had hidden each Army from the others View, *Cræsus* doubting what Success the rising Sun might bring with it, quitted the Field to *Cyrus*, and with all speed possible, retreated towards his own Country, and taking the next way thither, he recovered *Sardis*, the first City of *Lydia*, and his regal Seat, without any Pursuit made by *Cyrus* to retard him; where, being arrived, and nothing suspecting *Cyrus*'s Approach, or any other War for that Winter, he dismissed his Army, and sent the Troops of his sundry Nations to their own Provinces, appointing them to re-assemble at the end of five Months, acquainting his Commanders with his intent of renewing the War at the time appointed.

The Morning being come, *Cyrus* finding that the *Lydians* were departed, put his Army in order to pursue after them, yet not so hastily, and at their Heels, as to be discovered. But getting good Intelligence of *Cræsus*'s Proceedings, he so ordered the matter that he presented not himself before *Sardis*, till such time as *Cræsus* had disposed of his Army, and sent them to their Winter-Quarters. His coming being altogether unlooked for, and unfeared, he had Opportunity enough to surround *Sardis* with his Army, wherein *Cræsus* had no other Companies than the Citizens, and his ordinary Guards, insomuch as after fourteen Days Siege, *Cyrus* took the City by Storm, and put all to the Sword that made Resistance.

Cræsus now having neither Arms to fight, nor Wings to fly, in this common Calamity, he thrust himself into the Heap, and Multitude of his miserable Subjects, and had undergone the same Lot with the rest of the vanquished Persons, had not a Son of his, who had been dumb all his Life before (by the Extremity

of Paſſion and Fear) cried out to a common Soldier, who was with a drawn Sword purſuing his Father, that he ſhould not kill *Cræſus*. Hereupon he was taken and impriſoned, and deſpoiled of all things, but only the expectation of Death. Shortly after he was bound with Fetters, and placed upon a large and high Pile of Wood, to be burnt to Aſhes thereon. To which, when Fire was ſet and kindled, *Cræſus* remembering the Diſcourſe which long before he had with *Solon* the *Athenian* Lawgiver, he thrice cried out, *O Solon, Solon, Solon*, and being demanded what he meant by the Invocation of *Solon*, he at firſt uſed Silence: But being urged again, he told them, that now he found that true, which wiſe *Solon* had long ſince told him; *That many Men in the Race and Courſe of their Lives might well be accounted fortunate; but no Man could diſcern himſelf to be happy indeed till his End.*

Of this his Anſwer, *Cyrus* being ſpeedily informed, and thereby being put in mind of the Mutability of Fortune, and of his own Mortality, he commanded his Miniſters of Juſtice, ſpeedily to withdraw the Fire, and to ſave *Cræſus*, and bring him to his Preſence; which being done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, who it was that had perſuaded him; or what Reaſon had inſtigated him to invade his Territories, and to make him, of a Friend, an Enemy? To which *Cræſus* thus anſwered: *It was thy proſperous, and my unproſperous Deſtiny (the* Grecian *Gods withall flattering my Ambition) that were the Inventors, and Conductors of* Crœſus's *War againſt* Cyrus.

Cyrus being much affected with this Anſwer of *Cræſus*, and bewailing his Eſtate, though he was victorious over him, did not only ſpare his Life, but entertained him ever after as a King and his Companion; thus *Herodotus* relates it. But *Xenophon* ſaith, that *Cyrus* did entertain *Cræſus* friendly at the firſt ſight, and makes no mention of any ſuch cruel Intent of burning him alive; and this may ſeem the more probable, becauſe *Cræſus* was his Grandmother's Brother, and its very likely that Nearneſs of Alliance might withhold *Cyrus* (if he had been vicious, which he was not) from ſo cruel a Purpoſe as to have burnt him alive.

When *Cyrus* afterwards paſſed with his Army over *Araxes* into *Scythia*, he left *Cræſus* to be a Companion, and Counſellor to his Son *Cambyſes*, whom he made Governor over his Empire in his Abſence, with whom he lived all the Reign of *Cyrus*, and did afterwards accompany *Cambyſes* in his Expedition into *Egypt*, where he hardly eſcaped his tyrannous Hands. At this time the Races of three of the greateſt Kings in that Part of the World came to an end; to wit, of the *Babylonians*, *Medians*, and *Lydians*, in *Balthazzar*, *Xiaxares*, or *Darius Medus*, and *Cræſus*.

After this *Lydian* War enſued the great Conqueſt of *Babylon*, which gave unto *Cyrus* an Empire ſo large and mighty, that he was juſtly reputed the greateſt Monarch then living upon the Earth. How long time the Preparations for this great Action took up, is uncertain, only it ſeems that ten whole Years did paſs between his taking of thoſe two Cities of *Sardis* and *Babylon*; which time was not wholly ſpent in providing for the *Aſſyrian* War, but much of it in ſettling the Eſtates which he had already purchaſed; *Cteſias* alſo tells us, that during this time *Cyrus* invaded *Scythia*, and being victorious over that Nation, he took *Amorges* their King Priſoner; but being in a ſecond Battle overthrown by *Sparetha*, the Wife of *Amorges*, himſelf was taken Priſoner, and ſo one King was re-

leaſed for the other. *Gobrias* about this time (a Nobleman, whoſe only Son, the King of *Babylon*, in his Father's Life-Time, had in a hunting Match, villainouſly ſlain) together with his Friends, revolted to *Cyrus*.

It is very probable alſo, that no ſmall part of thoſe Troubles which ſprang up in the *Lower Aſia*, grew ſoon after *Cyrus*'s Departure with his victorious Army, before the Conqueſt was fully eſtabliſhed. For after *Cyrus* was returned out of *Aſia the Leſs*, many Nations which were formerly conquered by *Cræſus*, and now by *Cyrus*, revolted from him; againſt whom he imployed *Pactias*, and then *Harpagus*, who firſt reduced the *Phocians* under their former Obedience; and then the reſt of the *Greeks* that inhabited *Aſia the Leſs*, as the *Ionians*, *Carians*, *Æolians*, and *Lycians*, who, very reſolutely (according to the Strength they had) defended themſelves; but in the Attempt upon *Babylon* itſelf, it is not to be queſtioned but *Cyrus* imployed all his Forces, having taken Order beforehand, that nothing ſhould be able to divert him, or to raiſe that Siege, or to fruſtrate that Work upon which he did ſet all his reſt.

And great Reaſon there was, that he ſhould improve all his Policy and Strength unto the taking of that City, which, beſides the Fame and Reputation that it held, as being the Head of an Empire, which depended thereupon, was ſo ſtrongly fortified with a treble Wall of great height, and ſurrounded with the Waters of *Euphrates*, that were unfordable, and ſo plentifully victualled for many Years, that the Inhabitants were not only free from Fear, and doubt of their Eſtate, but through their Confidence, they derided, and deſpiſed all the Projects and Power of their Beſiegers.

For not long before, *Nicotris*, the Mother of *Belſhazzar*, a witty and active Woman, foreſeeing the Storm that was ready to fall upon *Babylon* from the *Medes*, to hinder their paſſing the River by Boats into *Babylon*, ſhe turned the River *Euphrates*, which before ran with a ſtrait and ſwift Courſe, drawing it through many winding Channels, which ſhe had cut for that purpoſe, whereby ſhe made it to run more ſlowly than formerly it did; and then ſhe raiſed a huge Dam upon each Side of the River; and up the River from the City-ward, ſhe digged a vaſt Pond, which was every way three or four hundred Furlongs wide, into which ſhe turned the River, thereby leaving the old Channel of the River dry; which done, ſhe fell to work, and fenced the Banks within the City with Brick-Walls, and raiſed the Water-Gates, anſwerable in every point to the reſt of the Walls, which were made on the farther ſide of the Channel, round about the City. She built alſo a ſtately and magnificent Bridge of Stone in the midſt of the City, which joined to the King's Houſes, that ſtood on each ſide the River; and having finiſhed all her Works and Fortifications, ſhe turned the River out of the Pond into its right Channel again.

And now came *Cyrus* to invade the Country of *Babylon*, and appeared before the Wall of the City, and there challenged the King to a Duel, or ſingle Combar, but he refuſed it. At this time *Gadatis*, a Nobleman of *Babylon*, whom *Belſhazzar* had gelt, upon a Jealouſy that he had of him with his Wife, fell over to *Cyrus*, in Revenge whereof the *Babylonians* ſallied out, and fell upon his Lands; but *Cyrus* ſet upon them, and routed them; at which time the *Caduſii*, whom *Cyrus* had appointed to bring up the Rear of his Army, unknown to *Cyrus*, ſet upon a Country lying near to the City; but the King of *Babylon* falling

out

out upon them, cut them all off. Yet *Cyrus* quickly revenged the Death of his Men; and then came to an Agreement with *Belshazzar*, to hold truce with the Ploughmen on both sides, and the War to go on between the Souldiers only. After which, passing beyond the City, he took in three of their Forts, and so returned into the Confines of *Assyria*, and *Media*, and thither, upon his Inviration, came his Uncle *Cyaxares*, and was by him honourably received, and entertained in a Pavilion, that had been the King of *Assyria*'s: and Winter now approaching they entered into Consultation to provide things necessary to maintain the Siege.

The only Hope of *Cyrus* with his *Medes* and *Persians* (who despaired of carrying by Assault a City so well, and strongly fortified, and manned) was in cuting off all Supplies of Victuals, and other Necessaries; Whereof, though the Town was said to be stored sufficiently for more than twenty Years, yet might it well be imagined, that amongst such a World of People as dwelt within those Walls, one great Want or other would soon appear amongst them, and vanquish the Resolution of that unwarlike Multitude. Yet in expecting that Success of this Course, the Besiegers were likely to endure much Hardship, and Travel, and that all in vain, if they did not keep strict Watch, and sure Guards upon all the Avenues, and Quarters of it.

Which that he might the better do, he caused presently a vast Trench, both for Breadth and Depth to be cast round about the Walls of the City, casting the Earth ever towards his own Army, and made store of Bulworks all along upon it, for his Guards to be upon: and then, dividing his whole Army into twelve parts, he ordered that each of them should Watch his Month, by turn.

And yet this was a very hard Work, considering the vast Circuit of those Walls which they were to gird in, having neither Men enough, nor yet sufficiently assured to their Commander; the consideration whereof ministred unto the *Babylonians*, matter of good Pastime, when they saw the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and others, quartered about their City to keep them in, who, having been their ancient Friends, and Allies, were more like to join with them, if occasion were offered, than to use much diligence on the behalf of *Cyrus*, who had, as it were but yesterday, laid upon their Necks the galling Yoke of Servitude.

Whilst the Besieged were thus pleasing themselves with this foolish Fancy, and vain Mirth (the ordinary Forerunners of sudden Calamity) *Cyrus*, who by God that set him on work, was made strong, valiant, constant, and inventive, devised, and by the Labour of his Men, digged so many Channels as were capable of receiving the Waters of *Euphrates*, and so to draw the same from the Walls of *Babylon*, that thereby he might make his Approaches the more facile, and assured; which, when by the Labour of many Hands he had performed, he waited for a fit time wherein to put in Execution, what he had designed. For he had left in each of the Trenches towards the River, certain Banks, or Heads uncut till he saw his Opportunity.

Now *Belshazzar* finding neither any Want or Weakness within the City, nor any possibility for his Enemies without to approach the Walls, by reason of the great River that surrounded them, he prepared an exceeding sumptuous Feast, publick Plays, and other Pastimes, and thereto invited a Thousand of his Princes, or Nobles, besides his Wives, Courtezans, and others of that Trade. This he did, either to let the Besiegers know that his Provisions were sufficient, not only for

for all needful Uſes, but even for Superfluity, and Exceſs; Or becauſe he hoped that his Enemies by this time were diſcouraged, and even broken under their manifold Diſaſters; Or elſe he made this Feaſt in Honour of *Bell*, his moſt adored Idol: or laſtly, becauſe it was his Birth, or Coronation Day: Or for many, or moſt of theſe Reaſons.

Yea, he was not contented to uſe, and ſhew ſuch Magnificence as no Prince elſe could equal, but he lifted up himſelf againſt the God of Heaven, *Dan.* v. 23. For he, his Princes, his Wives, and his Concubines, made Carouſing Cups of the Golden, and Silver Veſſels which his Grandfather *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken out of the Temple which was at *Jeruſalem*; and in Contempt of the Lord of Heaven, he praiſed his own Puppets made of Gold, and Silver, and Braſs, and Iron, and Wood, and Stone; Whilſt *Belſhazzar* was thus triumphing, and had his Brains well filled with Vapours, he beheld a Hand, which by Divine Power wrote upon the Wall that was oppoſite to him, certain Words which he underſtood not, wherewith, ſo great a Fear, and Amazement ſeized upon him, that the Joints of his Loins were looſed, and his Knees ſmote one againſt another; Which Paſſion when he had in ſome meaſure recovered, he cryed aloud to bring in the Aſtrologers, the *Chaldeans*, and the Southſayers, promiſing them great Rewards, and the third Place of Honour in his Kingdom, to him that could read, and expound the Writing: But it exceeded their Art, and Skill.

In this Diſturbance and Aſtoniſhment, the Queen, hearing what had paſſed, came in, and obſerving what Diſtraction the King was in, after Reverence done, ſhe uſed this Speech; *O King live for ever; Let not thy Thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy Countenance be changed; there is a Man in thy Kingdom in whom is the Spirit of the holy Gods, and in the Days of thy* Father Light, and Underſtanding, and Wiſdom like the Wiſdom of the Gods was found in him, whom the King* Nebuchadnezzar *thy* † *Father, the King I ſay, thy Father, made Maſter of the Magicians, the Aſtrologers, the* Chaldeans, *and the Southſayers; For as much as an excellent Spirit, and Knowledge, and Underſtanding, in interpreting Dreams, and ſhewing of hard Sentences, and diſſolving of Doubts were found in the ſame* Daniel, *whom the King named* Belteſhazzar. *Now let* Daniel *be called, and he will ſhew the Interpretation.*

This Queen was either the Grandmother, or the Mother of *Belſhazzar*; For it appears that ſhe was not any of the King's Wives, becauſe ſhe was abſent from the Feaſt, and in regard of her Age, paſt banquetting, and dancing; Yet upon the report of the Miracle, ſhe came in to comfort, and chear up the King; and whereas *Daniel* was forgotten, and neglected by others, of younger Years, and latter times, this old Queen remembred well, what *Daniel* had done in the Days of *Nebuchadnezzar*, Grandfather to this *Belſhazzar*, and kept in Mind, both his Religion, and Divine Gifts.

When *Daniel* was brought into the King's Preſence, he ſaid unto him: *Art thou that* Daniel, *which art of the Children of the Captivity of* Judah; *whom the King my* ‡ *Father brought out of* Jewry? *I have heard of thee, that the Spirit of the Gods is in thee, and that Light, and Underſtanding, and excellent Wiſdom is found in thee; and now the Wiſe-men and the Aſtrologers have been brought in before*

* Or Grandfather. † Or Grandfather. ‡ Or Grandfather.

before me, that they ſhould read this Writing, and make known to me the Interpretation thereof, but they could not do it: And I have heard of thee that thou canſt make Interpretations, and diſſolve Doubts: Now if thou canſt read the Writing, and make known to me the Interpretation thereof, thou ſhalt be clothed with Scarlet, and have a Chain of Gold about thy Neck, and ſhalt be third Ruler in the Kingdom.

But *Daniel* made anſwer in a far different Stile from that which he had uſed to his Grandfather; For the Evil which he had foretold to *Nebuchadnezzar* he wiſhed that it might befal his Enemies: But to this King (whoſe Contempt of God and vicious Life he hated,) he anſwered in theſe Words; *Let thy Gifts be to thy ſelf, and give thy Rewards to another; Yet I will read the writing to the King, and make known to him the Interpretation:* which yet before he did, he ſhewed him the Cauſe of God's Judgments againſt him, and the Reaſon of this terrible Sentence, whereof the King and all his Wiſe-men were utterly ignorant, the Subſtance whereof is this, That *Belſhazzar*, forgetting God's Goodneſs to his Father, whom all Nations feared, and obeyed, and yet for his Pride, and Neglect of thoſe Benefits, as he had deprived him of his Eſtate, and Underſtanding; ſo upon the Acknowledgement of God's infinite Power, he reſtored him to both again; *And thou his Son* (ſaid he) *O* Belſhazzar, *haſt not humbled thy Heart, though thou knoweſt all this, but haſt lifted up thy ſelf againſt the Lord of Heaven, and they have brought the Veſſels of his Houſe before thee, and thou and thy Lords, thy Wives and thy Concubines have drank Wine in them, and thou haſt praiſed the Gods of Silver, and Gold,* &c. *and the God in whoſe hand thy Breath is, and whoſe are all thy Ways, haſt thou not glorified: Then was the part of the Hand ſent from him, and this Writing was written,* Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharſin, *Whereof this is the Interpretation:* Mene, *God hath numbred thy Kingdom, and finiſhed it:* Tekel, *Thou art weighed in the Ballances, and art found wanting:* Peres, *Thy Kingdom is divided, and given to the* Medes, and Perſians.

The very Evening or Night of this Day, wherein *Belſhazzar* thus feaſted, and wherein theſe things were done, *Cyrus*, either by his Eſpeials or being inſpired by God himſelf, whoſe Enſign he followed in theſe Wars, finding the Time, and Opportunity fit for him, even whilſt the King's Head, and the Heads of his Nobility, were no leſs diſtempered with the Vapours of Wine, than their Hearts were with the Fear of God's Judgments, he cauſed all the Banks, and Heads of his Trenches, to be opened, and cut down with all Speed, and Diligence, whereby that great River *Euphrates* was quickly drawn dry, and himſelf with his Army paſſing through the Channel which was now dry, without any oppoſition, they eaſily made their entrance into the City, finding none to diſturb them; *Invadunt urbem ſomno, vinoq; ſepultam:* All the Town lay buried in Wine and Sleep; and ſuch as came in the *Perſians* way, were put to the Sword unleſs they ſaved themſelves by Flight, as ſome did, who ran away crying, and filled the Streets with an uncertain Tumult.

Such of the *Aſſyrian* Lords as had formerly revolted from *Belſhazzar* to *Cyrus*, did now conduct a ſelected Company to the King's Palace, which being eaſily forced by them, they ruſhed ſtrait into the Chamber where the King and his Princes were banqueting, and there ſlew both him and them without Mercy, who ſtrove in vain to keep thoſe Lives, which God had newly threatned to take

take away. Now was that Prophecy fulfilled, *Jer.* li. 30, 31, 32. *The mighty Men of* Babylon *have forborn to fight; they have remained in their Holds; their Might hath failed; they became as Women; they burnt their dwelling Places; her Bars are broken. One Poſt ſhall run to meet another, and one Meſſenger to meet another, to ſhew the King of* Babylon, *that his City is taken at one End. And that the Paſſages are ſtopped (viz.* of the River *Euphrates) and the Reeds they have burnt with Fire, and the Men of War are affrighted;* The Prophet *Iſaiah* alſo, two hundred Years before this Subverſion of *Babylon*, in his forty-ſeventh Chapter, elſewhere, deſcribeth this Deſtruction ſo feelingly, and lively, as if he had been preſent, at the terrible Slaughter there committed, and had ſeen the great and unfeared Change, and Calamity of this great Empire; Yea, and had alſo heard the Sorrows and Bewailings of every ſurviving Soul, thereunto ſubject; which Prophecy he begins with theſe Words; *Come down and ſit in the Duſt, O Virgin Daughter of* Babylon, *ſit on the Ground; there is no Throne, O Daughter of the* Chaldeans: *For thou ſhalt no more be called tender, and delicate,* &c. And though it cannot be doubted that God uſed *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the *Chaldeans* as his Inſtruments to puniſh the Idolatry, and Wickedneſs of the *Jews*, yet did he not forget that in the Execution of God's Judgments, they had uſed much Rigour, and Extremity; as we ſee *Iſaiah*, xlvii. 6. *I was wroth with my People; I have polluted mine Inheritance, and given them into thine Hand; Thou didſt ſhew them no Mercy; Upon the Ancient haſt thou very heavily laid the Yoke;* and again, *I will riſe up againſt them, ſays the Lord of Hoſts, and will cut off from* Babel *the Name, and the Remnant, and the Son, and the Nephew: Meaning* Evilmerodach, *and* Belſhazzar. And again, *Iſa.* xiii. 15, &c. *Every one that is found ſhall be thruſt through; and every one that is joined to them ſhall be ſlain with the Sword; their Children alſo ſhall be daſhed to pieces before their Eyes, their Houſes ſhall be ſpoiled, and their Wives raviſhed. Behold, I will ſtir up the* Mede *againſt them, which ſhall not regard Silver, and as for Gold, they ſhall not delight in it; their Bows alſo ſhall diſh the young Men to Pieces, and they ſhall have no pity on the Fruit of the Womb; their Eye ſhall not ſpare Children. And* Babylon, *the Glory of Kingdoms, and Beauty of the* Chaldees *Excellency, ſhall be as when God overthrew* Sodom, *and* Gomorrah, *&c.* Read alſo Chapter fourteenth. No Hiſtorian that was either preſent at this Victory of *Cyrus*, or that received the Report from others truly as it was, could better deſcribe, and leave the ſame to Poſterity after it was acted, than *Iſaiah* hath done in many parts of his Prophecy, which were written two hundred Years before any of theſe things were attempted.

The Greatneſs and Magnificence of *Babylon* were it not by diverſe grave Authors recorded, might ſeem altogether fabulous; for it is reported for truth, that one Part of the City knew not that the other was taken three Days after; which is not impoſſible, if we conſider the vaſt Circumference of it. *Diodorus Siculus* ſaith, that it was in Compaſs three hundred and ſixty Furlongs, which make forty five Miles. The Walls were ſo thick, that ſix Chariots might paſs in Front thereon, and they were three hundred and ſixty-five Foot high, adorned and beautified with one hundred and fifty Towers. *Strabo* gives a greater Circuit, reckoning it at three hundred eighty five Furlongs, which makes forty eight Miles and one Furlong. *Herodotus* finds the Compaſs yet to be greater, namely four hundred and eighty Furlongs in Circuit; the Thickneſs of the Wall he meaſures

ſures at fifty Cubits, and the Height at two hundred of the ſame regal Cubits. For Entrance, it had a hundred Gates of Braſs, with Poſts, and Hooks to hang them on o fthe ſame Metal; and therefore did the Prophet *Iſaiah* rightly entitle *Babylon*, *The Princeſs, and Glory of Kingdoms*, Iſa. xlvii. 5. and xiii. 19.

But when *Cyrus* had won her, he ſtript her out of her Princely Robes, and made her a Slave, dividing, not only her goodly Houſes, and her whole Territory, with all the Riches therein contained amongſt his Soldiers, but alſo beſtowed the Inhabitants themſelves as Bond-ſlaves, upon thoſe that had taken Poſſeſſion of the Goods.

Cyrus having obtained this great and ſignal Victory, the Glory of which was a Reward for his Service done for him, who was the Author of it, and of all Goodneſs, and thereby tranſlated the Empire of the *Chaldeans* to himſelf, according to the Prophecies which went afore of him; in the firſt Year of his Empire, he made a Decree that the Captive *Jews* ſhould return again into their own Country of *Judea*, and that they ſhould build again the Houſe of God in *Jeruſalem*, having now endured, and finiſhed the ſeventy Years Captivity foretold by the Prophet *Jeremiah*. The Tenor of which Decree was thus:

Thus ſaith Cyrus *King of* Perſia; *the Lord God of Heaven hath given me all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and hath charged me to build him an Houſe at* Jeruſalem *which is in* Judah. *Who is there among you of all his People? Let his God be with him, and let him go up to* Jeruſalem *which is in* Judah, *and build the Houſe of the Lord God of* Iſrael *(he is God) which is at* Jeruſalem: *And whoever remaineth in any Place where he ſojourneth, let the Men of his Place help him with Silver, and with Gold, and with Goods, and with Beaſts, beſides the Free-will Offering for the Houſe of God that is in* Jeruſalem, *Ezra* i. 2, 3, 4. He alſo brought forth and reſtored the Veſſels of the Houſe of the Lord which *Nebuchadnezzar* had brought forth out of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, and had put them into the Houſe of his Gods; theſe were brought forth and numbered unto *Sheſhbazzar* the Prince of *Judah*; and this is the number of them; thirty Chargers of Gold, a thouſand Chargers of Silver, nine and twenty Knives, thirty Baſons of Gold, Silver Baſons of a ſecond ſort, four hundred and ten, and of other Veſſels a thouſand; all the Veſſels of Gold and Silver were five thouſand and four hundred.

The Number of *Jews* that then returned out of *Chaldea*, under their Leader *Zorobabel*, the Son of *Salathiel*, and Nephew to King *Jeconias*, and *Joſhua* the Son of *Joſedech*, the High Prieſt, were about fifty thouſand: And as ſoon as they arrived at *Jeruſalem*, they built an Altar to the living God, and ſacrificed thereon according to their Law, and afterwards bethought themſelves how to prepare Materials for the building of the Temple.

Cyrus having ſet all things in order at *Babylon*, returned through *Media* into *Perſia*, to his Father *Cambyſes*, and his Mother *Mandanes*, who were yet living; and from thence returning again into *Media*, he married the only Daughter and Heir of *Cyaxares*, and for Dowry, had the whole Kingdom of *Media* given him with her; and when the Marriage was finiſhed, he preſently went his way, and took her with him; and coming to *Babylon*, from thence he ſent Governors into all his Dominions; into *Arabia* he ſent *Megabyzus*; into *Phrygia the Greater*, *Artacaman*; into *Lydia* and *Ionia*, *Chryſantas*; into *Caria*, *Aduſius*;

Aduſius; into *Phrygia Helleſpontiaca*, or *the Leſs*, *Pharmichas*; but into *Cilicia*, and *Cyprus*, and *Paphlagonia*, he ſent no *Perſians* to govern them, becauſe they voluntarily, and of their own accord, took his Part againſt the King of *Babylon*; yet he cauſed even them alſo to pay him Tribute.

Cyrus having ſpent one whole Year with his Wife in *Babylon*, gathered thither his whole Army, conſiſting of one hundred and twenty thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand Iron Chariots, and ſix hundred thouſand Footmen, and having furniſhed himſelf with all neceſſary Proviſions, he undertook that Journey wherein he ſubdued all the Nations inhabiting from *Syria* to the *Red Sea*.

The time that *Cyrus* enjoyed in Reſt and Pleaſure after theſe great Victories, and the Attainment of his Empire, is generally agreed upon by all Chronologers to have laſted only ſeven Years; in which time he made ſuch Laws and Conſtitutions, as differ little from the Ordinances of all wiſe Kings, that are deſirous to eſtabliſh a Royal Power to themſelves and their Poſterity, which are recorded by *Xenophon*.

The laſt War, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diverſly written by Hiſtorians: *Herodotus* and *Juſtin* ſay, that after theſe Conqueſts, *Cyrus* invaded the *Maſſagetes*, a very warlike Nation of the *Scythians*, governed by *Tomyris*, their Queen; and that in an encounter between the *Perſians*, and theſe Northern *Nomades*, *Tomyris* loſt her Army, together with her Son *Spargabiſes* that was the General of it. In Revenge whereof this Queen making new Levies of Men of War, and proſecuting the War againſt *Cyrus*, in a ſecond ſore Battle, the *Perſians* were beaten, and *Cyrus* was taken Priſoner, and that *Tomyris* cut off his Head from his Body, and threw it into a Bowl of Blood, uſing theſe Words *Thou that haſt all thy time thirſted for Blood, now drink thy fill, and ſatiate thyſelf with it.* This War, which *Metaſthenes* calls *Tomyrique*, laſted about ſix Years.

But more probably this *Scythian* War was that which is mentioned before, *Cyrus* made againſt the *Scythians* after the Conqueſt of *Lydia*, according to *Cteſias*, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparetha*, and makes the end of it otherwiſe, as you may ſee before.

The ſame *Cteſias* alſo recordeth, that the laſt War which *Cyrus* made was againſt *Amarhæus*, King of the *Derbitians*, another Nation of the *Scythians*, whom, tho' he overcame in Battle, yet there he received a Wound whereof he died three Days after.

Strabo alſo affirmeth, that he was buried in his own City of *Paſagardes*, which himſelf had built, and where his Epitaph was to be read in *Strabo*'s Time, which he ſaith was this;

O, vir, quicunque es, & undecunque advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignoravi: Ego ſum Cyrus, *qui* Perſis *Imperium conſtitui*; *puſillum hoc Terræ, quo meum tegitur Corpus, mihi ne invideas.* O thou Man, whoſoever thou art, and whenſoever thou cometh, for I was not ignorant that thou ſhouldeſt come: I am *Cyrus* that founded the *Perſian* Empire: Do not envy unto me this little Earth with which my Body is covered.

When *Alexander* the Great returned from his *Indian* Conqueſts, he viſited *Caſagardes*, and cauſed this Tomb of *Cyrus* to be opened, either upon hope of great Treaſure, ſuppoſed to have been buried with him, or upon a deſire to honour his dead Body with certain Ceremonies; when the Sepulchre was opened,

there was found nothing in it, ſave an old rotten Target, two *Scythian* Bows and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his Body lay, *Alexander* cauſed to be covered with his own Garment, and a Crown of Gold to be ſet upon it.

Cyrus finding in himſelf that he could not long enjoy the World, he called unto him his Nobility, with his two Sons, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*, and after a long Oration, wherein he aſſured himſelf, and taught others, about the Immortality of the Soul, and of the Puniſhments and Rewards following the ill, and good Deſervings of every Man in this Life; he exhorted his Sons, by the ſtrongeſt Arguments he had, to a perpetual Concord and Agreement. Many other Things he uttered, which makes it probable, that he received the Knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, whilſt he governed *Suſa* in *Perſia*; and that *Cyrus* himſelf had read the Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, wherein he was expreſly named, and by God pre-ordained for the Delivery of his People out of Captivity; which Act of delivering the *Jews*, and of reſtoring of the holy Temple, and the City of *Jeruſalem*, was in true Conſideration the nobleſt Work that ever *Cyrus* performed. For in other Actions he was an Inſtrument of God's Power, uſed for chaſtiſing of many Nations, and the eſtabliſhing of a Government in thoſe Parts of the World, which yet was not to continue long: But herein he had the Favour to be an Inſtrument of God's Goodneſs, and a willing Advancer of his Kingdom upon Earth, which muſt laſt for ever.

Cyrus had iſſue two Sons, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*, and three Daughters, *Atoſſa*, *Meroe* and *Artiſtona*. At his Death he bequeathed his Empire to his eldeſt Son *Cambyſes*, and appointed *Smerdis* his younger Son, to be *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Caduſia*. He reigned about one and thirty Years, and died aged ſeventy.

The *Greek* Hiſtorians wholly aſcribe the Conqueſt of *Babylon* to *Cyrus*, becauſe that he commanded the Army in Chief; yet the Scriptures attribute it to *Darius*, King of the *Medes*, whoſe General *Cyrus* was: For when *Babylon* was taken, and *Belſhazzar* ſlain; it is ſaid, *Dan.* v. 31. that *Darius* the *Median* took the Kingdom, being about ſixty two Years old. It was *Darius* alſo that placed Officers over the ſeveral Provinces thereof, as we read, *Dan.* vi. 1, 2. *It pleaſed* Darius *to ſet over the Kingdom a hundred and twenty Princes, which ſhould be over the whole Kingdom, and over theſe, three Preſidents, of whom* Daniel *was the firſt*, &c. And thus was it propheſied by *Iſaiah* long before; *Behold! I will ſtir up the* Medes *againſt them*, &c. and by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, *the Lord hath raiſed up the Spirit of the King of the* Medes: *For his Device is againſt* Babylon, *&c. Jer.* lv. 11. And again, *Verſe* 28. *Prepare againſt her the Nations, with the King of the* Medes, *the Captains thereof, and all the Rulers thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion.*

But certain it is, that the Honour of that great Victory over *Babylon* was wholly given to *Cyrus*, who was the Inſtrument pre-ordained, and fore-named by God himſelf: not only for this Action; but alſo for the Delivery of his Church: Yet *Daniel* makes it plain, that himſelf not only lived a great Officer under King *Darius*, but that he continued in that Eſtate to the firſt Year of *Cyrus*, which was not long after, which alſo was the Year of *Daniel*'s Death.

As for the Age of *Cyrus*, we are beholden to *Tully* for it; who in his firſt Book *de Divinatione*, cites it out of one *Dionyſius*, a *Perſian* Writer, in this

manner. *The Sun* (ſaid *Dionyſius*) *appeared unto* Cyrus *in his Sleep, ſtanding at his Feet, which, when* Cyrus *thrice endeavoured to take in his Hands, the Sun ſtill turned aſide, and went away: and the* Magi, *who were the learned Men amongſt the* Perſians, *ſaid that by his thrice offering to take hold of the Sun, was portended to him that he ſhould reign thirty Years; which came to paſs accordingly: For he lived to the Age of ſeventy Years, and began not to reign till he was Forty.*

In the firſt Year of *Belſhazzar*, *Daniel* had the Viſion ſhewed him of the four Beaſts, ſignifying the four Monarchies; and of God delivering over all Power and Sovereignty to the Son of Man, *Dan.* vii.

In the third Year of *Belſhazzar*, the Viſion of the Ram, and Goat, foreſhewing the Deſtruction of the *Perſian* Monarchy by *Alexander* the Great, and the great Miſery which *Antiochus* ſhould bring upon the People of God was ſhewed to *Daniel*, living then at *Suſa*, in the Province of *Elam*, upon the Bank of the River *Ulai*, which environed the Caſtle of *Suſa*, and parted the Provinces of *Suſa* and *Elemais*, *Dan.* viii. whence we may collect, that at that time the Province of *Suſa* was not in the Hands of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, but of the *Babylonians*, under whom *Daniel* then lived.

Darius the *Mede*, Son of *Cyaxares*, or *Ahaſuerus* the Son of *Aſtyages*, took upon him the Kingdom, which was delivered over to him by *Cyrus*, the Conqueror, *Dan.* v. 31, and ix. 1. The Angel, in this firſt Year of his Reign, is ſaid, to have confirmed, and ſtrengthened him in his Kingdom, *Dan.* xi. 1. After which he reigned two Years.

Towards the End of the firſt Year of *Darius* the *Mede*, the ſeventy Years of the *Babyloniſh* Captivity expired, which began under *Jehoiakim*, in the firſt Year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, at which time God promiſed they ſhould return into their own Country, *Jer.* xxix. 10. *Thus ſaith the Lord, that after the ſeventy Years be accompliſhed at* Babylon, *I will viſit you, and perform my good Word towards you, in cauſing you to return to this Place.* Upon Conſideration of which very Time, now ſo near approaching, it was, that *Daniel* poured out that moſt fervent Prayer for the Remiſſion of his own Sins, and of his People's; and for that promiſed Deliverance out of their Captivity; Whereupon the Angel *Gabriel* brought him an Anſwer, not only concerning this, but alſo the ſpiritual Deliverance of the Church to be wrought at laſt by the Death of the *Meſſiah*, uttering that moſt famous, and memorable Prophecy of the ſeventy Weeks, *Dan.* ix. 16.

The *Samaritans*, by the means of ſome Courtiers about *Cyrus*, whom they had bribed for that purpoſe, diſturbed the *Jews* in their Building of the Temple, *Ezra* iv. 5. Whence proceeded that three Weeks Mourning of the Prophet *Daniel*, which Faſt he begun about the third Day of the firſt Month, in the third Year of *Cyrus*, *Dan.* x. 1, 4. After which, upon the four and twentieth Day of the firſt Month, that Viſion of the Kings of *Perſia*, of *Alexander* the Great, and his Succeſſors, and their Kingdoms, was ſhewed and revealed unto *Daniel*, as he ſtood upon the Bank of *Hiddikel*, or *Tygris*; all which is contained in the three laſt Chapters of *Daniel*; which (as may be collected out of the cloſe thereof) was the laſt Viſion that ever he had, and that but a little before his Death.

LONDON

LONDON's LORD HAVE MERCY UPON US. A true Relation of Seven modern *Plagues* or *Viſitations* in *London*, with the Number of thoſe that were buried of all Diſeaſes; *viz.* The firſt in the Year of Queen ELIZABETH, *Anno* 1592. The ſecond in the Year 1603. The third in (that never to be forgotten Year) 1625. The fourth in *Anno* 1630. The fifth in the Year 1636. The ſixth in the Years 1637 and 1638. The ſeventh this preſent Year 1665. Printed 1665.

An exact and true Relation of the Number of thoſe that were Buried in *London*, and the Liberties, of all Diſeaſes, from the 17th of *March* 1591, to the 22d of *December* 1592.

		Total.	Pla.
March	17	351	31
	24	219	29
	31	307	27
April	7	203	33
	14	290	37
	21	310	41
	28	350	29
May	5	339	38
	12	300	42
	19	450	58
	26	410	62
June	2	441	81
	9	399	99
	16	401	108
	23	850	118
	30	1440	927
July	7	1510	893
	14	1491	258
	21	1507	852
	28	1503	983
Auguſt	4	1550	797
	11	1532	651
	18	1508	449
	25	1490	507
Septemb.	1	1210	563
	8	621	451
	15	629	349
	22	450	130
	29	408	327
October	6	422	323
	13	330	308
	20	320	302
	27	310	301
Novemb.	3	309	209
	10	301	107
	17	321	93
	24	349	94
December	1	331	86
	8	329	71
	15	386	39
	22		
Baptized		5827	
The Total		25886	
Of the Plague		11503	

1603.

		Total.	Pla.
March	17	108	3
	24	60	2
	31	78	6
April	7	66	4
	14	79	4

April

		Total.	Pla.
April	21	98	8
	28	109	10
May	5	90	11
	12	112	18
	19	122	22
	26	122	32
June	2	114	30
	9	131	43
	16	144	59
	23	182	72
	30	267	158
July	7	445	263
	14	612	424

The Out-Parishes this Week were joined with the City.

July	21	1186	917
	28	1728	1392
August	4	2256	1925
	11	2077	1743
	18	3054	2719
	25	2853	2535
Septemb.	1	3385	3034
	8	3078	2728
	15	3129	2815
	22	2456	2192
	29	1961	1731
October	6	1831	1649
	13	1312	1142
	20	766	648
	27	625	504
Novemb.	3	737	592
	10	585	441
	17	384	255
	24	198	102
December	1	223	105
	8	163	55
	15	200	66
	22	168	74

The Total of the Burials this whole Year,	38250
Of the Plague,	30583

1625.

Buried in *London* and the Liberties of all Diseases, *Anno* 1625, the Number here following.

		Total.	Pla.
March	17	262	4
	34	226	8
	31	243	11
April	7	239	10
	14	256	24
	21	230	25
	28	305	26
May	5	292	30
	12	332	45
	19	379	71
	26	401	78
June	2	395	69
	9	434	91
	16	510	165
	23	640	239
	30	942	390
July	7	1222	593
	14	1781	1004
	21	2850	1819
	28	3583	2471
August	4	4517	3659
	11	4855	4115
	18	5205	4463
	25	4851	4218
Septemb.	1	3897	3344
	8	3157	2550
	15	2148	1672
	22	1994	1551
	29	1236	852
October	6	833	538
	13	815	511
	20	651	331
	27	375	134
Novemb.	3	357	89
	10	319	92
	17	274	48
	24	231	27
December	1	290	15
	8	181	15

December

December	15	168	6
	22	157	1

The Total of the Burials this whole Year, 54082
Of the Plague, 35428

1630.

		Total.	Pla.
June	24	205	19
July	1	209	25
	8	217	43
	15	250	50
	22	229	40
	29	279	77
Auguſt	5	210	56
	12	246	65
	19	269	54
	26	270	67
Septemb.	2	230	66
	9	259	63
	16	264	68
	23	274	57
	30	269	56
October	7	236	66
	14	261	73
	21	248	60
	28	214	34
Novemb.	4	242	29
	11	215	29
	18	200	18
	25	226	7
December	2	221	20
	9	198	19
	16	217	5

The Total of the Burials this whole Year, 10554
Of the Plague, 1317

1636.

Buried in *London* and the Liberties of all Diſeaſes; the Numbers as followeth.

		Total.	Pla.
April	7	119	2
	14	205	4

This Week was added to the City Pariſhes, St. Margaret Weſtminſter.
Lambeth.
St. Mary Newington.
Redriffe.
St. Mary Iſlington.
Stepney Pariſh.
Hackney Pariſh.

April	21	285	14
	28	259	17
May	5	251	10
	12	308	55
	19	299	35
	26	330	62
June	2	339	67
	9	345	87
	16	381	103
	23	304	79
	30	352	104
July	7	215	81
	14	372	104
	21	395	120
	28	423	151
Auguſt	4	461	206
	11	538	283
	18	638	321
	25	787	429
Septemb.	1	1011	638
	8	1069	650
	15	1306	865
	22	1229	775
	29	1403	928
October	6	1405	921
	13	1302	792
	20	1002	555
	27	900	458
Novemb.	3	1300	838
	10	1104	715
	17	950	573
	24	857	476
December	1	614	312
	8	459	167
	15	385	85
	22	316	76
	29	383	125

The Total of all the Burials this Year, 27415
Of the Plague 12102

1637.

		Total.	Pla.
January	5	281	126
	12	314	73
	19	268	59
	26	289	72
February	2	351	103
	9	315	104
	16	285	78
	23	254	44
March	2	262	69
	9	332	100
	16	303	80
	23	260	65
	31	243	115
April	7	301	98
	14	288	79
	21	300	90
	28	319	107
May	4	292	81
	11	300	105
	18	385	74
	25	314	83
June	1	269	72
	8	273	74
	15	268	110
	22	304	106
	29	371	156
July	6	362	163
	13	325	133
	20	321	140
	27	335	117
Auguſt	3	300	89
	10	275	74
	17	228	53
	24	225	43
	31	209	30
Septemb.	7	227	36
	14	200	21
	21	184	21
	28	197	27
October	5	166	15
	12	198	17
	19	174	13

The Total of the Burials this Year, 14270

Of the Plague 3603

1638.

Buried in *London* and the Liberties this Year, of all Diſeaſes, 16621

Of the Plague, 508

1646.

Buried in *London*, and the Liberties, this Year, of all Diſeaſes, 10415

Of the Plague, 2436

1647.

Buried in *London*, and the Liberties, this Year, of all Diſeaſes, 16452

Of the Plague, 5285

1648

Buried in *London*, and the Liberties, this Year, of all Diſeaſes, 11509

Of the Plague, 693

1665.

Buried in *London*, and the Liberties, of all Diſeaſes; the Number as followeth.

		Total.	Pla.
April	25	398	2
May	2	388	0
	9	347	9
	16	353	3
	23	385	14
	30	399	17
June	6	405	43
	13	558	112
	20	611	168
	27	684	267
July	4	1006	470
	11	1268	725
	18	1761	1089
	25	2785	1843
Auguſt	1	3014	2010
	8	4030	2817

		Total.	Pla.
Auguſt	15	5319	3880
	22	5568	4237
	29	7496	6102
Septemb.	5	8252	6978
	12	7690	6544
	19	8297	7165
	26	6460	5533
October	3	5720	4929
	10	5068	4327
	17	3219	2665
	24	1806	1421
	31	1388	1031
Novemb.	7	1787	1414
	14	1359	1050
	21	905	652
	28		

St. Magdalen Bermondſey	19
St. Mary Newington	1
St. Mary Iſlington	3
St. Mary Whitechappel	30
Redriff Pariſh	10
Stepney Pariſh	103
St. Clement Danes	7
St. Paul Covent Garden	2
St. Martin's in the Fields	15
St. Mary Savoy	4
St. Margaret Weſtminſter	45
At the Peſthouſe.	
Buried this Week of all Diſeaſes,	905
Of the Plague,	652
Decreaſed in the Burials,	454
Pariſhes clear of the Plague,	46
Pariſhes infected	84

Buried in the 97 Pariſhes within the Walls, from *Nov.* 14, to *Nov.* 21, Of the Plague, 127

In the Out-Pariſhes this Week of the Plague,

St. Andrew's Holborn	18
St. Bartholomew the Great	2
St. Bartholomew the Leſs	1
St. Bride's Pariſh	6
Bridewel Precinct	2
St. Botolph Alderſgate	6
St. Botolph Algate	24
St. Botolph Biſhopſgate	11
St. Dunſtan's Weſt	9
St. George Southwark	8
St. Giles Cripplegate	17
St. Olave's Southwark	29
St. Saviour's Southwark	65
St. Sepulchre's Pariſh	9
St. Thomas Southwark	8
Trinity Minories	
At the Peſthouſe	2
St. Giles in the Fields	16
Hackney Pariſh	3
St. James Clerkenwell	2
St. Katharine Tower	7
Lambeth Pariſh	35
St. Leonard Shoreditch	6

Certain approved Medicines for the *Plague*, both to prevent that Contagion, and to expel it after it be taken; as have been approved in *Anno* 1625. as alſo in this preſent Viſitation, 1665.

A cheap Medicine to keep from Infection.

Take a Pint of new Milk, and cut two Cloves of Garlick very ſmall, put it in the Milk, and drink it Mornings faſting, and it preſerveth from Infection.

A Poſſet Drink to remove the Plague *from the Heart.*

An Ale Poſſet Drink with Pimpernel ſeethed in it, till it taſtes ſtrong of it, drink often, removes the Infection, though it hath got to the very Heart.

An approved Remedy againſt the Plague.

Take a Sprig of *Rue*, alias *Herb-of-grace*, and ſhred it, and put it in a Figg or two, and eat it every Morning faſting. It keeps the Body from Infection, and purifieth the Blood.

A ſhort ACCOUNT of the LIFE and DEATH of Pope *ALEXANDER* the Seventh; with a Deſcription of his *Funeral Machine*, and *Elegies* erected in *St. Peter*'s Church in *Rome*. Together with an exact Relation of the particular Ceremonies performed at the Creation and Coronation of this preſent Pope *CLEMENT* the Ninth; with a CATALOGUE of all the CARDINALS. Tranſlated out of the *Italian* Copies printed at *Rome*. By *P. A.* Gent. Printed 1667.

HAVING out of ſome *Italian* Papers undertaken to draw a ſuccinct Account of the laſt Sickneſs and Death of the late Pope *Alexander* the Seventh, I was afraid that the Work would ſeem but maimed and imperfect, if I ſhould not inſert ſome Paſſages relating to his firſt Riſe and Advancement to the Papal Dignity. I have therefore given this following Hint to that Effect, for Satisfaction of ſuch as, being unacquainted with his Hiſtory, deſire to have ſome Knowledge of his Beginning, before I come to ſpeak of his latter End, which is the principal Scope of this ſhort Narrative.

Pope *Alexander* the Seventh was Native of the City of *Sienna* in *Tuſcany*, and deſcended of the ancient Family of *Ghiſi*, who, in his younger Years, growing eminent for his great Parts and Learning, was promoted at his riper Age to the Biſhoprick of *Imola* in the Territories of the Church, and therein behaved himſelf with ſo much Prudence and Policy, giving manifeſt Proofs, upon all Occaſions, of his great Capacity for publick Employments, that he was made Vice-Legat of *Ferara*, then Inquiſitor of *Malta*; and afterwards ſent *Nuncio* to *Cullen* and *Munſter*, at the Treaty held there for a General Peace.

And having undergone all theſe Offices, and in them acquired much Honour and Reputation, he received as a Reward of his great Merits a Cardinal's Cap, in the Year 1652, in the Month of *February*, from Pope *Innocent* the Tenth, and was admitted into the Number of *Purpurati*: After which, as a greater Teſtimony of the Pope's Favour to him, he was conſtituted Secretary of State, and in that Employment continued till the Death of the ſaid Pope, and his own Election to the Papacy, unto which he the rather attained, as was ſuppoſed, to croſs the Deſigns of the Faction of the *Barberini*.

At his firſt Creation, that he might gain the Hearts of the common People, he uſed all means to expreſs his Charity to the Poor, amongſt whom he diſtributed great Sums of Money; the like he did for the Deliverance of Priſoners, and for beautifying and building many Churches, and other publick Structures, not only in *Rome*, but alſo in ſeveral Places in the Eſtate of the Church; wherein he exhauſted moſt Part of his Treaſure, and politickly refuſed all Preſents, which

which were made him by ſuch as intended thereby to inſinuate themſelves into his Favour; as in particular, three rich Coaches, with ſix Horſes a-piece, from the Cardinal *de Medici*, the Cardinal *Arach*, and the Prince *de Pamphilio*. And amongſt the reſt, a Damaſk Bed embroidered with Gold, from that grand She Statiſt *Donna Olympia* *, the Boſom Favourite of his Predeceſſor *Innocent* X.

He filled all the vacant and moſt conſiderable Offices (ſo ſoon as he was eſtabliſhed in his Throne) with very eminent and deſerving Perſons; and amongſt others, he conferred on the preſent Pope *Clement* the Ninth, the Place of Secretary of State. To be brief, during his whole Reign, which was almoſt thirteen Years, he gave evident Teſtimony of his Zeal for Advancement of the Intereſt of the See of *Rome*, ſhewing great Moderation and Indifferency toward the ſeveral Factions, always ſhunning as much as he could, the adhering to any one of them, in Prejudice of another.

But that I may not go beyond the Limits of my intended Brevity, which was only to give you this ſmall Account, for the better underſtanding of what follows, and that I might not be thought abruptly to begin the ſubſequent Diſcourſe of his laſt Sickneſs and Death; I do therefore now wave further Particulars of his Life, and proceed to the intended Relation.

The Pope being ſeized with his old Diſtemper in the beginning of the laſt *Lent*, and fore-ſeeing the Danger which threatened him, without expecting any other Advice of his Phyſicians, was willing to prepare himſelf for the great Paſſage which he fore-ſaw, that in a ſhort time he was to make from this Life to another; and intending in the firſt place to diſintangle himſelf from all external Buſineſs, that he might be able with leſs Diſtraction, to apply himſelf to the internal Concernments of his Soul; on the 13th Day of *March*, of this preſent Year 1667, *New Style*, he called a Conſiſtory, whether, being apparelled in the accuſtomed Habit he went in Perſon, although much caſt down by his Infirmity, yet recollecting all the Spirits and Vigor which were left him, he conſtrained himſelf to perform that great Function. Wherein he promoted to the Cardinalſhip eight of thoſe ſelect Perſons, whom he ſuppoſed, for their great Worth and Labours, beſtowed for the good of the Papal See, had merited the Advancement of ſo high Dignity.

But his Diſeaſe increaſing, four Days after, he was aſſaulted by a grievous Fit, from which he concluded that his Sickneſs was mortal, and notwithſtanding it grew more and more violent daily, yet for all this, he had thoughts of performing the long Ceremonies of *Holy Thurſday*, to prepare himſelf for Death, as he ſaid, by meditating on the ſacred Myſteries of the Paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, and would have executed his Intentions in deſpite of his Pains, if his Phyſicians and Chirurgeons, together with his Confeſſor, had not perſuaded him to the contrary; remonſtrating to him the Inconveniences which might ariſe, from the hard Labours which are inſeparable from ſuch prolixe Ceremonies. And altho' he was perſwaded by them all that Time, yet was he reſolved with that little Strength he had left him (though much broken and extenuated by his Diſeaſe) on *Eaſter-day* upon the Gallery of *Monte Cavallo*, where this Function is uſed to be performed, with a ſolemn Benediction in *Pontificalibus*, to bleſs the People, which there flocked in exceeding great Multitudes, being driven thereunto not only out of Devotion, but alſo by a Deſire of ſeeing their Paſtor yet whole

* See her Life printed at *London* 1667.

and alive. He bleſſed them, having raiſed himſelf up twice according to the Cuſtom, without the Help of the Pontifical Seat; and this was the laſt Time that he ſaw his Flock, or they him.

But it was not God's Will that he ſhould long enjoy this apparent Proſperity, for three Days after he was aſſaulted by mortal Pains, and ſuch ones, that the former in Compariſon of theſe ſeemed but light Flea-bittings; which that he might gain Vigour to reſiſt with Patience, he ordained the moſt *Holy Sacrament* to be expoſed in all the principal Churches of *Rome*. But the Diſeaſe growing deſperate, and he being aſſured by the Phyſicians that he was to die, he received the Tidings of Death, not only with a total Reſignation to God, as he ſaid, but alſo with Rejoycing and Chearfulneſs, as a Meſſage of eternal Felicity, which he hoped to enjoy: then called for the Viaticum, which after his Confeſſion he received with great Devotion. After this he cauſed all the Sacred College of Cardinals to be called to him; and though he was by the Sharpneſs of his Diſeaſe brought very low and almoſt reduced to Extremity, yet he addreſſed himſelf with a ſteady Voice to them, in a moſt excellent and elegant Exhortation in the *Latin* Tongue, which he ſaid, he purpoſely choſe, becauſe he could better expreſs his Conceptions in that than in the *Italian*. In this among other things he put them in remembrance of his Election, and their compelling him to accept that high Dignity, which was far from his thoughts, wherein he affirmed that they had made him ſacrifice the Sweetneſs of his Reſt to their Reſolutions: he begged their pardon for his Frailty, which he might, through his Paſſion, have committed, makes an Apology for expending great Sums for promoting the Church Intereſt. Intreats them to uſe the Sincerity and Clearneſs in the next Election, which was ſhortly to be, as they had done in his. Exhorts them againſt Covetouſneſs, wherein he uſeth this Expreſſion, Conſider that from the Church you have received the moſt honourable Part of what you poſſeſs; that if you were conſtrained to leave that which you received from the Church, to the Offerings of others, how much more contentedly, (without any other Appetite) ſhould you then enjoy that which you do now poſſeſs, &c? Laſtly, he recommends to their Care and Protection, his Cardinal Nephew, his aged Brother, and the reſt of his Kindred, and himſelf to their Prayers. This being ſpoken, he lifted up his Hands and bleſſed them, and then their Eminencies having made ſome Reflections upon his Diſcourſe, approached to the Bed-ſide with Tears in their Eyes, and after they had taken Pains to comfort him, with great Tenderneſs they kiſſed his Hand, and departed.

At laſt, they being all departed, and only his familiar Friends and Ghoſtly Fathers continuing in the Room with him, he altogether applyed himſelf to his Devotion, often repeating theſe Words, *Cupio diſſolvi & eſſe cum Chriſto.* And thoſe which aſſiſted him he cauſed continually to read ſpiritual Books, and diverſe Prayers, and Pſalms, eſpecially the penitential Pſalms, &c.

Now, if his Diſeaſe was long and painful in the higheſt Degree, his Patience was then very admirable, and incredible, which he ſhewed in his ſuffering of thoſe cruel and moſt grievous Torments, as without doubt, thoſe were which he endured, in regard of the many Parts of his Body, which after his Death, were diſcovered to be offended; yet was he never obſerved during all his Sickneſs to have a diſcompoſed Countenance.

A

A certain Prieſt preſented him with a Picture, where there were very well drawn ſome Hearts, behind every one of which was repreſented one of the Miſteries of the moſt holy Paſſion, and he ſent him Word, that it was not for any Pretence he had, that he preſented him with that Picture, but only that at the Sight of that, he might call to Mind, the Torments ſuffered by *Jeſus Chriſt*, and thereby arm himſelf with Patience, when his Pains were moſt violent. It is impoſſible to tell how acceptable this Gift was to him, which although it was but ſimple indeed, he requited the Donor of it with much Liberality, and cauſed it to be put behind the Pillow, in that place exactly where he uſed to lay his Head, when he was moſt tormented with Pains, and from Time to Time he commanded it to be removed to the Feet of the Bed, that he might with the more eaſe and ſitting up behold it.

After he had received both the Euchariſt and the Extreme Unction, he diſpoſed himſelf for his *Tranſit*, with a marvellous Undauntedneſs: and had already even loſt his Speech, when one of his religious Men ſtanding by exhorted him to do an Act of Contrition, and to aſk *God* Pardon of his Sins, he collecting his Breath, which was flying away, with a moſt languiſhing Voice, which could hardly be underſtood, anſwered *Ita*. The ſame added, that he ſhould hope in the Mercies of God, who is always ready to ſhower down his Mercies upon a penitent Heart; the Pope anſwered with the ſame Weakneſs of Speech, *Certe*. Which were the laſt Words which proceeded out of his Mouth. Although his Agony had laſted long, and above meaſure painful, nevertheleſs the great Pontiff did not ſhew the leaſt Sign of Impatience: and when he perceived himſelf to decay, he ſaid, *Ones Life ſhould decay before ones Death.* He deſired to have his Indulgence in *Articulo Mortis*, from the Hand and Voice of one of the *Religioſi* that aſſiſted him.

He was often viſited by the Cardinals, contrary to the former Cuſtoms, who were willing to be round about his Bed till his End. And on *Sunday* the twenty-ſecond of *May*, about twenty-two of the Clock, he quietly rendred his Spirit to his Creator, in the ſixtieth Year of his Age, and thirteenth of his Pontificate; and the ſame Evening, the uſual Ceremony being performed by the Cardinal Lord Chamberlain, the Corps was arrayed in the accuſtomed Veſtments, put into a Litter of Crimſon Velvet open on all ſides, compaſſed round about by the penitentiary Fathers, with lighted Torches in their Hands, accompanied by the Guards and Light Horſes, followed by the Artillery, and with the Rear-Guard of Curiaſſiers, being carried to the *Vatican*, and there the next Morning opened, there was found on one part of the Lungs, faſtened to one of his Sides, a touch of a black Spot; one of his Kidneys waſted, and ſome Carnoſities or fleſhy Kernels inſtead of it, from whence the Paſſage of the Urine was hindred; and an Ulcer of the Reins, which of all his other Diſeaſes was the worſt: From thence, being embalmed and pontifically apparelled, he was carried the next Day to the Cathedral of *St. Peter*, and placed in the Chappel of the moſt Holy Sacrament, where was a Concourſe of an infinite Number of People, to kiſs his Feet, and take from him whatſoever they could lay Hands on, to preſerve to themſelves as Holy Reliques.

A

A brief Deſcription of the great FUNERAL MACHINE builded within the Cathedral of *St. Peter* in *Rome*, for the Obſequies of his Holineſs Pope ALEXANDER the *Seventh*, with a Copy of all the *Inſcriptions* and *Elegies* put up there in Praiſe of his Holineſs.

VERY conſiderable is the Fabrick of the great *Mauſoleum* erected in the *Baſilica* of the Prince of the Apoſtles, oppoſite to the Prince of the Chappel of the moſt Holy Sacrament, for the Death of his Holineſs Pope *ALEXANDER* VII. It conſiſted of a moſt high Urn, ſupported by a Pedeſtal having a Triple Crown over it, with four Spires, which much exceeded the Height of the aforeſaid One, with four Steps *or Degrees* between the four Obeliſks, which were all round about full of *Coats of* Arms, and Impreſſes born up by very high Pedeſtals: on the Fronts of which were ſeen the Arms of his Holineſs, and ſome moſt elegant Inſcriptions, which ſhall be here preſented for the Satisfaction of ſuch as are Curious.

On the firſt Spire from the Side of the Epiſtle over againſt the Chappel of the moſt Holy Sacrament were the two following Inſcriptions:

Vaticani Templi Sanctitatem
Maximus Alexander,
Ut generi Humano auguſtiorem redderet
Circumduxit admirandam Porticum,
Quam Theatrum dixeris.
Ubi geſtum facit cum majeſtate Religio.

And becauſe the aboveſaid Inſcription alludeth to the building of the great Porch of *St. Peter's Church*, therefore over it was a Medal, wherein was painted to the Life the Fabrick of that Church.

On the other Side of that Column was the following Inſcription, alluding to the Temple of *St. Maria in Portico* cauſed to be builded as above after the *Contagion*, with its Medal likewiſe over it.

Extincta peſtilenti Lue
Optimus Alexander
Ex Romani Populi Voto
A fundamentis extruxit grande Templum
Sanctæ Mariæ in Portico,
Quaſi Romanæ Portum ſecuritatis.

Over againſt the Chappel of the Canons, called of the *Pieta*, on the lower part was engraven upon one of the Fronts of the Pedeſtal of the Spire the following Words, alluding to the Cathedral of *St. Peter*, with its Medal over it.

Ferream

Ferream tempeſtatem timente
Sapiens Alexander,
Cathedram Petri Arbitram temporum
Opere aureo magnificè ornavit;
Sic docuit non niſi per Petri ſedem
Vigere auream ætatem.

In the ſame Spire, on the other Side, alluding to the Building of the Church, and the Gate *Del Popolo*, with its Medal painted over it, were thoſe following Characters.

Totam ornaturus Romam
Beneficus Alexander;
Primum Populi Portam, mox Templum
Amplum, ac luculentum exornavit;
Sic tantum fauſto ingreſſui tribuit,
Quantum ſtuduit, ut Romam fæliciter coleretur.

Upon the other Front of the Pedeſtal of the Spire, oppoſite to the Chappel of *Pieta*, were theſe following Verſes, alluding to the Building of the *Sapientia* and of the *Library* they erected with its Medal above.

Romanam Academiam Sapientiæ Sacram
Prudens Alexander.
Amabiliorem reddidit, ac opportuniorem;
Pulcra ædificatione inſigni Bibliotheca:
Roma potentius regitur
Amore ſapientiæ, quam potentiæ metu.

On the other ſide of it alluded an Inſcription to the Building of the Church *Santa Maria Della Pace.*

Apertum tot annis Jani Templum
Pacificus Alexander
Ingenioſa pietate tandem clauſit;
Nobilitato Templo,
Quod Virgini, ac Paci dicatum eſt:
Sola Deipara Bellonam fugat.

Upon the Front of the Obeliſk; over-againſt the Chappel of the *Sacrament*, on the uppermoſt part, were the following Words with their Medal over them alluding to the Reſtoration and Building made in the Port of *Civita Vecchia.*

Centum Cellas adverſum Barbaros
Vetus Eccleſiæ Romanæ propugnaculum
Bellico Armamentario inſtruxit:
Tunc vere arcentur hoſtes
Cum parantur vires, quibus arcantur.

On

On the other Side of this Spire alluded to the Reſtoration and Beautifying of the Church and *Piazza* or Market-place of *Santa Maria della Rotunda.*

Ædem Agrippæ ſuperſtitioni ſuperſtitionem
Pius Alexander,
Depreſſa Platea, repoſitis Columnis
Priſtino ſplendori reſtituit.
Ne in hoc olim Ethnicæ impietatis Regno
Chriſtiana pietas indecore triumpharet.

On the two other Fronts of the four Spires there was for each of them another Medal without any Inſcription underneath: Other Buildings were painted there, made in the Life-time, and by Order of the Memory of the deceaſed Pope. The Urn was likewiſe adorned with the Hiſtories of the glorious Actions done by his Holineſs the Pope: In the lower Front was repreſented the *Immaculate Conception*, for the which his Holineſs ſome Years ſince had been ſo much concerned. In another was figured the Coronization of St. *Thomas* of *Villa nova* the *Auguſtinian*. In the third Front was that of St. *Franceſca di Sales*, Biſhop of *Geneva*. And in the fourth, the Beatification of St. *Peter de Arbues*, the *Aragonian* Martyr. And near to that were two Pictures of the deceaſed Pope.

All the great Medals, Pictures and Impreſſes were beautifully adorned with Gold, with the Compartments equal and uniform, which gave no little Admiration to the great Concourſe of People, who flocked to behold the Symetry of a Fabrick, which amidſt Sadneſs breathed out ſo marvellous Beauty.

And principally was the Wonder of the Beholders increaſed on *Monday* Morning, and the other two Days following (wherein the Lords Cardinals performed the laſt Funeral Offices round this *Mauſoleum*) when it appeared lighted by near ſix hundred Wax-lights, beſides a Number of great Candles and Torches; and the Splendour of the Gold triumphing over the black Colour with that of the burning Luminaries, it was not to be diſcerned whether or no the Lights gave a more pleaſing Variety to the Gildings, or that the Gildings borrowing from them made the greateſt Luſtre.

At this fair and mournful Spectacle remained ſpeechleſs with Admiration, four great ſilver'd Statues, repreſenting the four Virtues, *Prudence*, *Juſtice*, *Fortitude* and *Temperance*, who ſat by the Sides of the Urn; ſilent, not only out of Admiration, being the Beholders of ſo fair and vaſt a Mole, but alſo for Sadneſs, as having loſt ſo dear a Cheriſher of theirs, that had known ſo well how to learn happily their Doctrine.

It was admirable in the Morning to ſee the Luminaries burn, with which the whole Machine was ordinarily fill'd, whilſt it flamed round about the four great Spires, by certain Windows whereof they were full, and in them did marvellouſly aſcend within-ſide artificially by certain Degrees, which were guided commodiouſly almoſt from the Extremity of the Obeliſk, the Work of the Mole remaining ſo admirable and undefaced until this preſent, to the End that each curious Eye may be ſufficiently ſatisfied with beholding it.

A true Relation of the Ceremonies perform'd within and without the Conclave for the Creation of CLEMENT the Eleventh elected the 20th of *June*, 1667. With an Account of the Joys of ROME.

AMONGST the fair and curious Functions which are usually performed in the *Roman* Court, one is that of the Creation of the Sovereign Bishop (or Pope) whereof the relation of one Ceremony ought not to be omitted; and which is so much the more admirable, by how much it happeneth but seldom, and that not all those, who being curious, desire to see the like Novelty, can feed their Eye in beholding it.

The Spirit of Pope *Alexander* the Seventh being flown up into Heaven the two and twentieth of the Month of *May* of this present Year, 1667, and his Obsequies performed by the holy College of *St. Peter*, the nine following Days the Lords Cardinals, to the number of Sixty-two, entered into the Conclave on *Thursday* Evening the second Day of *June*, there being absent from the Court four Lords Cardinals, *Aragona*, *Viscounti*, and *Moncada* in *Spain*; and *Tun* in *Germany*; and four more of their Eminencies lying sick at their Palaces in *Rome*, two of which after some Days entered into the Conclave (to wit) *Ludovisio*, and *Santa Croce*, and the other two *Pallavicino* and *Bandinello* past a small Time after to a better Life.

The Lords Cardinals were then in the Conclave, to the Number of Sixty-four, and the first Morning, the third of *June*, his Eminency the Lord Cardinal *Barbarino* the Deacon, having in the Chappel celebrated the Low Mass of the *Holy Ghost*, he himself administred the Communion to the rest of their Eminencies, to whom he afterwards made a succinct Oration, exhorting them to be prepared for the receiving into their Hearts the Divine Fire of the *Holy Ghost*, to the end that being filled with that celestial Heat, they might zealously bring forth the Election of a Pope, which might be an excellent Shepherd to govern the Christian Flock.

In the followings Days, when they had with mature Consideration, made many Scrutinies and Accesses for diverse Subjects, finally after the Supreme Papal See had been vacant for the space of Twenty-eight Days, was the most eminent Lord Cardinal *Giulio Rospiglioси* created, with sufficient Votes for Supreme Pastor; whose noble Bud and ancient Stock was produced in the pleasant Garden of one of the famous Cities of our *Great Tuscany*. *Pistoia* it was that hath had the Fortune to bring forth him, who with his experienced Prudence, Maturity of Counsel, and Sanctity of Life, hath always made himself remarkable, and will render himself more so in his high Throne, even to the People most remote and barbarous.

My Pen is not a fit Pencil in the least to rough-draw the great Jubilee with which the Hearts of the People of *Rome* were filled, when on *Monday* Morning the Twentieth of *June* it began to be whispered about the City, that so de-

ſerving a Prelate had been created the ſacred Monarch of Chriſtendome, and every one deſiring by manifeſt Signs to be certified of it, left their own Houſes, running hither and thither, and like diſtracted People find no quiet whetherſoever they range, all congratulating with their Friends their being favoured by Heaven with ſo holy a Paſtor.

In the mean Time, the laſt Scrutiny and Acceſs being finiſhed in the Chappel called *Di Siſto*, wherein the ſupreme Biſhop was created, and the Door of it ſet open, there were ſeen to appear the illuſtrious Lord *Sexton*, the Maſters of the *Ceremonies*, and the *Secretary*, and after the Schedules were burned, as it is the Cuſtom to do every Day, the Lords Cardinals *Franciſco Barbarino* as Deacon of the Holy College, and *Arach* as firſt Prieſt, made the accuſtomed Intreaty to his Eminency the Lord *Giulio Roſpigliosi*, that he would accept the Popedom, to the which by agreeing Votes he had been elected by the Lords Cardinals; and his Eminency having accepted that ſublime Charge, choſe to himſelf the Name of *Clement* the Ninth, and it is hoped that the Acts of his Clemency ſhall not prove, but correſpond to his Name.

The Maſters of the Ceremonies were called at that Act, and he being then conducted by ſome of their Eminencies behind the Altar of the ſaid Chappel, was by the Aſſiſtance of the Lord Sexton, and the Maſters of the Ceremonies diſrobed of his Cardinal Veſtments, and clothed Pontifically, that is, with a white Caſſock, a Rochet, a Mozet, and a red Sattin-Cap, alſo with a Pair of Shoes embroidered with the Sign of the Croſs.

Being clothed in this manner, he was ſet down in the pontifical Chair before the Altar of the ſaid Chappel, where all their Eminencies, the Cardinals, came one by one to worſhip him on their bended Knees, for the firſt Time, acknowledging him the chief Paſtor. At which Adoration, firſt appeared the Lord Cardinal *Barbarino* the Deacon, who (with his Knees on the Ground) kiſs'd his Foot and his Right-hand, and was ſuddenly cauſed to riſe by his Holineſs, who kiſſed him on either Cheek.

At this inſtant was heard to reſound with ſweet Ecchoes by the harmonious Voices of the Muſicians of the Chappel the *Eccho Sacerdos magnus*, and amidſt this loud Reverberation, his Eminency the Lord Cardinal *D' Eſte*, one of the Maſters of the Ceremonies, bearing along the Croſs, accompanying him, was conducted to the accuſtomed Tower of the *Benediction*, over the great Porch of the Church of *St. Peter*, and there they had but juſt opened, when his Eminency, and the ſaid Maſter of the Ceremonies, with the Croſs, could ſcarcely croud in; they ſhewed this moſt holy Banner to the People, who ſtaid in the *Piazza* eager to behold it, eſteeming it a certain Sign that afterwards by the ſaid Lord Cardinal would be proclaimed thoſe Words which clearly were heard to be pronounced, that is to ſay, *Annuncio vobis gaudium magnum*; *habemus Pontificem Eminentiſſimum, & Reverendiſſimum Dominum Cardinalem Julium Roſpigliosum, qui ſibi nomen impoſuit Clementem nonum.*

Unexpreſſible was the Content which the People ſhewed when theſe Words were publiſhed; and no leſs was the Deſire of the Nobility, who without the Bridge (which was ſhut up with Portculeſſes) ſtaid with a multitude of Coaches, wherewith all the neighbouring Ways were crouded: neither was the Eagerneſs of the numerous People inferior, every one expecting with extreme Impatience that they ſhould open to them thoſe Grates which hindred them from being able

to

to run into the Piazza of St. *Peter*, to hear the Election of the Pope publiſhed, and to ſee the other Functions.

It had already ſtruck three or more of the Clock, when after the Publication aboveſaid was finiſhed, there ſounded unexpectedly in every ones Ears the Thundrings of the loud Artillery, an inanimate Inſtrument to rouze up in the Hearts of Mortals, Jubilee and Mirth; the Shot went alternately from the Muſquets, Cannons, and Mortar-pieces for half an Hour Space. The Grates were ſet open, the Chains thrown down, the Coaches ran about, the People flew; nothing was heard but Voices of Acclamation and Noiſes of Mirth, every one deſiring to get into the Cathedral of *St. Peter*, where it was hoped that they might behold the new Paſtor; all the Bells rang, neither was there a Corner in *Rome* wherein was not diſcerned an exceſſive Joy and unexpreſſible Contentment in all Mens Countenances; nor ſtood the Drums and Trumpets idle, whoſe hollow Metals ſweetly invited the Squadrons of Soldiers, which ordinarily ſtaid in the Piazza of *St. Peter*, to anſwer them with a doubled Salvo of Muſquet Shot, who betwixt Mirth and Jubilee had already appropriated to themſelves the Cardinal Coach, with the Horſes of the Sovereign Paſtor, from whoſe Coachman they had alſo taken away his Cloak, and theſe are the accuſtomed Spoils belonging to the ſaid Soldiers.

In this Interim many Maſons unwalled the Conclave, their Eminencies the Cardinals being already brought to the ſecond Adoration in the ſaid Chappel, the moſt eminent *Barbarino* the Deacon beginning as above, and the other Cardinals following all in order with purple Coats, and this Function being ended the Muſicians of the Chappel preceeding, who ſang certain Mottets; the Croſs, and their Eminencies the Lords Cardinals following, his Holineſs was carried in a Pontifical Seat into the *Baſilica*, where he was by all the ſacred College adored the third time: the aforeſaid Muſicians ſinging at the ſame inſtant the *Te Deum Laudamus*, &c. the Adoration being finiſhed, and the *Te Deum*, the Lord Cardinal Deacon was conducted to the Side of the Epiſtle, where ſome Prayers and Verſes were ſaid over the new Pope, who was ſet down upon the Altar, from which when he had deſcended, the Mitre being firſt reached to him by one of the Aſſiſtant Deacons, and having the Croſs ſtanding before him, he turned to the People, and gave them his Benediction; and after his Mitre was again put on by one of the Deacons, he aſcended with the ſaid moſt eminent Cardinals the Steps of the Altar, and gave his Benediction to the ſacred College, on both ſides of him where he ſtood; then being diſrobed of his holy Pontifical embroidered Mantle, and his Mitre carried to him, he was put in a cloſe Seat, and carried to the Pope's Lodgings in the *Vatican* Palace, with a great Train of Followers; *St. Peter's* Church, and the Porches of it, reſounding with the continual Voices, *Long live Pope Clement the Ninth*, his Holineſs imparting his Pontifical Bleſſing unto the numerous People, at his aſcending into the Palace. Every one was ſatisfied to ſee the Supreme Paſtor, who with his majeſtical Gravity (by which he forced all Hearts to reverent Veneration, and to proſtrate themſelves on their Knees) was obſerved to diſcover a pleaſing Affability.

Rome celebrating theſe Feſtivals, was ſeen that ſame Night, and the other two following, all light, by a number of Bonfires in the publick Ways, and by many Torches and other Luminaries at the Windows of Palaces, and

particular Houſes; and each of theſe Nights, this Caſtle of *St. Angelo* hath with multiplied Vollies of Shot rouzed the Courage of every one to renew the Joy for the Election of Pope *Clement* the Ninth, regiſtred from Eternity with the Pen of the uncreated Providence, in the Leaves of Immortality, by the ſovereign Mover, who hath granted to us this holy Shepherd, to the end he may rightly guide his Flock, and reſcue them from the Teeth of the infernal Wolf, with an holy Pattern, and an exemplary Life, that may ſerve as a Mirrour or Looking-glaſs to all the World, and a Spur to every one to drive them to the way of Perfection, and to enrich them with ſome of thoſe many Virtues which are marvellouſly reſplendent in his Holineſs.

At the Election of the Supreme Biſhop Clement Ninth *were preſent Sixty-four Lords Cardinals; that is to ſay,*

Barberino	Odeſcalco	Bichi	Delfino
Ginetti	Raggi	Vidone	Eſte
Antonio Barberino	De Retz	Barbarigo	Donghi
Pallotto	Homodei	Boncompagno	Rondanino
Brancaccio	Ottobono	Litta	Maildachino
Cerpegna	Imperiale	Corſino	Haſſia
Harach	Borromeo	Donelli	Carlo Barberino
Durazzo	Santacroce	Piccolomini	Pio
Gabrielle	Spada	Caraffa	Gualtieri
Orſino	Albici	Paluzzi	Azzolino
Facchinetti	Aquaviua	Raſponi	Vecchiarelli
Grimaldi	Chigi	Conti	Franzone
Roſſetti	Elci	Nini	Mancino
Ludouiſio	Farneſe	Roberto	Celſi
Cibo	ROSPIGLIOSI	Spinola	Sauelli
Sforza	Bonuiſio	Caraccioli	Vandomo.

A true Relation of the Ceremonies performed at the ſolemn Coronation of his Holineſs Pope *CLEMENT* the Ninth. Dedicated to the Illuſtrious and Reverend Father *Francis Giacinto Libelli*, Maſter of the ſacred Apoſtolical Palace.

Reverend and Illuſtrious Father,

THE Functions of publick Demonſtrations, which are wont to be made, either at the Promotions of Princes, or at other happy Succeſſes, deſerve not the Title of Feſtival, if the Applauſes of the People diſagree from the inward Reſentments of their Minds; but thoſe wherein the Joys of the Heart, and

and Acclamations of the Tongue are united with excellent Harmony, are rendered more worthy than others of being by means of the Preſs tranſmitted to the Knowledge of Poſterity. Such was the Coronation of *Clement* the Ninth, lately Cardinal *Roſpiglioſi*; and for this reaſon I took the Courage to write it, and dedicate it to the Name of your moſt Reverend Fatherhood: I doubt not of its Acceptance, becauſe that you ſuſtaining under him (with ſo much Praiſe) one of the moſt principal Charges of the Pontifical Palace, never conferred but on Subjects of eminent Merit, cannot reject a Labour which is diffuſed into the Glory of thoſe who fill the Precinct of this holy Place above any other Part of Chriſtendom, it even comes to (point out) itſelf, amongſt the very ſame Perſons.

Betimes on *Sunday* Morning the 28th of *June*, were made ready the things neceſſary for the Perſon of his Holineſs, in the Chamber of the Vatican Palace, called of the *Paramenti*, whither the Pope at the appointed Hour was carried from his own Lodgings.

There by the moſt eminent Cardinals Deacons, *Eſte* and *Rondinino*, and other Miniſters deſigned to that Office, he was clothed with an Amicte, a Surplice, a Girdle, a Stole or long Veſture, a Rochet and a precious Mitre; the ſacred College of their Eminencies clothed alſo in their accuſtomed Purple Cloaks, making a majeſtical Crown round about him. In their appointed Places ſtood the other Prelates, every one with his Cope over his Surplice, and the Officers wearing their Cloaks.

The Pope prepared, as in the like Solemnity is uſual, the Proceſſion began towards *St. Peter*'s Church. The Croſs-bearer going firſt with a Crucifix, between two aſſiſtant Miniſters, then the other Prelates and Officers, and in their Places, according to the Order of Precedency, went their Eminencies, the Cardinals, two by two: His Holineſs followed clothed as above-ſaid, under a Canopy of State, carried in a pontifical Seat by his Stable Grooms wearing long red Gowns, and the Staves of the Canopy of State were carried up by Knights of *St. Peter*.

The new Pope being arrived at the Porch of *St. Peter*, ſate down in a pontifical Chair, ſet there on a Throne, raiſed but little from the Floor, and under a Cloth of State, and then the Lord Cardinal *Barbarino* (Archprieſt of that Cathedral) did beſeech his Holineſs, that he would admit the moſt reverend, the Canons of the Chapter-Houſe, to the kiſſing of his Foot; when which Function was ended he entered by the middle Gate into the Church, carried as aforeſaid, and making his Adoration to the moſt Holy Sacrament, he went towards the *Clementine* Chappel already prepared for this purpoſe, and received the moſt eminent Cardinals to the Kiſs of his Knee, and the other Prelates to that of his Foot. This Ceremony finiſhed, and the Mitre being laid aſide, the Pope roſe up, and ſtanding as the Cuſtom is, bleſſed the People: And whilſt the Sub-Deacon who was to ſing the Epiſtle, clothed himſelf in his accuſtomed Veſtments, his Holineſs tuned the *Deus in Auditorium*, &c. of the Prime.

Whilſt the Prime was ſinging by one of the aſſiſtant Lord Biſhops, another aſſiſtant Lord Biſhop ſtood forward with a Book, wherein the new Pope read the Preparatory to the Maſs. By this time, the Apoſtolical Sub-Deacon had dreſſed himſelf in his accuſtomed Garments, and the Sandals were taken up by the Hand of the Lord Sexton, who by the help of the Chamberlains put them

upon the Feet of his Holineſs, who at the end of the Prime, laying down his Mitre, and ſtanding upon his Feet, ſang the corrent Oration, the moſt eminent Cardinal *Barbarino* the Deacon holding the Book before him. The Prayer ended, and the *Benedicamus*, &c. ſaid by the Singers, the moſt eminent Cardinal *Barbarino* returned to his Place, and his Holineſs was clothed in his wonted Robes for the ſolemn Celebration of the Maſs, and after they were quite dreſſed, the Proceſſion began towards the Altar of the Holy Apoſtles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, in this Order.

Firſt, went the Houſhold Servants of his Holineſs, and his Chamberlains. Next followed the Barons, the Conſervators, and the Orators of Princes, the Secretaries and Conſiſtorial Advocates, confuſedly one amongſt another, and without Order, but two being the moſt ancient of each Order led in the worthieſt Place; then the Aſſiſtants, the Clerks of the Chamber, the Auditors of *Rola*, the *Accolito Turiferario*, with the Candleſtick-Bearers, the Sub Deacon with the Papal Croſs, and with him the other Sub-Deacons; the Sub-Deacons, the one *Greek*, and the other *Latin*, each of them with his Book; then the Abbots, the Biſhops, and the Archbiſhops followed after the Biſhops that were Aſſiſtant to the Pope, and according to the Order of Precedency the moſt eminent Cardinals; betwixt Aſſiſtant Deacons, who were the Lords Cardinals *Eſte* and *Rondinino*, went his Eminency the Lord Cardinal *Maldachino*, that was to ſing the Goſpel in the Papal Maſs. Laſtly, followed the Pope as aforeſaid.

Afterwards between the two priory Chamberlains, came the Lord *Cerri* Deacon of the *Rola*, with the Mitre, and the Prothonotaries and Overſeers of the Pope's Court not dreſſed. Immediately before his Holineſs the Seig. *Fulvio Servantio*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, carrying in his Hand two Canes, in the top of one of which was a little Flax, and in the other a lighted Candle, and at the Pope's going out of the Chappel of *St. Gregorio*, the Maſter of the Ceremonies turning, gave fire to the Flax, and kneeling before the Pope, ſaid with a loud Voice, *Sancte Pater, ſic tranſit Gloria Mundi.* And ſo it was done two other times before he came to the Altar of the Holy Apoſtles.

The Pope being come into the Chancel of the Chappel, the laſt three Cardinal Prieſts preſented themſelves before him, and kiſſed him on the Breaſt and Face. Then ſtanding at the Altar, the Mitre being laid aſide, and the accuſtomed Prayers made at the Deſk, the Maſs began, and immediately after the Confeſſion was made, he went mitred into the Throne, and there ſat down, and was accoſted by the moſt eminent Cardinal *Antonio Barbarino*, as youngeſt Deacon, who ſtanding betwixt the other two Biſhops ſang the firſt Prayer; and the moſt eminent Cardinal *Ginetti*, the ſecond Biſhop, ſang the ſecond; and his Eminency Cardinal *Barbarino* as firſt Biſhop the third, each of whom when he ſang, ſtanding between the other two. When theſe Prayers were ended, his Holineſs without the Mitre, went up to the Altar, and his Eminency the firſt Deacon, by the help of his Eminency *Rondinino* the ſecond Deacon, taking the Mantle from the Altar, put it upon his Holineſs, ſaying the accuſtomed Words at the doing ſuch a Function; coming from the Altar, it being perfumed with Incenſe as the uſe is, he withdrew to the Throne of the *Epiſtola*, and ſtanding up with his Mitre on was incenſed by the moſt eminent Cardinal *Maldachino* the Deacon, without admiting him to kiſs his Hand, as it was the Cuſtom at other times; but immediately

diately returning to his Throne, he received him to his wonted Reverence, and the other Prelates.

After the Prayers were ſaid, the uſual Litanies ſung, and the Maſs ended, ſo prepared as he was, the Pope went up unto the Throne that was prepared upon the broad Place on the Top of the Stairs, before the Entrance of the Cathedral of *St. Peter*'s, where ſitting down, he gave time to all the People to go out of the Church to ſee the Act of his Coronation.

Then the moſt eminent Cardinal *Rondinino* the ſecond Deacon, took off from his Head the Mitre, and his Eminency the firſt Deacon ſtanding on his right ſide, put upon the Head of the Pope the Triple Crown, ſaying, *Accipe Tyaram Tribus Coronis ornatam, & ſcias te eſſe Patrem Principum, & Regum: Rectorem orbis: in terra vicarium ſalvatoris noſtri, cui eſt Honor, & Gloria,* &c.

At this time was the Artillery of the Caſtle of *St. Angelo* ſhot off, the People with Voices of Mirth and Contentment, accompanying the loud Noiſe of the Cannons. The inſolent Clamours of the Multitude being ſomewhat aſſuaged, the Indulgencies as the Cuſtom is were publiſhed.

The crowned Pope after he had bleſſed the People, was carried without a Canopy of State, to the ſaid dreſſing Chamber, or *Camera de Paramenti*, where being diſrobed, the ſaid Cardinal Deacon, in few Words, congratulated him in the Name of all the ſacred College. From hence he was conducted to his Lodgings, amidſt the Applauſes of the People, who ſeeing in the Perſon of ſo worthy a Pope, to triumph both Merit, Bounty, and Piety, promiſed to themſelves a Golden Age.

For three whole Nights, all the City, and the Lords Ambaſſadors, Cardinals, Princes, and Barons, gave Signs of their Contentedneſs with Luminaries, artificial Fires, and burning great Quantities of pitched Barrels; but it was then moſt pleaſant to behold the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, all ſurrounded with Fire in a moſt exquiſite order, diſtinguiſhed with the *Girandola*, and a number of Chambers and other Fireworks.

Your Reverend, and moſt Illuſtrious
Fatherhood's Servant,

STEPHANO CAVALLI.

A true and exact Relation of the late prodigious Earthquake and Eruption of MOUNT ÆTNA, or MONTE GIBELLO; as it came in a Letter written to his Majesty from *Naples*, by the Right Honourable the Earl of *Winchelsea*, his Majesty's late Ambassador at *Constantinople*, who in his Return from thence, visiting *Catania* in the Island of *Sicily*, was an Eye-witness of that DREADFUL SPECTACLE. Together with a more particular Narrative of the same, as it is collected out of several Relations sent from *Catania*. Published by Authority 1669.

May it please your Majesty,

IN my Voyage from *Malta* to this Place, wherein I have used all the Diligence the Season hath given me leave, I touched at *Catania* in *Sicily*, and was there kindly invited by the Bishop to lodge in his Palace, which I accepted, that so I might be the better able to inform your Majesty of that extraordinary Fire, which comes from Mount *Gibel*, fifteen Miles distant from that City; which for its Horridness in the Aspect, for the vast Quantity thereof, (for it is fifteen Miles in length, and seven in breadth) for its monstrous Devastation, and quick Progress, may be termed an Inundation of Fire, a Flood of Fire, Cinders and burning Stones, burning with that Rage as to advance into the Sea six hundred Yards, and that to a Mile in breadth, which I saw; and that which did augment my Admiration was, to see in the Sea this Matter like ragged Rocks, burning in four Fathom Water, two Fathom higher than the Sea itself, some Parts liquid and moving, and throwing off, not without great Violence, the Stones about it, which like a Crust of a vast Bigness, and red-hot, fell into the Sea every Moment, in some Place or other, causing a great and horrible Noise, Smoak and Hissing in the Sea; and thus more and more coming after it, making a firm Foundation in the Sea itself. I staid there from Nine a Clock on *Saturday* Morning, to Seven next Morning, and this Mountain of Fire and Stones, with Cinders, had advanced into the Sea twenty Yards at least, in several Places; in the middle of this Fire, which burnt in the Sea, it hath formed a Passage like to a River, with its Banks on each Side very steep and craggy, and in this Channel moves the greatest Quantity of this Fire, which is the most liquid, with Stones of the same Composition, and Cinders all red-hot, swimming upon the Fire of a great Magnitude; from this River of Fire doth proceed under the great Mass of the Stones which are generally three Fathom high all over the Country, where it burns, and in other Places much more, there are secret Conduits or Rivulets of this liquid Matter, which communicates Fire and Heat into all Parts more or less, and melts the Stones and Cinders by Fits in those Places, where it toucheth them, over and over again; where it meets with Rocks or Houses of the same Matter (as many are) they melt and go away with the Fire; where they find other Compositions they turn them

to

to Lime or Aſhes, (as I am informed.) The Compoſition of this Fire, Stones and Cinders, are Sulphur, Nitre, Quick-ſilver, Sal-Armoniac, Lead, Iron, Braſs, and all other Metals. It moves not regularly, nor conſtantly down Hill; in ſome Places it hath made the Vallies Hills, and the Hills that are not high are now Vallies. When it was Night I went upon two Towers in diverſe Places, and could plainly ſee at ten Miles diſtance, as we judged, the Fire to begin to run from the Mountain in a direct Line, the Flame to aſcend as high and as big as one of the higheſt Steeples in your Majeſty's Kingdoms, and to throw up great Stones into the Air; I could diſcern the River of Fire to deſcend the Mountain of a terrible fiery or red Colour, and Stones of a paler red, to ſwim thereon, and to be ſome as big as an ordinary Table. We could ſee this Fire to move in ſeveral other Places, and all the Country covered with Fire, aſcending with great Flames in many Places, ſmoaking like to a violent Furnace of Iron melted, making a Noiſe with the great Pieces that fell, eſpecially thoſe which fell into the Sea. A Cavalier of *Malta*, who lives there, and attended me, told me, that the River was as liquid where it iſſues out of the Mountain, as Water, and came out like a Torrent with great Violence, and is five or ſix Fathom deep, and as broad, and that no Stones do ſink therein. I aſſure your Majeſty, no Pen can expreſs how terrible it is, nor can all the Art and Induſtry of the World quench, or divert that which is burning in the Country. In forty Days time it hath deſtroyed the Habitations of twenty-ſeven thouſand Perſons, made two Hills of one, one thouſand Paces high a-piece, and one is four Miles in Compaſs, as your Majeſty will ſee by the Draught that I take the Boldneſs to ſend herewith; it was the beſt I could get, but hath nothing of the Progreſs into the Sea; the Confuſion was ſo great in the City, which is almoſt ſurrounded with Mountains of Fire, that I could not get any to draw one, but I have taken Care to have one ſent after me for your Majeſty. Of twenty thouſand Perſons which inhabited *Catania*, three thouſand did only remain; all their Goods are carried away, the Cannons of Braſs are removed out of the Caſtle, ſome great Bells taken down, the City Gates walled up next the Fire, and Preparation made for all to abandon the City.

That Night which I lay there, it rained Aſhes all over the City, and ten Miles at Sea it troubled my Eyes. This Fire in its Progreſs met with a *Lake* of four Miles in Compaſs, and it was not only ſatisfied to fill it up, though it was four Fathom deep, but hath made of it a Mountain.

I ſend alſo to your ſacred Majeſty a Relation in Print which the Biſhop gave me, wherein the Beginning is related, and ſeveral curious Paſſages. I moſt humbly beſeech your Pardon for the hindering your Majeſty ſo long from your better Employments: And I beſeech you, great Sir, ever to believe I love and reverence your Perſon above all Expreſſion: For, I am

Naples the 27th of *April*
7th of *May*
1669

Your Majeſty's
moſt obedient, moſt humble,
and moſt faithful
Subject and Servant,

WINCHELSEA.

A particular NARRATIVE of the late dreadful Earthquake and Irruption, as it is collected out of ſeveral Relations from *Catania*.

MOUNT *Ætna*, or *Monte Gibello*, a Mountain ſo renowned throughout the World for its Height and Greatneſs, but much more for thoſe prodigious Flames, Smoak, and Aſhes which it hath caſt out from the Top of it, whilſt the other Parts are continually (even in the midſt of Summer) covered with Snow, has been for many Ages obſerved once, or ſometimes oftner, in the Space of about fifteen Years, to throw up more than ordinary Flames, with much Smoak and Stones, and great Quantities of Aſhes; which (though terrible to the neighbouring Towns and Villages) was yet wont, in little time, to abate of its Fury, and prove but ſeldom more injurious to the Country near it, than by communicating largely its Aſhes, which though for the preſent it did ſomewhat incommode them, they had afterwards a conſiderable Compenſation in the Product of their Lands, which by this means were rendered more fruitful.

But on *Friday* the $\frac{18}{8}$ of *March* 1669, the Sun was obſerved before its Setting to appear of a pale and dead Colour, which (being contrary to what it ever before appeared to us) ſtruck no ſmall Terror into the Inhabitants, all Objects appearing alſo of the ſame Colour, with a Paleneſs received from that of the Sun. The ſame Night happened in this City as well as the whole Country hereabouts, a terrible and unuſual Earthquake, whoſe ſtrong and unequal Motions, joined with horrible Roarings from *Monte Gibello*, exceedingly frighted the Inhabitants, but was ſo extraordinarily violent in the Country adjacent, that the People were forced to abandon their Houſes, and to fly into the Field to avoid the Danger threatened them from the Falling of their Houſes. The Village of *Nicoloſi* was of all others the moſt dreadfully handled by this furious Earthquake, the Houſes and other Buildings being ſhaken all in Pieces, and buried in their own Ruins; the poor People (who had preſerved their Lives by a timely Flight, with ſuch little of their Goods as their haſty Fears would permit them to carry out with them) continued a Night or two in the Fields, beholding with Grief and Aſtoniſhment the Ruin of their Habitations: But obſerving that by theſe violent Concuſſions, the Earth began to open in ſeveral Places, and to threaten them with inevitable Ruin, they fled, though with much Trouble and Amazement to this City. Theſe Shakings of the Earth being ſo frequent and violent, that the People went reeling and ſtaggering, with much Difficulty ſupporting one another from falling, inſomuch as what with their Want of Sleep, the Pains they were forced to take in travelling, and the great Terrors imprinted on them by what they had ſeen and ſuffered, they appeared at their arrival in this City as ſo many diſtracted People, wholly inſenſible of what they did.

This dreadful Convulſion of the Earth was immediately followed on *Monday March* 11. about ten at Night by three terrible Eruptions, much about the ſame time, and at little diſtance one from the other.

The ſaid Eruptions were obſerved to be on the Side of *Monte Gibello*, about two Miles beyond the Mountain, called *Montpileri*, from whence with a terrible Noiſe it threw up its Flames with much Fury and Violence about a hundred Yards in height, its Noiſe not roaring only inwards from the Belly of the Mountain as before, but violently cracking like Peals of Ordnance or Thunder from the ſide of it, throwing out vaſt Stones, ſome of them of three hundred Pounds Weight, which being (as it were) ſhot through the Air, fell ſeveral Miles diſtant from the Place, whilſt the whole Air was filled with Smoak, burning Cinders and Aſhes, which fell like a fiery Rain upon the Country.

In the mean time, iſſued from the Side of this prodigious Mountain, a vaſt Torrent of melted and burning Matter, which, like an Inundation, drowned as in a Flood of Fire, the Country on this ſide of it.

This burning River ran down upon the Mountain *Monpileri*, which, oppoſing its direct Courſe, it divided it ſelf into two Streams, which incompaſſed the ſaid Mountain; one of them taking its way by *La Guardia*, the Convent of *St. Anne* and *Malpaſſo*, the other by the Towns of *Monpileri* and *Falicchi*, which in few Hours were wholly deſtroyed and loſt, not ſo much as any ſign of them remaining, with ſeveral leſſer Villages and Farms, and with them the famous Image of the bleſſed Lady of the *Annunciata*; which, though highly reverenced throughout the whole Iſland, eſteemed the Wonder of *Sicily* and the whole World, and to which the People with much Devotion reſorted in Pilgrimage from the remoteſt Parts, was alſo ſwallowed up and conſumed by this dreadful Torrent.

This fiery and burning Deluge immediately ſpread itſelf to above ſix Miles in breadth, ſeeming to be ſomewhat of the Colour of melted and burning Glaſs; but, as it cools, becomes hard and rocky, and every where in its Paſſage leaves Hills and Pyramids of that Matter behind it.

At the ſame time *Monte Gibello* from its Top raged with dreadful Flames, which with its Noiſe and Concuſſions of the Earth ſtill continuing, added not a little to the Terror of the People, who ran with Cries and Lamentations about the City and Country, expecting nothing but to be ſwallowed up, or conſumed by Fire, having no other Apprehenſions but of Death, and a general Conflagration.

The two Torrents of Fire forward, deſtroying all things in their way, and by *Wedneſday*, *March* 13th, had on the Weſt-ſide branched itſelf into ſeveral Streams, and over-ran *Campo Rotundo*, *St. Pietro*, and *Moſtorbianco*, with *La Potielli*, and *St. Antonino*; and on the Eaſt-part ruined the lower Part of *Maſcalucia*, and *Le Placchi*, taking its way towards this City.

On *Thurſday* the 14th, the Wind came Eaſtwards, on which Day fell abundance of Rain, which abated not the Progreſs of the Fire; which on the Eaſt-ſide had from *Maſculucia* made its way to *St. Giovanni di Galermo*, the lower Part whereof it deſtroy'd; and, paſſing on, ſeem'd to threaten this City on one Side, as did that on the Weſt-ſide the other.

As the Fire approached, the Religious every where appeared with much Devotion, carrying in Proceſſion their Reliques, eſpecially thoſe of St. *Agatha*, the famour Martyr of *Catania*, in which they repoſed no ſmall Confidence, following by great Multitudes of People, ſome of them mortifying themſelves with

Whips, and other Signs of Pennance, with great Complaints and Cries, expreſſing their dreadful Expectation of the Events of thoſe prodigious fiery Inundations.

Whilſt the People were thus buſied in their Devotions, and aſtoniſhed by their Fears, News was brought to the Magiſtrates of the City, that a conſiderable Number of Thieves and Robbers had taken the Opportunity of this general Diſtraction, to make a Prey of the already diſtreſſed People, and that they had murdered ſeveral of them for their Goods; and that it was to be feared, that the City of *Catania* itſelf might run ſome Danger from the great Numbers of them which were about the Country, and from thence took their Opportunities to get into the Town. Whereupon, Conſultation being had for the prevention of farther Miſchief from them, the Commander of the Caſtle was ordered with a number of Horſe, and a Party of *Spaniards*, to ſecure the Country and City againſt theſe Robbers; who immediately ſent out ſeveral Parties with his Provoſt Marſhal, with Order to ſeize on all ſuſpected Perſons, and ſuch as were not able to give a good Account of themſelves: and, for ſuch as were taken in the Fact robbing, to execute them by Martial-Law without any farther Tryal; and accordingly cauſed three Pair of Gallows to be ſet up for their ſpeedy Execution; one before the Gate *Di Aci*, a ſecond in the *Market-place*, and a third before the Gates of the City, and cauſing all ſuſpected Houſes to be ſearched, an Account to be given in of all Lodgers, and ſuch Perſons to be ſecured, as could any ways fall under a Suſpicion.

The poor People out of the Country being by this prodigious Calamity ſtript out of all their Eſtates, and reduced to great Extremity, fled moſt of them for Refuge and Relief to this City, with great Lamentations, moving the Charity of the Magiſtrates, who were readily inclined to give them the beſt Aſſiſtance they were able; and the Citizens, moved by their Complaints and Sufferings, freely opened their Doors, filling their Houſes with as many of thoſe diſtreſſed People, as they could poſſibly receive; the Biſhop, and all Perſons of Quality, and Eſtate contributing largly for their Support, till better Order could be taken for the diſpoſing of them.

The City of *Meſſina* alſo, and ſeveral other Cities (informed of this extraordinary Calamity) ſent hither large Supplies of Proviſions, offering their beſt Aſſiſtance to this Place, in caſe of Extremity.

All the Elements ſeemed at this time to make War upon us, and to conſpire together for the Puniſhment of the Inhabitants: The Air was continually darkened with Clouds and Smoke, agitated by great and violent Winds, and oftentimes ſhowered down great Rains, inſomuch as the Sun from the beginning of theſe Eruptions, very ſeldom appeared to us, and when it did, (with extraordinary Paleneſs) for a little time only, and (as it were, abhorring ſo dreadful a Spectacle) ſoon hid its Face again under a thick Cloud.

The Sea ran much higher than it was wont to do, and by its extraordinary Roaring, and in ſome Places over-flowing its Banks, added not a little to our Conſternation. The Land every where infeſted with Thieves, inſomuch, that, till by the extraordinary Care taken by the Magiſtrates and Officers, ſevere Execution was done upon ſuch as were apprehended in the Fact, no Perſon was able

to

to ſtir abroad without Danger of his Life; whilſt the Fire, by this prodigious over-flowing of the Mountain, threatened to take Poſſeſſion of all.

On *Friday* the 15th, the Stream of fiery Matter which deſtroyed the lower Part of *St. Giovanni di Galermo*, divided itſelf into two Parts, one of its Branches taking its way toward *Moſterbianco*, the other threatening the City of *Catania*, but this laſt was obſerved to move with more Slowneſs than before, having in twenty-four Hour's Time ſcarcely gained twenty Paces.

On the 18th, being *Monday*, the Torrents being ſtill ſeen to draw nearer and nearer to this City, the Senate with Monſegnior *Cambuchi*, the Biſhop of this Place, followed by all the Clergy, Secular and Regular, and an infinite Number of People went in a ſolemn Proceſſion out of this City to *Monte de St. Sofia*, carrying out with greateſt Devotion their choiceſt Reliques, and upon an Altar erected in view of the Mountain, expoſed them, where they celebrated Maſs, and uſed the Exorciſms accuſtomed upon ſuch extraordinary Occaſions, all which time, the Mountain ceaſed not as before with exceſſive roaring to throw up its Smoke and Flames with extraordinary Violence, and abundance of great Stones, which were carried through the Air, ſome of them falling within their View, though at ten Miles diſtance from the Eruption; the Aſhes which proceeded from thence were ſcattered in great Abundance, as well on this City as on the Country adjacent, every where in the Fields with Cinders, and the Heat of the Aſhes deſtroyed the Graſs, which obliged the People to drive away the Cattle to a farther diſtance, which would otherwiſe have periſhed for want of Food.

Theſe Streams of Ruin daily crept nearer and nearer to this City, but by uneven and irregular Motions, according as it was more or leſs ſupplied from its Fountain; but on *Wedneſday* the 20th, we perceived that that Branch of it which ſeemed moſt to threaten this City from *St. Giovanni di Galermo* was wholly extinguiſhed, and the other which bent its Courſe towards *Moſterbianco* ran but ſlowly, and gave us ſome Hopes that its Fury was alſo near ſpent, but the other Torrent which had before overflown *Monſterbianco*, continued its Motion with as much Violence as ever, being in breadth above a Muſquet Shot over; but in Probability could not eaſily overflow to the Weſtwards, which was defended by its rocky Situation; another Branch which ran by *Santo Pietro* was obſerved to be much larger than the reſt, and its Stream more quick and active, but meeting with ſome Oppoſition in its way, it made ſome ſtop, only ſending out a Rivulet towards the Eaſtwards about three or four Yards wide, of its moſt ſubtile and active Matter, which directed its Courſe towards a ſmall Village, about a Furlong diſtant from its main Stream; another Branch threatened *Campo Rotundo*, but bent its Courſe Weſtwards towards the Farm of *Falcorrente*, where its fiery Body was ſcattered into ſeveral deep and rocky Places, without any conſiderable Damage.

About this time we had hopes that the Violence of this Eruption had been over, the Mountain not throwing out its Flames with that Violence as before, and its Noiſe and Roaring in a great meaſure ceaſed.

Thoſe who at neareſt Diſtance took a View of the Mountain, informed, that the Top of it was fallen in, and the Mountain ſuppoſed to want near a Mile of its former Height; that the largeſt of the Mouths from whence theſe fiery Streams were vented, was about half a Mile in Compaſs, but the View of this dreadful

Inundation

Inundation carried ſo much Terror in it as they were not able to expreſs; from all theſe Mouths were vomited Rivers of a thick and fiery Subſtance of Stone and Metals melted, whoſe Depth was various according to the ſeveral Places it filled in its Paſſage, in ſome Places four, in others eight, twelve or fifteen Yards and upwards; its Breadth in ſome Places ſix Miles, in others much more; its Flame like that of Brimſtone, and its Motion like that of Quickſilver; advancing ordinarily very ſlowly, unleſs where it was provoked by the Addition of a freſh Torrent, or ſome conſiderable Deſcent. Whereſoever it paſſed, it left large Heaps of its congealed Matter, with which it covered and burnt the Earth, melting the Walls of Caſtles and Houſes, throwing down and conſuming all before it, nothing yet found able to reſiſt its Force, nor any thing able to quench its Burning, Water being obſerved rather to add to its Fury; whereſoever it has paſſed, it has left its dreadful Marks behind it, levelling ſome Hills, and raiſing others, ſo much changing the Situation, that not the leaſt Trace of any Place or Town remains, nothing being to be ſeen but confuſed Heaps of ragged Stone, which yielding a noiſome Fume, ſtrikes Terror and Aſtoniſhment into all that behold it.

On *Friday* the 22d, the Mountain again roared with much Loudneſs, and threw up from its Mouths a vaſt quantity of Matter, which formed two large Hills higher and larger then that of *Monpileri*, with a large Bank of the ſame Matter to the Eaſtwards, ſending down a violent Stream of its liquid Matter towards *Malpaſſo*, much enlarging the former Current, and paſſing thence to *Campo Rotundo* and *Santo Pietro* compleated the Ruins of thoſe Towns, driving furiouſly towards *Moſterbianco*; the other Stream by *Santo Giovanni de Galermo* being wholly diverted and extinguiſhed.

From this time till the 25th, the Mountain continued ſilent, but then it burſt out again with more Force than before, its Noiſe much louder, like Peals of Ordnance, and ſo forcible and laſting, as for twenty-four Hours it cauſed a ſhaking and trembling in our Buildings, the Air ſo filled with Smoke and Aſhes, as darkened the Face of the Sky.

The Birds and Fowls about this time, either through Want of Food, or Illneſs of Air, which was corrupted with the noiſome Smells ariſing from theſe Burnings, were obſerved to lie dead in all Places.

On the 28th, the grand Current was advanced near the City as far as the old *Capuchins*, which ſtruck ſo great a Terror into the People, that moſt of them left the City, only ſome Officers remaining with ſuch Perſons as were under their Command, who have ſecured and ſent away the Magazine and all the Artillery from the Caſtle.

A later RELATION from *Catania*, bearing Date the 27th of *April*, gives us this farther Account, *viz.*

THE dreadful Inundation from *Monte Gibello* having deſtroyed many Caſtles and Towns, with an infinite Loſs, and utter Ruin to the Inhabitants, arrived lately with a renewed Force at *Moſterbianco*, which it has wholly ruined,

ruined, from thence paſſing on to *Albanelli*, in four Days Space deſtroyed all the Gardens and Vineyards, with ſixty-three thouſand Vines.

On *Wedneſday*, *April* 16, with an impetuous fiery Torrent it came towards *Sardanello*, where all the Remainder of the Inhabitants of this City were Spectators of it, which reſembled a River of melted and burning Braſs, about ten Ells wide, running with Swiftneſs to the Arch of *Marcus Marcellus*, a famous Piece of Antiquity, and paſſing under it, ruined about ſix Ells of it, which was the Breadth of the Current in that Place: from thence it ran to *Madonna di Monſerrato*, which it wholly deſtroyed: then falling down to *Madonna delle Gratie*, it entered in at one Gate, and paſſed through another, without any conſiderable Hurt, and running through the Gate *Della Decima*, filled all the Plain *Di Schiara Viva*, where it was above ſix Ells deep. Then taking its way towards the Bulwark, on the Sea ſide, under the Caſtle of this City it ran by, two Ells deep into the Sea; in which, (to the great Wonder of all that ſaw it) it has made its Progreſs a Mile in length, and as much in breadth, and is drawing towards the Gate of the Channel, which gives us great Apprehenſions, leaſt it may that way invade the City itſelf: Nor is there leſs Danger on the Side *Del Tindaro*, where there runs a great Torrent of the ſame active Matter, which draws near, and ſeems to threaten the Walls, and is in that Place about a Mile in breadth, having overflowed and deſtroyed all the Gardens, from the Gate *Della Decima*, as far as *Madonna delli Amellati*.

A LIST of the moſt conſiderable Towns and Places ruined and deſtroyed by the dreadful Earthquake and Eruptions.

THE Town of *Nicoloſi* wholly ruined by the Earthquake.

The Towns of *Padara*, *Tre Caſtagne*, the greateſt Part deſtroyed by the Earthquake.

The Towns of *La Guardia*, *Malpaſſo*, *Campo Rotundo*, *La Potielli*, *St. Antonino*, *St. Pietro*, *Moſtorbianco*, *Montpileri*, *La Annunciata*, *Falicchi*, *Placchi*, wholly overflowed, conſumed and loſt in this fiery Inundation, with all the Lands belonging to them, no Footſteps of them remaining.

The Towns of *Maſcalucia*, *St. Giouanni de Galermo*, ruin'd in Part.

The large Gardens and Vineyards of *Albenelli* overflowed and deſtroyed.

The famous Piece of Antiquity of *Marcus Marcellus* much ruined

Madonna de Monſerrato deſtroyed, beſides many Caſtles, Farms, and other Places, which have run the ſame Fortune, whoſe Names we for Brevity paſs over.

Ser-

The Lord CHANCELLOR's SPEECH, upon the Lord TREASURER's taking his Oath in the *Exchequer* the 26th of *June*, 1673.

My Lord Treasurer,

THE King of his Grace and Favour hath made choice of you to be Lord High Treasurer of *England*, as also Treasurer of his *Exchequer*, which are two distinct Offices. The first you are already possessed of, by the King's Delivery of the White Staff, and have taken the Oath for that Office before me in another place. The other his Majesty hath conferred on you by his Letters Patents, under the Great Seal, which I am to deliver your Lordship, after you have been sworn into that Office in this Court; of which, by this Patent, you are made a Chief Judge.

Kings are as Gods, and bestow Honour, Riches, and Power where they please; but in this they are as Men, that they can only choose, not make a Person adequate to their Employment: For if their Choice be meerly Favour, not Fitness, their Omnipotency is quickly seen through. Our Great Master hath therefore chosen you, one he has had Experience of these many Years, as a Member of this House of Commons, which hath been so fruitful a Nursery of our *English* Ministers and States-men. Besides, your Lordship was some Years since joined with another very able and worthy Person in the Treasury of the *Navy*, and after that managed it alone: So that you have before this been trusted with Three parts of Five of the Revenue of the Crown.

My Lord,

You are in a Place, the very best that any *English* Subject is capable of; therefore you are in another Position, not only to the King our Master, but to us All, than you were ever before. He and we have all reason to look upon you as a Man at Ease, and that has nothing to wish, but the Prosperity of his Master and the Nation, that you may quietly and enjoy long so great a Place, under so good a Master. There is no more to be asked of you in this Condition, but that you know your own Interest, and that will secure you to the King's and the Nation's. I repeat them thus together, because none but Mountebanks in State-matters can think of them asunder. And let me say to your Lordship, that however happy you have been in arriving to this high Station, yet *Parta tueri non minor est virtus.* Many great Men have proved unfortunate, in not observing that the Address and Means to attain great things, are oftentimes very different from those that are necessary to maintain and establish a sure and long Possession of them.

My Lord,

'Twill be no *Civility* to you, to hold you longer; The Visits you are to make to the several Offices of the *Exchequer* will take you up the rest of this Morning. I shall only add my good Wishes, that your Lordship may long enjoy the *Honour* of this *Great Employment*, and his Majesty the *Satisfaction* of his Choice.

The

The Honourable ALGERNOON SIDNEY's LETTER against Bribery and Arbitrary Government, written to his Friend, in anſwer to theirs, perſwading his Return to *England*.

SIR,

I AM ſorry I cannot in all things conform myſelf to the Advice of my Friends; if theirs had any joint Concernment with mine, I would willingly ſubmit my Intereſt to theirs: But where I alone am intereſted, and they only adviſe me to come over as ſoon as the Act of Indemnity is paſs'd, becauſe they think it is beſt for me, I cannot wholly lay aſide my own Judgment and Choice; I confeſs we are naturally inclined to delight in our own Country, and I have a particular Love to mine: I hope I have given ſome Teſtimony of it; I think that being exil'd from it is a Great Evil, and would redeem myſelf from it with the Loſs of a great deal of my Blood. But when that Country of mine, which uſed to be eſteemed a Paradiſe, is now like to be made a Stage of Injury; the Liberty which we hope to eſtabliſh, oppreſs'd; all manner of Prophaneneſs, Looſeneſs, Luxury and Lewdneſs ſet up in its Height; inſtead of the Piety, Virtue, Sobriety, and Modeſty, which we hop'd God by our Hands would have introduc'd; the Beſt of our Nation made a Prey to the Worſt; the Parliament, Court, and Army, corrupted; the People enſlav'd; all things vendible; and no Man ſafe, but by ſuch evil and infamous means, as Flattery and Bribery; what Joy can I have in my own Country in this Condition? Is it a Pleaſure to ſee all that I love in the World ſold and deſtroy'd? ſhall I renounce all my old Principles, learn the vile Court Arts, and make my Peace by bribing ſome of them? ſhall their Corruption and Vice be my Safety? Ah! no; better is a Life among Strangers, than in my own Country upon ſuch Conditions. Whilſt I live I will endeavour to preſerve my Liberty; or at leaſt not conſent to the deſtroying of it. I hope I ſhall die in the ſame Principles in which I have liv'd; and will live no longer then they can preſerve me. I have in my Life been guilty of many Follies, but, as I think, of no Meanneſs. I will not blot and defile that which is paſt, by endeavouring to provide for the future. I have ever had in my Mind, that God ſhould caſt me into ſuch a Condition, as that I cannot ſave my Life, but by doing an indecent thing, he ſhews me the Time is come wherein I ſhould reſign it; and when I cannot live in my own Country, but by ſuch means as are worſe than dying in it, I think he ſhews me, I ought to keep myſelf out of it. Let them pleaſe themſelves with making the King glorious, who think a whole People may juſtly be ſacrificed for the Intereſt and Pleaſure of one Man, and a few of his Followers; let them rejoice in their Subtilty, who by betraying the former Powers have gain'd the Favour of this; not only preſerved, but advanc'd themſelves in theſe dangerous Changes. Nevertheleſs (perhaps) they may find the King's Glory is their Shame; his Plenty the People's Miſery; and that the gaining of an Office, or a little Money, is a poor Reward for deſtroying a Nation! (which if it were preſerv'd in Liberty, and Virtue, would

truly be the most glorious in the World.) And that others may find they have with much Pains purchased their own Shame and Misery, a dear Price paid for that which is not worth keeping, nor the Life that is accompanied with it. The Honour of *English* Parliaments have ever been in making the Nation glorious and happy, not in selling and destroying the Interest of it, to satisfy the Lusts of one Man. Miserable Nation, that from so great a Height of Glory is fallen into the most despicable Condition in the World, of having all its Good depending upon the Breath and Will of the vilest Persons in it! Cheated and sold by them they trusted! Infamous Traffick, equal almost in Guilt to that of *Judas!* In all preceeding Ages Parliaments have been the Pillars of our Liberty, the sure Defenders of the Oppressed: They, who formerly could bridle Kings, and keep the Ballance equal between them and the People, are now become the Instruments of our Oppressions, and a Sword in his Hand to destroy us: They themselves, led by a few interested Persons, who are willing to buy Offices for themselves by the Misery of the whole Nation, and the Blood of the most worthy and eminent Persons in it. Detestible Bribes, worse than the Oaths now in Fashion in this mercenary Court! I mean to owe neither my Life, nor Liberty to any such Means; when the Innocence of my Actions will not protect me, I will stay away till the Storm be over-passed. In short, where *Vane*, *Lambert*, and *Haslerigg* cannot live in Safety, I cannot live at all. If I had been in *England*, I should have expected a Lodging with them; or, tho' they may be the first, as being more eminent than I, I must expect to follow their Example in suffering, as I have been their Companion in acting. I am most in a Maze at the mistaken Informations that were sent to me by my Friends, full of Expectations of Favours and Employments. Who can think that they who imprison them, would employ me, or suffer me to live, when they are put to Death. If I might live and be employ'd, it cannot be expected I should serve a Government that seeks such detestible ways of establishing itself? Ah! no; I have not learnt to make my own Peace by persecuting and betraying my Brethren, more innocent and worthy than myself; I must live by just Means, and serve to just Ends, or not at all. After such a Manifestation of the Ways by which it is intended the King shall govern, I should have renounced any Place of Favour, into which the Kindness and Industry of my Friends might have advanced me, when I found those that were better than I, were only fit to be destroyed. I had formerly some Jealousies, the fraudulent Proclamation for Indemnity encreased, the imprisoning of those three Men, and turning out of all the Officers of the Army contrary to Promise, confirm'd me in my Resolution not to return.

To conclude, the Tide is not to be diverted, nor the Oppressed deliver'd; but God in his Time will have Mercy on his People: He will save and defend them, and revenge the Blood of those who shall now perish, upon the Heads of those, who in their Pride think nothing is able to oppose them. Happy are those whom God shall make Instruments of his Justice in so blessed a Work. If I can live to see that Day, I shall be ripe for the Grave, and able to say with Joy, *Lord! now lettest thou thy Servant depart in Peace*, &c. (so Sir *Arthur Haslerigg* on *Oliver*'s Death) Farewel; my Thoughts, as to King and State, depending upon their Actions. No Man shall be a more faithful Servant to him than I, if he make the Good and Prosperity of his People his Glory; none more

more his Enemy if he doth the contrary; to my particular Friends I ſhall be conſtant in all Occaſions, and to you

A moſt affectionate Servant,

A. SIDNEY.

NEWS from *DUNKIRK-HOUSE*: or CLARENDON's Farewel to *England*, in his ſeditious Addreſs to the Right Honourable the Houſe of Peers, *December* 3, 1667. which was afterwards, according to the Sentence and Judgment of both Houſes of Parliament, burnt by the Hand of the *Common-Hangman*, in the Preſence of the two Sheriffs, with a great and ſignal Applauſe of the People, *December* 12, 1667. Printed the ſame Year.

To the Right Honourable, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled; the Humble Petition and Addreſs of *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon.*

May it pleaſe your Lordſhips,

I Cannot expreſs the inſupportable Trouble and Grief of Mind I ſuſtain under the Apprehenſion of being miſrepreſented to your Lordſhips. And when I hear how much of your Lordſhip's Time hath been ſpent upon the mention of me, as it is attended with more publick Conſequence, and of the Difference in Opinion, which hath already, or may probably ariſe, betwixt your Lordſhips and the honourable Houſe of Commons, whereby the great and weighty Affairs of the Kingdom may be obſtructed, in a time of ſo general Diſſatisfaction, I am very unfortunate to find myſelf to ſuffer ſo much under two very diſadvantagious Reflections, which are in no degree applicable to me.

The firſt, 'From the Greatneſs of my Eſtate and Fortune, collected and 'made in ſo few Years; which if it be proportionable to what is reported, may 'give reaſonable Cauſe for my Integrity to be ſuſpected.'

The ſecond, 'That I have been the ſole Manager and chief Miniſter of all 'the Tranſactions of State ſince the King's Return into *England*, to *Auguſt* laſt; 'and therefore that all Miſcarriages and Misfortunes ought to be imputed to me 'and to my Counſels.'

Concerning my Eſtate, your Lordſhips will not believe that after Malice and Envy have been ſo inquiſitive, ſo ſharp-ſighted, I will offer any thing to your

Lordſhips, but what is exactly true: And I do aſſure your Lordſhips in the firſt Place, that (excepting the King's Bounty) I have never received or taken one Penny, but what was generally underſtood to be the juſt and lawful Perquiſites of my Office, by the conſtant Practice of the beſt of Times; which I do (in my own Judgment) conceive to be that of my Lord *Coventry*, and my Lord *Kelſmere*, the Practice of which I conſtantly obſerved; although the Office in both their Times was lawfully worth double to what it was to me, and I do believe now is.

That all the Courteſies and Favours which I have been able to obtain from the King, or other Perſons, in Church, State, or *Weſtminſter-Hall*, have never been worth to me Five Pounds; ſo that your Lordſhips may be confident I am as innocent from Corruption, as from any diſloyal Thoughts, which after near thirty Years Service of the Crown, in ſome Difficulties and Diſtreſs, I did never ſuſpect would have been objected to me in my Age. And I do aſſure your Lordſhips, and will make it very manifeſt, that the ſeveral Sums of Money, and ſome Parcels of Land, which his Majeſty hath bountifully beſtowed upon me ſince his Return into *England*, are worth more than all I have amounts unto; ſo far I am from advancing my Eſtate by any indirect Means. And though this Bounty of his Majeſty hath very far exceeded my Merits, or my Expectations; yet ſome others have been as fortunate, at leaſt in the ſame Bounty, who had as ſmall Pretences to it, and have no great Reaſon to envy my Condition.

Concerning the other Imputation of the Credit and Power of being chief Miniſter, and ſo cauſing all to be done that I had a mind to do; I have no more to ſay, than that I had the good Fortune to ſerve a Maſter of very great Judgment and Underſtanding, and to be always joined with Perſons of great Ability and Experience; without whoſe Advice and Concurrence, never any thing hath been done.

Before his Majeſty's coming into *England*, he was conſtantly attended by the Marquis of *Ormond*, the late Lord *Culpepper*, and Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, who where equally truſted with myſelf, and without whoſe joint Advice and Concurrence, when they were all preſent, (as ſome of them always were) I never gave any Counſel.

As ſoon as it pleaſed God to bring his Majeſty into *England*, he eſtabliſhed his Privy-Council, and ſhortly out of them a number of Honourable Perſons of great Reputation (who for the moſt part are alive ſtill) as a Committee for foreign Affairs, and Conſideration of ſuch things, as the Nature of them require much Secrecy: And with theſe Perſons he vouchſafed to join me, and I am confident the Committee never tranſacted any thing of Moment (his Majeſty being always preſent) without preſenting the ſame to the Council-Board: And I muſt appeal to them concerning my Carriage, and whether we were not all of one mind in all Matters of Importance: For more than two Years I never knew any Difference in the Council, or that there were any Complaints in the Kingdom, which I wholly impute to his Majeſty's great Wiſdom, and the intire Concurrence of his Council, without the Vanity of aſſuming any thing to myſelf: 'And therefore, I hope, I ſhall not be ſingly charged with any thing that hath 'ſince fallen out amiſs.'

But

But from the time that Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* was removed from his Place, there were great Alterations; and whosoever knew any thing of the Court or Council, knew well how much my Credit since that time hath been diminished, (though his Majesty graciously vouchsafed still to have my Advice in most of his Affairs) nor hath there been from that time to this, above one or two Persons brought into the Council, or preferred to any considerable Office in the Court, who have been of my intimate Acquaintance, or suspected to have any Kindness for me; but most of them known to have been very long my Enemies, and of different Judgment and Principles from me, both in Church and State: And who have taken all Opportunities to have lessened my Credit to the King, and with all other Persons, by misrepresenting, and misreporting all that I said or did; and persuading Men that I had done them some Prejudice with his Majesty, or crossed them in some of their Pretences, though his Majesty's Goodness and Justice was such, that it made little Impression upon him.

In my humble Opinion, the great Misfortunes of the Kingdom have proceeded from the War, to which it was notoriously known, that I was always most averse; and may without Vanity say, I did not only foresee, but I did declare the Mischiefs we should run into, by entering into War before any Alliance with the Neighbour Princes: And that it may not be imputed to his Majesty's Want of Care, or the Negligence of his Counsellors, that no such Alliances were entered into; I must take the Boldness to say, that his Majesty left nothing unattempted in order thereunto: And knowing very well that *France* resolved to begin War upon *Spain* as soon as his Catholick Majesty should depart this World; which being much sooner expected by them, they had in the two Winters before been at great Charge in providing plentiful Magazines of all Provisions upon the Frontiers, that they might be ready for the War: His Majesty used all possible means, to prepare and dispose the *Spaniards* with that Apprehension, offering his Friendship to that degree, as might be for the Security and Benefit of both Crowns: But *Spain*, flattering itself that *France* would not break with them, at least, that they would not give them any Cause, by administering matter of Jealousy to them, never made any real Approach towards Friendship with his Majesty; but both by their Ambassadors here, and to his Majesty's Ambassadors at *Madrid*, always insisted as Preliminaries, upon the giving up of *Dunkirk*, *Tangier* and *Jamaica*.

But *France* had an Ambassador here, to whom a *Projecto* for a Treaty was offered, and the Lord *Hollis*, his Majesty's Ambassador at *Paris*, used all endeavours to promote and prosecute the said Treaty, yet it was quickly discerned that the principal Design of *France* was to draw his Majesty into such a nearer Alliance, as might advance the Design, without which, they had no mind to enter into the Treaty proposed.

And this was the State of Affairs, when the War was entered into with the *Dutch*; from which time, neither concerned themselves with the making of Alliance with *England*.

As I did from my Soul abhor the entering into this War, so I never presumed to give any Advice or Counsel for the way of managing it, but by opposing any Propositions which seemed to the late Lord Treasurer, and myself, to be unrea-

unreasonable; as the Payment of the Seamen with Tickets; and many other Particulars which added to the Expence.

My Enemies took all Occasions to inveigh against me, and making Friendship with others of the Council of more licentious Principles, as who knew well enough how much I disliked and complained of the Liberty they took to themselves of reviling all Counsel, and Counsellors, and turning all things serious and secret into *Ridicule:* They took all ways imaginable to render me ungrateful to all sorts of Men (whom I shall be compelled to name in my own Defence) persuading those that miscarried in any of their Designs, that it was the Chancellor's doing; whereof I never knew any thing.

However, they could not withdraw the King's Favour from me; who was still pleased to use my Service with others; nor was there ever any thing done but upon the joint Advice of at least the major Part of those that were concerned. And as his Majesty commanded my Service in the late Treaties, so I never gave the least Advice in private, nor wrote one Letter to any Person in any of those Negotiations, but upon the Advice of the Council; and after it was read in Council, or at least by the King himself, and some other. And if I prepared any Instructions or Memorials, it was by the King's Command, and the Request of the Secretaries, who desired my Assistance: nor was it any Wish of mine own, that any Ambassador should give me Account of the Transactions, but to the Secretaries, with whom I was always ready to advise: Nor am I conscious to myself of ever having given Advice that proved mischievous or inconvenient to his Majesty: And I have been so far from being the sole Manager of Affairs, that I have not in the whole last Year, been above twice with his Majesty in any Room alone, and very seldom in the two or three Years preceding.

And since the Parliament at *Oxford*, it hath been very visible that my Credit hath been very little, and that very few things have been hearkened unto; which have been proposed by me, but contradicted, *eo nomine*, because proposed by me.

'I most humbly beseech your Lordships to remember the Office and Trust 'I had for seven Years; in which, in discharge of my Duty, I was obliged to 'stop and obstruct many Men's Pretences, and to refuse to set the Seal to many 'Men's Pardons, and other Grants, which would have been profitable to them 'which procured them; and many whereof, upon my Representation to his 'Majesty, were for ever stopped: Which naturally have raised many Enemies 'to me.'

And my frequent concurring with the late Lord Treasurer, with whom I had the Honour to have a long and a fast Friendship to his Death, in presenting several Excesses and Exorbitances, (the yearly Issue so far exceeding the Revenue) provoked many Persons concerned, of great Power and Credit, to do me all the ill Offices they could. And yet I may faithfully say, that I never meddled with any part of the Revenue, nor the Administrations of it, but when I was desired by the late Lord Treasurer to give him my Assistance and Advice (having had the Honour to serve the Crown as Chancellor of the *Exchequer*) which was for the most Part in his Majesty's Presence.

Nor have I ever been in the least degree concerned in point of Profit, in the letting any Part of his Majesty's Revenue; nor have ever treated or debated it, but

but in his Majesty's Presence; in which my Opinion only concurred always with the major Part of the Counsellors who were present.

All which upon Examination will be made manifest to your Lordships, how much soever my Integrity is blasted by the Malice of those, who I am confident, do not believe themselves. Nor have I in my Life, upon all the Treaties, or otherwise, received to the Value of one Shilling from all the Kings and Princes in the World, (except the Books of the *Louvre* Print, sent me by the Chancellor of *France*, by that King's Direction) but from my own Master; to whose intire Service, and to the Good and Welfare of my Country, no Man's Heart was ever more devoted.

This being my present Condition, I do most humbly beseech your Lordships to retain a favourable Opinion of me, and to believe me innocent from those foul Aspersions, until the contrary shall be proved; which I am sure can never be, by any Men worthy to be believed. And since the Distemper of the Time, and the Difference between the Two Houses in the present Debate, with the Power and Malice of my Enemies, who give out, that they shall prevail with his Majesty to prorogue or dissolve this Parliament in Displeasure, and threaten to expose me to the Rage and Fury of the People, may make me looked upon as the Cause which obstructs the King's Service, and the Unity and Peace of the Kingdom: I must humbly beseech your Lordships, that I may not forfeit your Lordships Favour and Protection, by withdrawing myself from so powerful a Persecution, in hopes I may be able from such withdrawing hereafter to appear, and make my Defence: When his Majesty's Justice, to which I shall always submit, may not be obstructed nor controuled by the Power and Malice of those who have sworn my Destruction.

A Letter from *Amsterdam*, to a Friend in *England*.

My kind Co-operator,

THAT from you of the eighth Instant I received, and am entirely yours. God speed the Plow here, and in *England*. I hope in short time to give you a good Account of my little Embassy in this place. No body at the *Hague* knows any thing of it yet; nor shall they. Be sure no Post to fail me; else I and my *Fellow-Labourers* here shall be to seek in our Business. Tell our Friends I cannot go quick and through with it, unless constant Returns be made hither, to fill the Bag and the Bottle. These are the Baits that I must fish with: the surest way to catch an *Amsterdammer* is by the Belly.

We were last Night no less than *three Nations* together at Supper; but all of a Knot; nothing can untie us but want of Money. My *Scotch Fugitive* was so sharp and quick upon sight of Flesh-meat, that he laid aside his long Grace, and without blessing God, or cursing the Duke of *L.* he fell to, and fed like a Farmer; whilst I, snapping a Bit now and then, fell to tunning up *Old Hock* in Min Heer the Burgomaster; for our Companion is of such a Humour, that till he be Top-full, he never vents his Oracles against the House of *Orange*, and Court of *England*. But in this Pickle, the Man is old Dog at driving *private* Trade,

Trade, and *Publick Counſels*; So e're Supper was done, we became ripe for Buſineſs.

About half an Hour after, came in two or three more of the Magiſtrates, and with them ſome *Scots* of the common Perſecution: then the *Romer* having walkt a round or two more, and our Letters of Intelligence from all Parts being read, your Accounts from *England* pleaſed me beſt; other from *France* were not much inferiour, and moſt welcome to Min Heer, becauſe as Monſieur *Louvoy* whiſtles, the *Louveſtein* Party dances. No wonder then that the Influence from hence hath made ſuch foul Weather at the *Hague*. That King ſaw 'twas his beſt way to quit the *Flemiſh Campain*, and divert his Army, when leſs than one quarter of the Charge may ſave his Stake in *Flanders* till another Seaſon, and perhaps without the ſtriking ſo much as one Stroke, ſpoil the deſign of Arms out of *England* and *Holland*.

He had Intelligence the *Tide is turn'd* in *England*: that whereas laſt Year ſome of us were for War againſt him, we now are the Men that cry it down: I perceive charging of Piſtols by a *French* hand, may ſometimes do more than all their Cannon: The Court ſome Months ago were reviled as Men againſt the War, and Penſioners of *France*; Now I hear the Court Miniſters begin to retort the like Jealouſie upon you and your Friends: Verily, the *Dutch* ſay, yours is either the Floating-Iſland, or founded upon *Quick-ſilver*: and this part of the Continent here, being a Quake-mire, is moveable too, though not ſo quick; The *French* offer now as well as we to the Shrine of *De Witt*, the Martyr and Saint of this Republick; and his *Louveſtiners* reſolve that you and our *Scotch* Friends ſhall not get all; for they, if they can, will do as much of his Buſineſs as the beſt about a pretended Project of Peace betwixt *France* and *England* in favour of the *Swede*; the *Naſſauvians* now at the *Hague*, conclude it was but a *French* Piece of Gullery, to choak the Current of the General Confederacy: A meer State-Strategem to blow off the Prohibition of *French* Commodities in this Country.

'Twas neatly done, and had like to have taken Effect, Thanks be to you (SIR) and the reſt of your Friends, who gave the Occaſion, of diſputing it here, by yoking your ſelves to the Prohibition firſt, that this State might remain at Liberty to lurch you afterwards, if they think it convenient. 'Twas delicately done alſo to worry and hurry one another into Reſolutions for a War before you were ready; and now when 'tis reſolved on, to clog and clap on Weights to hinder it. At this rate things muſt needs very kindly operate: Your laſt hath given me and the reſt of your Friends here admirable Satisfaction; go on and proſper in all the Particulars of your Contrivance; the Day's your own: if we can but apply freſh Leeches to the Poſteriours of the Kingdom, we ſhall ſoon recover. Thoſe that are here for the Intereſt of Republick will be forward enough too, if *France* be cordial (which we doubt not) to our Party. He hath his End in it upon them, and us: However, our Brains ſhall ſtretch hard but we will out-reach him. What a Sight 'tis to ſee our Friends in *England*, *Holland*, and *Scotland*, ſo well twiſted! This three-fold Cord is ſtrong enough to hang, or hamper all our Adverſaries.

Methinks I ſee your Grandees lodged in Truckle-beds already; 'twill ſoon be done, if we firſt handſomely divide the Courtiers, and make uſe of the Envy of

ſome

ſome of them at their Fellows; then put them like Pellets to drive out one another.

The only way to wheedle them into it, is, firſt by round Charges to endeavour a Remove of the Miniſters in poſſeſſion; 'tis the ready way to come at the Maſter; the Hope of their Places will engage the reſt of them to help on the Work. Set but this Wheel a going, and theſe are the Cogs that will turn round the Mill. What though you have hitherto had but ill luck in lifting at them, if one Broadſide do not ſink a Veſſel, another may: It was a wiſe Providence that reſerved our Confeſſors laſt Year for this purpoſe. The treating of ſuch Men with Sugar-plums, and Sweat-meats to throw among the People, did *Strafford*'s Buſineſs, and yours, and the King's too. It was thought the ready Road to Sweetning and Quiet; but behold a Troop of Thouſands! yielding in one Point made way to aſk all, and the Multitude to believe all were guilty as well as one. A tacit Court-confeſſion of Guilt by one Sacrifice, paſt for Proof enough that all was true of the reſt. If the ſame Point can be gained again, be it but an unbloody piece of Work, ſo it amount to a Removal of any one principal Man, it may perhaps take the more eaſily, and do the Feat as well, if not better: Shape your Vengeance as it may not ſtartle the Nature of their Maſter: So Court-places may fall one after another; there's your Reward upon Earth, whatever elſe you may expect from Heaven.

Ply his Majeſty with warm Clothes if ye can; tell him he is Juſt and Good; but his Counſels are ill, or weak, no matter which. Drive any Peg that will go; ſooth him, in hope to ſmite the other; A dogged Humour of *no Money* will pleaſe the People, and plunge him. Start up Difficulties, promote his Neceſſities; then work upon them; and make bold to tell him, only new Friends can remedy them. Read your Lectures backward; ſay the War was moſt adviſable laſt Year, when he had neither Preparations nor Moneys for it; but not now you have got him into it. Bring on new Accounts of Growth of Popery and arbitrary Government: Charge them upon evil Counſellers: Be ſure to lift them, at any hand lift them: Noiſe may do it; ah, but Tumult is wanting! Then burn the Pope again, to fulfil the Revelation; that will draw together the Rabble; but forget not Cakes and Ale for them; Pot-valiant will do as much as Preſs-money, if you bid Defiance to a Standing-Army, though it be but in the Clouds.

If this will not do in the City, then once again preſs Grand Jury-men in the Counties, to petition for a new Parliament. It was well and wiſely done to ſend them down the late Books, to inſpire and quicken them. The Judges will not dare to hinder, if in the mean time you rattle them roundly for what they have done. If you perceive them ſturdy, then caſt Dirt at them; it will ſtick, and ſpot too, it being upon Scarlet. You have Men of Law now that have done you Service, who gape for their Places: 'Tis fit their Mouths ſhould be ſtopt, that they may open with Alacrity at Prerogative and Allegiance.

'Tis fine, to ſee our *Scotiſh* Friends trace the old Method of 1640. And how every thing hits to improve the Brotherly Correſpondence: Lords and Grievances came then together out of *Scotland*; God ſend us good luck; you know what follow'd. They then went to Court one Day, another Day to Conventicles, and Conclaves, in *London*; Adviſe them to do ſo now. A new Buſtle againſt that Government began *An.* 1674. We and our Party at the ſame Time began the

like Buſtle at *Weſtminſter*: They, and we have walkt hand in hand like Brethren ever ſince. What have we to do next, but to revive and rake that *Phœnix* the COVENANT, out of its Aſhes?

Be it your Care to time the Buſineſs; my *Scotch* Confidents here do ſay, no time ſo fit at home, as when the KING is engaged abroad: then it will do the *French* Work, and ours too.

Methinks 'tis fine Muſick when theſe four Nations play in Concert; and 'tis glorious for *Scotland*, that it hath the Honour to *Lead the Dance*.

What a dull Brute of late is the Subject of *England*! Therefore (as the old Song ſaith) Blew Cap for me. Our Men of that Nation write, preach, and fight too; they have got likewiſe the right Knack of Diſtinction, and underſtand the way of ſupplicating the KING's Perſon againſt his Authority. The Sum of all is, get out the great Loon there, and perhaps none elſe can ſaddle or mount them for his Majeſty's Service. I like that Courſe conſulted by our good Friends, that if he cannot be impeached in *Scotland*, 'tis but turning the Table, and you may do it at *Weſtminſter*. The Pitcher hath two Ears: if you cannot lay hold on one ſide, take him by t'other, and daſh him to the Ground: Remember his Name is not only *Lauderdail*, but *Guilford* too. The honeſt *Covenanters* have been whetting their Pens at him theſe five Years; ſo have we our Spleens in *England*; we have ſpent the moſt part of our Gall in Ink-pots; Try what the reſt will do in a round Charge or two. Nevertheleſs, write on ſtill: I am ſorry we have loſt the *Prime* Pen; therefore make ſure of *Andrew*. He's a ſhrewed Man againſt *Popery*, though for his Religion, you may place him, as *Paſquin* at *Rome* placed *Henry* the Eighth, betwixt *Moſes*, the *Meſſiah*, and *Mahomet*, with this *Motto* in his Mouth, *quo me vertam neſcio*. 'Tis well he is now *tranſpoſed* into Politicks; they ſay he had much ado to live upon Poetry. What a blunt Tool the People's become! no Mutiny? However, let him whet on till they take an Edge, and be ſure that you and the reſt of our Comrades whet him.

'Tis time now to ſay, or print any thing that will ſharpen. Blacken the whole Undertaking; Say, in this Marching Army is couch'd a Standing one. Rant roundly at Adjournments: Say, Neutrality is better now we are arm'd, than it was when we were not. Say all you can to befool the foreign Confederacy, and fruſtrate it; for, what was Wiſdom laſt Summer, is none now. Do all you can to ſpoil this Meeting alſo; then follows no Money: Urge that Point long and loud; it may force the Court to do that for Supply, which we may have occaſion to rail at afterwards and rouze Men with a Witneſs. Ply the Northern Supplicators, and let them ply you.

Gather the Quakers and Fanaticks under the Wing; and allow them now for Proteſtants for all the Act of Uniformity: be kind, and give them a little *Opium*; So they may forget the Tyranny of their Elder Brother; and be all one again; then the New Cauſe may prove as good as the old One.

If you will hatch ſomewhat like a *Remonſtrance*, I like it well; go back to Forty-one, there's your perpetual Pattern; Matter enough to deal with any King in *Europe*; Nothing in Heaven can more fermentate and leven the whole Lump: But be ſure you do not call it Remonſtrance; a new Name will do better to cover the purpoſe: and for a new Model of State, and Stateſmen, commend me to the *Nineteen Propoſitions* to begin with.

To

To crown the Work, and make all things eaſy, only one thing is wanting to turn the World. *Archimedes*, to effect it, required but one Point to ſtand on without the Circumference: Do you gain but one in the Centre, and you'll do it as readily; that is the King's Point. If he move, and tread never ſo little aſide it, the ſtouteſt will ſtagger, no Man will ſtand to it.

Juſt now Letters are come hither from the *Hague*, where two Twins are ſtruggling in the Womb of their Buſineſs; many thanks to you (SIR.) Whether the Delivery will be now by the Hand of a *French* Midwife, or an *Engliſh*, is not to be underſtood yet. They are come to the Birth: Some would have the Name of the firſt-born to be Prohibition; others would have the ſecond be named Neutrality, becauſe he laid hold on the Heel of his Brother: which, as our Friends of *Louvenſtein* imagine, muſt ſignify, that the Younger is to trip up the Heels of the Elder.

Remember me to, &c. *and let me be anſwered in the main of my former.*

Amſterdam, 18th *of* April, 1678. *Engliſh Stile.* I am yours, *&c.*

An ACCOUNT of the BLOODY MASSACRE in *IRELAND:* Acted by the Inſtigation of the Jeſuits, Friars, and Prieſts, who were Promoters of thoſe horrible Murders, prodigious Cruelties, barbarous Villanies, and inhuman Practices executed by the *Iriſh* Papiſts upon the *Engliſh* Proteſtants.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

Licenſed 23 Decemb. 1678.

WHen their Plots were ripe for Execution, we find their firſt Proceedings againſt the *Engliſh* various; ſome of the *Iriſh* only ſtripping and expelling them; others murdering Men, Women, and Children without Mercy; all reſolving univerſally to root out all the Proteſtants of *Ireland:* ſo deeply malicious were they againſt the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, that they would not ſo much as endure the Sound of their Language.

The Prieſts gave the Sacrament unto diverſe of the *Iriſh*, upon condition they ſhould neither ſpare Man, Woman, nor Child of the Proteſtants. One *Hulligan*, a Prieſt, read an Excommunication againſt all thoſe, that from thenceforth ſhould relieve or harbour any *Engliſh*, *Scottiſh*, or *Welſh* Man, or give them Alms, whereby many were famiſhed to Death. The Friars exhorted them with Tears not to ſpare any of the *Engliſh*.

The Day before this Maſſacre began, *Anno* 1642, the Prieſts gave the People a diſmiſs at Maſs, with liberty to go out, and take poſſeſſion of all their Lands, as alſo to ſtrip, and rob, and deſpoil them of all their Goods and Cattle.

The *Iriſh*, when the Maſſacre began, perſwaded many of their Proteſtant Neighbours to bring their Goods to them, and they would ſecure them. And hereby they got abundance peaceably into their hands, whereof they cheated the Proteſtants, refuſing to reſtore them again; yet ſo confident were the Proteſtants at firſt of them, that they gave them Inventories of all they had; and digged up their beſt things that were hidden in the Ground, and depoſited them in their Cuſtody. They alſo got much into their Hands by fair Promiſes, deep Oaths and Engagements, that if they would deliver them their Goods, they would ſuffer them, with their Wives and Children, quietly to depart the Country; and when they had got what they could, they afterwards murdered them.

Having thus ſeized upon their Goods and Cattle, ranſacked their Houſes, got their Perſons, ſtript Man, Woman, and Child naked, and ſo turned them out of Doors, ſtrictly prohibiting the *Iriſh* under great Penalties, not to give them any Relief; by means hereof many miſerably periſht through Cold, Nakedneſs, and Hunger.

In the Town of *Coleraine*, many of theſe poor People that fled thither for ſuccour, many thouſands died in two Days, ſo that the Living could not bury the Dead, but laid their Carcaſſes in ranks in waſte and wide Holes, piling them up as if they had been Herrings.

One *Magdalen Redman* depoſeth, that ſhe, and diverſe other Proteſtants, amongſt whom were two and twenty Widows, were firſt robbed, and then ſtript naked, and when they had covered themſelves with Straw, the bloody *Papiſts* threw in burning Straw among them, on purpoſe to burn them; then they drove them out into the Woods in Froſt and Snow, where many of them died with extreme Cold, and thoſe that ſurvived, live miſerably by reaſon of of their many Wants.

Yet though theſe bloody Villains exerciſed ſuch inhuman Cruelties towards the poor Proteſtants, they would commonly boaſt, *That theſe were but the beginning of their Sorrow*, for indeed they made it good; for having diſarmed the *Engliſh*, robbed them of their Goods, ſtript them of their Clothes, and having their Perſons in their Power, they furiouſly broke out into all manner of abominable Cruelties, horrid Maſſacres, and execrable Murders.

For there were multitudes murdered in cold Blood, ſome as they were at Plough, others in their Houſes, others in the Highways; all without any Provocation were ſuddenly deſtroyed.

In the Caſtle of *Liſgool* were about one hundred and fifty Men, Women and Children conſumed with Fire. At the Caſtle of *Tullah*, which was delivered to *Mac Guire*, upon Compoſition, and faithful Promiſes of fair Quarter; as ſoon as he and his entered, they began to ſtrip the People, and moſt cruelly put them to the Sword, murdering them all without Mercy.

At *Liſſenſkeath* they hanged and killed above one hundred of the *Scottiſh* Proteſtants. In the Counties of *Armagh* and *Tyrone*, where the Proteſtants were more numerous, their Murthers were more multiplied, and with greater Cruelty.

Mac

Mac Guire coming to to the Caſtle of *Liſſenſkeath*, deſired to ſpeak with Mr. *Middleton*, who admitted him in, he firſt burnt the Records of the County, then demanded one thouſand Pounds, which was in his Cuſtody, of Sir *William Balfore*'s, which as ſoon as he had, he cauſed Mr. *Middleton* to hear Maſs, and to ſwear that he would never alter from it, and then hanged him up with his Wife and Children: Hanging and murdering above one hundred Perſons beſides in that Place.

At *Portendown Bridge*, there were one thouſand Men, Women, and Children carried in ſeveral Companies, and all unmercifully drowned in the River. Yea, in that Country there were four thouſand Perſons drowned in ſeveral Places.

In one Place an hundred and forty *Engliſh* were taken and driven like Cattle for many Miles together. Other Companies they carried out to a Place fit for Execution, and then murthered them. One hundred and fifteen Men, Women, and Children, they ſent with Sir *Philem O Neal*'s Paſs till they came to *Portendown Bridge*, and there drowned them.

At another time one hundred and forty Proteſtants, being thrown in at the ſame Place, as any of them ſwam to the Shore, the bloody Villains with the Butt-Ends of their Muſkets knocked out their Brains.

At *Armagh*, *O Cane* got together all the Proteſtants thereabouts, pretending to conduct them to *Coleraine*; but before they were a Day's Journey, they were all murdered, and ſo were many others, though they had Protections from Sir *Philem O Neal*. The aged People in *Armagh* were carried to *Charlemont*, and there murthered.

Preſently after the Town of *Armagh* was burnt, and five hundred Perſons murthered and drowned. In *Kiloman* were forty-eight Families murthered. In one Houſe twenty-two Proteſtants were burned. In *Kilmore*, all the Inhabitants were ſtript and maſſacred, being two hundred Families; the whole Country was a common Butchery; many thouſands periſhed by Sword, Famine, Fire, Water, and all other cruel Deaths, that Rage and Malice could invent.

At *Caſel* they put all the Proteſtants into a loathſome Dungeon, kept them twelve Weeks in great Miſery. Some they barbarouſly mangled, and left them languiſhing; ſome they hanged up twice or thrice, others they buried alive.

In *Queen's-County*, an *Engliſhman*, his Wife, five Children, and a Maid, were all hanged together. At *Clowns*, ſeventeen Men were buried alive; ſome were wounded and hanged upon Tenter-hooks.

In *Caſtle-Cumber*, two Boys wounded and hung upon Butchers Tenters. Some hanged up and taken down to confeſs Money, and then murthered. Some had their Bellies ript up, and ſo left with their Guts about their Heels.

In *Kilkenny*, an *Engliſh* Woman was beaten into a Ditch, where ſhe died; her Child about ſix Years old, they ript up her Belly, and let out her Guts. One they forced to Maſs, then they wounded him, ript his Belly, took out his Guts, and ſo left him alive.

A *Scottiſhman* they ſtript and hewed to Pieces, ript up his Wife's Belly, ſo that her Child drop out; many other Women they hung up with Child, ript

their

their Bellies and let their Infants fall out; ſome of the Children they gave to Dogs.

In the County of *Armagh* they robbed, ſtripped, and murthered abundance of Proteſtants, whereof ſome they burned, ſome they ſlew with the Sword, ſome they hanged, ſome they ſtarved to Death; and meeting Mrs. *Howard* and Mrs. *Frankland* with ſix of their Children, and themſelves both with Child, they murdered them all, ript open the Gentlewomen's Bellies, took out their Children, and threw them into a Ditch. A young *Scottiſhwoman*'s Child they took by the Heels and daſhed out its Brains againſt a Tree; the like they did to many other Children.

Anne Hill, going with a young Child on her Back, and four more by her ſide, they pulled the Child off her Back, trod on it till it died; ſtripped her and the other four Children naked, whereby they died of Cold.

Some others they met with, hanged them up upon a Windmill, and before they were half dead, cut them in Pieces with their Skeins.

Many other Proteſtants, eſpecially Women and Children, they pricked and ſtabbed with Skeins, Forks, and Swords, ſlaſhing, cutting, and mangling them in their Heads, Faces, Breaſts, Arms, and other Parts, yet killed them not, but left them wallowing in their own Blood, to languiſh, ſtarve and pine to Death.

The Caſtle of *Liſgoole* being ſet on Fire by theſe mercileſs Papiſts, a Woman leapt out at a Window to ſave herſelf from burning, who they preſently murthered; many fled to Vaults and Cellars, where they were all murthered. One *Joan Addis* they ſtabbed, and then put her Child of a quarter old to her Breaſt, and bid it *Suck*, *Engliſh Baſtard*, and ſo left it to periſh.

One *Mary Barlow* had her Huſband hanged, herſelf with ſix Children ſtript naked in Froſt and Snow, after which ſheltering themſelves in a Cave, they had nothing to eat for three Weeks but two old Calves Skins, which they beat with Stones, and ſo eat them Hair and all.

In the cold Weather many thouſands of Proteſtants of all Ranks, Ages, and Sexes, being turned out naked, periſhed of Cold and Hunger; thouſands of others were drowned, caſt into Ditches, Bogs, and Turf-pits; Multitudes miſerably burnt in Houſes; ſome that lay ſick of Fevers they hanged up; ſome Men, Women, and Children, they drove into boggy Pits, and knocked them on the Heads.

Some aged Men and Women theſe barbarous Papiſts inforced their own Children to drown them; yea, ſome Children were compelled unnaturally to execute their own Parents; Wives forced to hang their own Huſbands, and Mothers to caſt their own Children into the Waters, after which themſelves were murthered.

In *Sligo*, they forced a young Man to kill his Father, and then hanged him up. In another Place, they forced a Woman to kill her Huſband, then cauſed her Son to kill her, and then hanged the Son: Yea, ſuch was their Malice againſt the *Engliſh*, that they taught their Children to kill *Engliſh* Children.

The *Iriſh* Trulls that followed the Camp, cried out, *Kill them all, ſpare neither Man, Woman, nor Child.* They took the Child of *Thomas Stratton*, being about twelve Years old, and boiled him in a Caldron. One Goodwife *Lin* and her Daughter they carried into a Wood, firſt hanged the Mother, and then the Daughter in the Hair of her Mother's Head.

In ſome Places they plucked out the Eyes, and cut off the Hands of the Proteſtants, and turned them into the Fields, where they periſhed. The Women in ſome Places ſtoned the *Engliſh* Women and Children to Death. One Man they ſhot through his Thighs, digged a Hole in the Ground, ſet him in upon his Feet, filled up the Hole, left out only his Head, where he languiſhed to Death. Another Man they held his Feet in the Fire, till he was burnt to Death.

In *Munſter* they hanged up many Miniſters in a moſt barbarous manner. One Miniſter they ſtripped naked, *and drove him through the Town; pricking him with Darts and Rapiers, till he fell down dead.*

Theſe barbarous Villains vowed, *That if any Parents digged Graves to bury their Children in, they ſhould be buried therein themſelves.* They ſtripped one *William Loverden* naked, and then killed him before his Wife and Children. Diverſe Miniſters Bones that had been buried ſome Years before, they digged up, becauſe they were, as they ſay, *Patrons of Hereſy.*

Poor Children that went out into the Fields to eat Weeds and Graſs, they killed without all Pity.

A poor Woman, whoſe Huſband was taken by them, went to them with two Children at her Feet, and one at her Breaſt, hoping to beg her Huſband: But they ſlew her and her ſucking Child, brake the Neck of another, and the third hardly eſcaped: and all this Wickedneſs they exerciſed upon the *Engliſh*, without any Provocation given them. Alas! who can comprehend the Fears, Terrors, Anguiſh, Bitterneſs, and Perplexity that ſeized upon the poor Proteſtants, finding themſelves ſo ſuddenly ſurpriſed without Remedy, and wrapt up in all kind of outward Miſeries which could poſſibly by Man be inflicted upon human Creatures? What Sighs and Groans, Trembling and Aſtoniſhment? What Shrieks, Cries, and bitter Lamentations of Wives, Children, Servants and Friends, howling and weeping; finding themſelves without all Hope of Deliverance from their preſent Miſeries. How inexorable were their barbarous Tormentors, that compaſſed them in on every Side, without all Bowels of Compaſſion, or the leaſt Commiſeration or Pity; yet they boaſted upon their Succeſs.

Theſe mercileſs *Iriſh* Papiſts having ſet a Caſtle on fire, wherein were many Proteſtants, they rejoicingly ſaid, *O how ſweetly do they fry.*

At *Kilkenny*, when they had committed many cruel Murders, they brought ſeven Proteſtants Heads, one the Head of a reverend Miniſter; all which they ſet upon the Market-Croſs on a Market-Day; triumphing, ſlaſhing, and mangling them: They put a Gag in the Miniſter's Mouth, ſlit up his Cheeks to his Ears, and laid a Leaf of a Bible upon it, and bid him, *Preach, for his Mouth was wide enough.*

At *Kilmore* they put many Proteſtants, Men, Women, and Children, into a thatched Houſe, and there burnt them. They threw Mrs. *Maxwell* into the River when in Labour, the Child being half-born when the Mother was drowned.

In one Place they burnt two Proteſtant Bibles, and then ſaid, *It was Hell Fire they burnt.* Other Bibles they took, cut in Pieces and burnt them; ſaying, *They would do the like to all* Puritan *Bibles.* They took the Bible of a Miniſter, called Mr. *Slack*, and opening it, they laid it in a Puddle of Water, and then ſtamped upon it, ſaying, *A Plague on it, this Bible hath bred all the Quarrel.*

At

At *Glaſtow*, a Prieſt, with ſome others, drew about forty *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Proteſtants to be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, and then told them, *They were in a good Faith, and for fear they ſhould fall from it and turn Hereticks*, he with his Companions preſently cut all their Throats.

In the County of *Tipperary*, near the *Silver Works*, ſome of theſe barbarous Papiſts met with eleven *Engliſhmen*, ten Women, and ſome Children; whom they firſt ſtript, and then with Stones, Pole-axes, Skeins, Swords, &c. they moſt barbarouſly maſſacred them all.

In the County of *Mayo* about ſixty Proteſtants, whereof fifteen were Miniſters, were upon Covenant to be ſafely conveyed to *Galway* by one *Edmond Burk* and his Soldiers; but by the Way, this *Burk* and his Company began to maſſacre theſe poor Proteſtants: Some they ſhot to Death; ſome they ſtabbed with their Skeins; ſome they thruſt through with their Pikes; ſome they drowned; the Women they ſtript naked, who lying upon their Huſbands to ſave them, were run through with Pikes; ſo that very few of them eſcaped with Life.

In the Town of *Sligo*, forty Proteſtants were ſtript and locked up in a Cellar, and about Midnight a Butcher provided for the purpoſe, was ſent in amongſt them; who with his Axe butchered them all.

In *Tyrawley*, thirty or forty *Engliſh*, who had yielded to go to Maſs, were put to their Choice, *Whether they would die by the Sword or be drowned?* They choſe the latter, and ſo being driven to the Sea-ſide, theſe barbarous Villains with their naked Swords forced them into the Sea; the Mothers with their Children in their Arms, wading to their Chin, were overcome by the Waves, where they all periſhed.

The Son of Mr. *Montgomery* a Miniſter, aged about fifteen Years, met with his Schoolmaſter, who drew his Skein at him; whereupon the Boy ſaid, *Good Maſter, whip me as much as you will, but do not kill me.* Yet this mercileſs Tyger barbarouſly murthered him without all Pity.

In the Town of *Sligo* all the Proteſtants were firſt robbed of their Eſtates, then caſt into Goal, and about Midnight were all ſtript naked, and were there moſt cruelly and barbarouſly murthered with Swords, Axes, Skeins, &c. ſome of them being Women great with Child, their Infants thruſt out their Arms and Legs at their Wounds; after which execrable Murthers, theſe Hell-hounds laid the dead naked Bodies of the Men upon the naked Bodies of the Women, in a moſt immodeſt Poſture; where they left them till the next Day to be looked upon by the *Iriſh*, who beheld it with great Delight. Alſo *Iſabel Beard*, great with Child, hearing the lamentable Cries of thoſe that were murthering, ran out into the Streets; where ſhe was murthered, and the next Day was found with the Child's Feet coming out of the Wounds in her Sides: many others were murthered in the Houſes and Streets.

About *Dungannon* were three hundred and ſixteen Proteſtants in the like barbarous manner murthered: About *Charlemont*, above four hundred: About *Tyrone*, two hundred and ſix.

One *Mac Crew* murthered thirty-one in one Morning.

Two young Villains murthered one hundred and forty poor Women and Children, that could make no Reſiſtance. An *Iriſh* Woman with her own Hands murthered forty-five.

At

At *Portendown Bridge* were drowned above three hundred. At *Lawgh* were drowned above two hundred. In another Place were drowned three hundred in one Day. In the Pariſh of *Killmen*, there were murthered one thouſand two hundred Proteſtants.

Many young Children they cut in Quarters; eighteen *Scottiſh* Infants they hanged upon a Clothier's Tenter-hooks; one fat Man they murthered and made Candles of his Greaſe; another *Scottiſh* Man they ript up his Belly, took one end of his ſmall Guts, tied it to a Tree, and forced him round about it, till they had drawn them all out of his Body, ſaying, *That they would try whether Dogs or a* Scottiſh *Man's Guts were the longer.*

By the Command of Sir *Philem O Neal*, Maſter *James Maxwell* was drawn out of his Bed, being ſick of a Fever, and murthered, his Wife being in Child-birth, the Child being half-born, they ſtript naked, drove her about a flight Shot, and drowned her in the *Black Water*; the like, or worſe, they did to another *Engliſh* Woman in the ſame Town. One Mr. *Watſon* they roaſted alive. A *Scottiſh* Woman great with Child, they ript up her Belly, cut the Child out of her Womb, and ſo left it crawling on her Body.

Mr. *Starkey*, Schoolmaſter at *Armagh*, being above one hundred Years old, they ſtript him naked, then took his two Daughters, being Virgins, who they alſo ſtript naked, and then forced them to lead their aged Father to a Turf-pit, where they drowned them all three.

To one *Henry Cowel*, a gallant Gentleman, they proffered his Life, if he would marry one of their Trulls, or go to Maſs, but he choſe Death rather than to conſent to either.

They brake the Back-bone of a Youth, and left him in the Fields, ſome Days after he was found, having eaten the Graſs round about him; neither then would they kill him outright, but removed him to better Paſture, wherein was fulfilled that ſaying, *The tender Mercies of the Wicked are Cruelty.*

In the County of *Antrim*, they murthered nine hundred fifty-four Proteſtants in one Morning, and afterwards about twelve hundred more in that County. Near *Liſnegarry*, they forced twenty-four Proteſtants into a Houſe and burnt them all.

Sir *Philem O Neal* boaſted, *That he had ſlain above ſix hundred at* Garvah, *and that he had left neither Man, Woman, nor Child alive in the Barony of* Munterlong. In other Places, he murthered above two thouſand Perſons in their Houſes; ſo that many Houſes were filled with dead Bodies.

Above twelve thouſand were ſlain in the Highways, as they fled towards *Down*. Many died of Famine, many died for the Want of Clothes, being ſtript naked in a cold Seaſon; ſome thouſands were drowned; ſo that in the Province of *Ulſter*, there were about one hundred and fifty thouſand murdered by ſundry kinds of Torments and Deaths.

Anne Kinnard teſtified, *That fifteen Proteſtants being impriſoned, and their Feet in the Stocks, a Popiſh Boy, being not above fourteen Years old, ſlew them all in one Night with his Skein.*

An *Engliſh* Woman, who was newly delivered of two Children, ſome of theſe Villains violently compelled her, in her great Pain and Sickneſs, to riſe out of her Bed, and took one of the Infants that was living, and daſhed his

Brains againſt the Stones, and then threw him into the River *Barrow:* The like they did by many other Infants; many others they hanged up without all Pity.

The Lord *Mont-Garret*, cauſed diverſe *Engliſh* Soldiers that he had taken about *Kilkenny*, to be hanged, hardly ſuffering them to pray before their Death.

One *Fitzpatrick*, an *Iriſh* Papiſt, enticed a rich Merchant, that was a Proteſtant, to bring all his Goods to his Houſe, promiſing ſafely to keep them, and to re-deliver them to him, and when he had gotten them into his Poſſeſſion, he took the Merchant and his Wife and hanged them both. The like he did by diverſe others.

Some *Engliſh* Men's Heads they cut off, and carried them to *Kilkenny*, and on the Market-Day, ſet them on the Croſs, where many, eſpecially the Women, ſtabbed, cut, and ſlaſhed them.

A poor Proteſtant Woman, with her two Children, going to *Kilkenny*, theſe bloody Miſcreants baited them with Dogs, ſtabbed them with Skeins, and pulled out the Guts of one of the Children, whereby they died; and not far off they took diverſe Men, Women, and Children, and hanged them up; one of the Women being great with Child, they ripped up her Belly as ſhe hanged, ſo that the Child fell out in the Cawl alive. Some after they were hanged they drew up and down till their Bowels were torn out.

How many thouſands of Proteſtants were there thus inhumanly butchered, by ſundry kinds of Death, we cannot aſcertain.

In the Province of *Ulſter*, we find vaſt Numbers murdered, as before; what the Number of the Slain was in the three Provinces, I find not upon Record, but certainly it was very great, for you have theſe Paſſages in a general Remonſtance of the diſtreſſed Proteſtants in the Province of *Munſter*. *We may* (ſay they) *compare our Woe to the ſaddeſt Parallel of any Story: Our Churches are prophaned by Sacrifices to Idols; our Habitations are become ruinous Heaps: No Quality, Age, or Sex, privileged from Maſſacres and lingering Deaths, by being robbed, ſtript naked, and ſo expoſed to Cold and Famine. The famiſhed Infants of murdered Parents ſwarm in our Streets, and for Want of Food periſh before our Faces*, &c. *And all this Cruelty that is exerciſed upon us, we know not for what Cauſe, Offence, or ſeeming Provocation it is inflicted upon us (Sin excepted) ſaving that we were Proteſtants*, &c. *We can make it manifeſt, that the Depopulations in this Province of* Munſter, *do well near equal thoſe of the whole Kingdom*, &c.

And thus in part you have heard of the mercileſs Cruelties which the bloody *Iriſh* Papiſts exerciſed toward the Proteſtants. Let us now conſider, at leaſt ſome of God's Judgments upon the *Iriſh*, whereby he hath not left the innocent Blood of his Servants to be altogether unrevenged.

The bloody Hell-hounds themſelves confeſſed, *That the Ghoſt of diverſe of the Proteſtants which they had drowned at* Portendown Bridge, *were daily ſeen to walk upon the River; ſometimes ſinging of Pſalms; ſometimes brandiſhing naked Swords; ſometimes ſhrieking in a moſt hideous and fearful manner.* So that many of the Popiſh *Iriſh*, which dwelt near thereabouts, being affrighted therewith, were forced to remove their Habitations farther off into the Country.

Katherine Cook teſtified upon Oath, *That when the* Iriſh *had barbarouſly drowned one hundred and eighty Proteſtants, Men, Women and Children at* Portendown

tendown Bridge, *about nine Days after, ſhe ſaw the Apparition of a Man bolt-upright in the River, ſtanding breaſt-high, with his Hands lifted up to Heaven; and continued in that Poſture from* December *to the end of* Lent, *at which time ſome of the* Engliſh *Army paſſing that way, ſaw it alſo; after which it vaniſhed away.*

Elizabeth Price, teſtified upon Oath, *That ſhe and other Women, whoſe Husband's Children were drowned in that Place, hearing of thoſe Apparitions, went thither one Evening, at which time they ſaw one like a Woman riſe out of the River breaſt-high, her Hair hanging down, which, with her Skin, was as white as Snow, often crying out*, Revenge, Revenge, Revenge, *which ſo affrighted them that they went away.*

Diverſe Proteſtants were thrown into the River of *Belterbert*, and when any of them offered to ſwim to the Land, they were knocked on the Head with Poles, after which their Bodies were not ſeen of ſix Weeks, but after the end hereof, the Murderers coming again that way, the Bodies came floating up to the very Bridge where they were.

Sir *Con Mac Gennis*, with his Company, ſlew Mr. *Turge*, Miniſter of the *Newry*, with diverſe other Proteſtants, after which the ſaid *Mac Gennis* was ſo affrighted with the Apparition of the ſaid Mr. *Turge*, his being continually in his Preſence, that he commanded his Soldiers not to ſlay any more of them but ſuch as ſhould be ſlain in Battle.

A young Woman being ſtript almoſt naked, there came a Rogue to her, bidding her, *Give him her Money, or he would run her through with his Sword.* Her Anſwer was, *You cannot kill me, except God give you leave*; whereupon he ran three times at her naked Body with his drawn Sword, and yet never pierced her Skin; whereat he being confounded went his way and left her. This was atteſted by diverſe Women that were preſent and ſaw it.

As for the Proteſtant Miniſters, whom they ſurprized, their manner was firſt to ſtrip them, and after bind them to a Tree or Poſt, where they pleaſed, and then to raviſh their Wives and Daughters before their Faces (in Sight of their mercileſs Rabble) with the baſeſt Villains they could pick out; after they hanged up their Huſbands and Parents before their Faces, and then cut them down before they were half dead, then quartered them, after diſmembered them, and ſtopped their Mouths therewith.

They baſely abuſed one Mr. *Trafford* a Miniſter in the North of *Ireland*, who being aſſaulted by theſe bloody Wolves of *Rome*'s Brood, that knew not God, nor any Bowels of Mercy. This diſtreſſed Miniſter deſired but ſo much time as to call upon God, before he went out of the World; but theſe mercileſs Wretches would admit no time, but inſtantly fell upon him, hackt and hewed him to Pieces.

Sir *Patrick Dunſtan*'s Wife they raviſhed before him, ſlew his Servants, ſpurned his Children till they died, bound him with Match to a Board that his Eyes burſt out, cut off his Ears and Noſe, teared off both his Cheeks, after cut off his Arms and Legs, cut out his Tongue, and after run a red-hot Iron into him.

Theſe Particulars, with many more, were atteſted before the Commiſſioners appointed for that Purpoſe.

See more of ſuch Cruelties in *Clark*'s *Martyrology*.

An ACCOUNT of the Proceedings at the Seſſions for the City of *Weſtminſter*, againſt *Thomas Whitfield*, Scrivener; *John Smallbones*, Woodmonger; and *William Laud*, Painter; for tearing a PETITION prepared to be preſented to the King's Majeſty, for the Sitting of the Parliament. With an Account of the ſaid PETITION preſented on the 13th Inſtant; and his Majeſty's Gracious Anſwer.

IT being the undoubted Right of the Subjects of *England*, and warranted by the Law of the Land *, and the general Practice of all former Times, in an humble manner to apply themſelves to his Majeſty, in the Abſence of Parliaments, *by Petition*; *for the Redreſs of their Grievances, and for the obtaining ſuch things as they apprehend neceſſary or beneficial, to the Safety and Well-being of the Nation.* And it being their Duty to which they are bound, by the expreſs Words of the Oath of Allegiance, † to repreſent to him any Danger which they apprehend threatening his Royal Perſon or his Government; diverſe Perſons in about the City of *Weſtminſter*, conſidering the too apparent and unſpeakable Danger his Majeſty and his Kingdoms are in, from the helliſh Plots and villanious Conſpiracies of the Bloody Papiſts and their Adherents, and conceiving no ſufficient (or at leaſt ſo fit) Remedy could be provided againſt it, but by the Parliament, by whom alone ſeveral Perſons accuſed of theſe accurſed Deſigns can be brought to Trial, did prepare and ſign a Petition, humbly repreſenting to his Majeſty the eminent Danger his Royal Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Government of this Nation were in, from that moſt damnable and helliſh Popiſh Plot, *branched forth into ſeveral the moſt horrid Villanies:* For which ſeveral of the principal Conſpirators ſtand impeached by Parliament, and thereby humbly praying, that the Parliament might ſit upon the 26th of *January*, to try the Offenders, and to redreſs the important Grievances no other ways to be redreſſed; of which *Thomas Whitfield*, *John Smallbones*, and *William Laud*, Inhabitants in *Weſtminſter*, taking Notice; upon the 20th Day of *December* laſt, they ſent to Mr. *William Horſley*, who had ſigned and promoted the Petition, and in whoſe Cuſtody it was, to bring or ſend it to them, for that they deſired to ſign it: And thereupon Mr. *Horſley* attended them, and pro-

* Vide, the Reſolution of the Law, Cok. Juriſdict. of Courts, 79. Hobart 220 Vol. Magna Chart. Ex. l. Spencer 51. Vide the Proclamation of King *Charles* the Firſt.

† I do ſwear from my Heart, that I will bear Faith and true Allegiance, to his Majeſty, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, and him and them will defend to the uttermoſt of my Power againſt all *Conſpiracies* and Attemps whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt his or their Perſons, their Crown and Dignity. *And will do my beſt Endeavours to diſcloſe and make known* unto his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, *all Treaſons and Traiterous Conſpiracies*, which I ſhall know or *hear of* to be againſt him or any of them.

producing the Petition in which many Perſons had joined, he delivered it at their Requeſt to be by them read and ſigned, but Mr. *Whitfield* immediately tore it in Pieces, and threw it towards the Fire, and *Smallbones* catching it up, ſaid, that he would not take ten Shillings for the Names, and then they declared, that they ſent for it for that very purpoſe, and owned themſelves all concerned in the Deſign.

Upon Mr. *Horſley*'s Complaint hereof to a Juſtice of the Peace, a Warrant was granted againſt them, and they being taken thereupon, after Examination of the Matter, were bound to appear and anſwer it at the next Quarter Seſſions of the Peace for the City of *Weſtminſter*; and upon *Friday* the 9th of *January* Inſtant, the Seſſions being holden, and there being preſent ſeveral Juſtices of the Peace that are eminent Lawyers, the Matter was brought before them, and the Grand Jury indicted the ſaid *Whitfield*, *Smallbones* and *Laud*, as followeth, *viz.*

The City, Borough and Town of Weſtminſter *in the County of* Middleſex.

" THE Jurors for our Sovereign Lord the King *upon their Oath do pre-*
" *ſent, that whereas the Subjects and Liege People of the Kings and Queens*
" *of this Realm of* England, *by the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm, have uſed*
" *and been accuſtomed to repreſent their publick Grievances by Petition, or by*
" *any other ſubmiſſive way*; and that the 20th Day of *December*, in the One
" and Thirtieth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *Charles* the Second,
" by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland* King, De-
" fender of the Faith, *&c.* at the Pariſh of *St. Martins in the Fields*, within
" the Liberty of the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of *St. Peter*, of
" the City, Borough and Town of *Weſtminſter* in the County of *Middleſex*; a
" Petition written in Paper, *was prepared and ſubſcribed* with the Hands of
" diverſe the ſaid King's Subjects and Liege People, (to the Jury unknown) and
" to our ſaid Sovereign Lord King *Charles* the Second directed, and to our ſaid
" Sovereign Lord the King to be preſented and delivered; *by which Petition*
" *it was ſhewn, that whereas there had been, and was a moſt damnable Plot*
" *againſt the Royal Perſon of our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King, the Proteſtant*
" *Religion, and well eſtabliſhed Government of this Realm, for which Plot ſeve-*
" *ral of the principal Conſpirators were impeached by Parliament, and whereby*
" *it was humbly praved, that the Parliament, which was prorogued to the 26th*
" *of* January *next enſuing the ſaid Year, might then ſit to try the Offenders, and*
" *to redreſs the preſſing Grievances not otherwiſe to be redreſſed.* And that
" *Thomas Whitfield* late of the ſaid Pariſh of *St. Martins in the Fields* in the
" Liberty aforeſaid in the County aforeſaid, Yeoman, *John Smallbones* late of
" the ſaid Pariſh, within the Liberty aforeſaid in the County aforeſaid, Wood-
" monger, and *William Laud*, late of the Pariſh aforeſaid in the County afore-
" ſaid, Yeoman; *being Perſons ill-affected and contriving*, deviſing and intend-
" ing as much as in them lay, *to hinder the ſitting of the ſaid Parliament as was*
" *praved by the ſaid Petition, and alſo to hinder the Trial of the ſaid Offenders,*
" *and redreſſing the ſaid Grievances*, the ſaid 20th Day of *December* in the ſaid
" One and Thirtieth Year of the Reign of our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King, as
" Rioters and Diſturbers of the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, for the

" diſturbing

" disturbing of the Peace of our said Sovereign Lord the King, with Force and " Arms at the said Parish within the Liberty aforesaid in the County aforesaid, " unlawfully and riotously did assemble themselves, and being so then and there " assembled, with Force and Arms then and there *Unlawfully, Riotously, and In-* " *juriously, the said Petition* being delivered by one *William Horsley* to them " the said *Thomas Whitfield, John Smallbones* and *William Laud* at their Re- " quest, and for the subscribing their Names thereunto if they should think fit, " *did tear in Pieces in Contempt of our said Sovereign Lord the King*, and of his " Laws, to the evil Example of all others in the like Cases offending, and " against the Peace of our said Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown, and Dignity.

The Names of the Grand Jury that found the Bill, are these

William Jacob	*John Weston*	*Edward Whitefoot*	*Cornelius Rickfield*
Thomas Trevor	*Martin Frogg*	*John Gentle*	*George Wright*, Apothecary
Erasmus Browne	*John Pierce*	*Thomas Harris*	*Walter Wright*
Henry Dugley	*Robert Pinke*	*William Fortune* ☞	*Adam Langley.*
Richard Streete	*Nathaniel Wilkinson*	*Roger Higdon*	
John Henly		*James Harrold*	

Upon *Wednesday* the 7th of this Instant *January*, many Gentlemen and eminent Citizens, who had been concerned for managing the Petition for the Sitting of the Parliament, upon the 26th Instant met together, and agreed upon the Method of finishing the same, and of nominating fit Persons for the presenting it to his Majesty, which being accordingly done; these Gentlemen following, *viz.*

Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Baronet, Son-in-Law to the late Bishop of *Durham*.
Francis Charlton Esq; *John Smith Esq*; *Ellis Crispe Esq*; *Henry Ashurst Esq*;
John Ellis Esq; *Johnson of* Stepney *Esq*; *Anthony Selby Esq*; *Tho. Smith Esq*;

Gentlemen of good Worth and Estates, and several of whom have been eminent Sufferers for his Majesty, did this 13th of *January* attend his Majesty with it at *Whitehall*, when being introduced to his Royal Presence, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* kneeling, presented this Petition;

To the King's most excellent Majesty, the humble Petition of your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, Inhabitants in and about the City of *London*, whose Names are here under subscribed,

" *Sheweth*,

" That whereas there has been and still is a most damnable and hellish Po- " pish Plot branched forth into the most horrid Villanies against your Majesty's " most sacred Person, the Protestant Religion, and the well established Govern- " ment of this your Realm, for which several of the principal Conspirators stand " now impeached by Parliament.

" Therefore in such a time when your Majesty's Royal Person, as also the " Protestant Religion and the Government of this Nation are thus in most emi- " nent Danger."

We

We your Majesty's most dutiful and obedient Subjects, in the deepest Sense of our Duty and Allegiance to your Majesty, do most humbly and earnestly pray, that the Parliament which is prorogued until the 26th Day of January, *may then sit to try the Offenders, and to redress all our most important Grievances no otherwise to be redressed.*

And your Petitioners shall ever pray for your Majesty's long and prosperous Reign.

And expressed himself to this Effect; *Sir, I have a Petition from many thousands of your Majesty's dutiful and loyal Subjects, in and about the City of* London, *which I humbly present in their Names, and desire your Majesty would be pleased to read it.*

To which his Majesty gave this gracious Answer, *I know the Substance of it already, I am Head of the Government, and will take Care of it*; and then received the Petition, it being a great Roll of above an hundred Yards in length, and carried it away in his Hand.

The JUDGES Opinions concerning PETITIONS to the KING in PUBLICK MATTERS.

See Moore's *Reports*, p. 755. Crook's *Reports*, p. 37. 2 Jacobi.

With a Clause of a late Act of PARLIAMENT concerning the same Subject.

FEB. 13. 2 *Jac.* In the Star-Chamber all the Justices of *England* were assembled with many of the Nobility, *viz.* the Lord *Ellesmore*, Lord Chancellor; the Earl of *Dorset*, Lord Treasurer; the Lord Viscount *Cranborn*, Principal Secretary; the Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord Admiral; the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Worcester*, *Devon*, and *Northampton*; the Lords *Zouch*, *Burleigh*, and *Knolls*; the Chancellor of the Dutchy. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *London*, *Popham*, Chief Justice, *Bruce*, Master of the Rolls, *Anderson*, *Gawdy*, *Walmesly*, *Fenner*, *Kingsmil*, *Warberton*, *Savile*, *Daniel*, *Yelverton*, and *Snig*. And there the Chancellor of *England*, by the King's Command, after he had made a long Speech concerning the Justices of Peace, and an Exhortation to the Justices of Assize, and a Discourse of Papists and Puritans, declaring that they were both the Disturbers of the State, and that the King intended to suppress them, and to have the Laws put in Execution against them, demanded of the Judges their Resolution of three Things.

Whereof one was,

If it were an Offence punishable, and what Punishment is due by the Law, to those who frame Petitions and collect Multitudes of Hands thereto to prefer to the King in publick Causes, as the Puritans have done, with intimation to the

the King, that if he denies their Suit, that many thouſands of his Subjects would be diſcontented?

To which all the Juſtices anſwered, that this was an Offence finable by Diſcretion, and very near to Treaſon and Felony in deſert of Puniſhment; for this tends to raiſe Sedition, Rebellion, and Diſcontent among the People.

To which Reſolution, all the Lords agreed. And then many of the Lords declared, that ſome of the Puritans had raiſed a falſe Rumour of the King, that he intended to grant a Toleration to Papiſts, the which Offence ſeemed to the Juſtices grievouſly finable by the Rules of Common Law, in the King's Bench, or by the King and his Council, or now ſince the Statute of *3 H.* VII. in the Star-Chamber. And the Lords each by themſelves publickly declared, that the King was diſcontented with this falſe Rumour; and the Day before had made a Proteſtation unto them, that he never intended it; and that he would loſe the laſt Drop of Blood in his Body before he would do it. And that he prayed to God, that before his Iſſue ſhould maintain any other Religion than this that himſelf maintains, that he would take them out of the World.

Anno 13. *Caroli* II. *Regis.*

In an Act entituled, *An Act againſt Tumults and Diſorders, upon Pretence of preparing or preſenting publick Petitions, or other Addreſſes, to his Majeſty, or the Parliament,*

There is this Preamble and Clauſe.

WHereas it hath been found by ſad Experience, that tumultuous, and other diſorderly ſolliciting, and procuring of Hands by private Perſons to Petitions, Complaints, Remonſtrances and Declaration, and other Addreſſes to the King, or to both, or either Houſes of Parliament, for Alteration of Matters eſtabliſhed by Law, Redreſs of pretended Grievances in Church or State, or other publick Concernments, have been made uſe of to ſerve the Ends of factious and ſeditious Perſons gotten into Power, to the Violation of the publick Peace, and have been a great means of the late unhappy Wars, Confuſions, and Calamities in this Nation; for preventing the like Miſchief for the future;

Be it enacted, *&c.* That no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever ſhall, from, and after the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, 1661, ſollicite, labour, or procure the getting of Hands, or other Conſent of any Perſons above the Number of twenty, or more, to any Petition, Complaint, Remonſtrance, Declaration, or other Addreſs to the King, or both, or either Houſes of Parliament, for Alteration of Matters eſtabliſhed by Law in Church or State, unleſs the Matter thereof have been firſt conſented unto, and ordered by three or more Juſtices of that County, or by the major Part of the Grand Jury of the County, or Diviſion of the County, where the ſame Matter ſhall ariſe at their publick Aſſizes, or General Quarter Seſſions, or if ariſing in *London*, by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in Common Council aſſembled; and that no Perſon, or Perſons whatſoever, ſhall repair to his Majeſty, or both, or either of the Houſes of Parliament, upon Pretence of preſenting, or delivering any Petition, Complaint, Remonſtrance, or De-

claration, or other Addreſſes accompanied with exceſſive number of People, nor at any one time with above the number of ten Perſons, upon pain of incurring a Penalty, not exceeding the Sum of One Hundred Pounds in Money, and three Months Impriſonment without Bail or Mainprize for every Offence, which Offence to be proſecuted, *&c. See the Act at Large.*

Anno 13 *Caroli* II.

In an Act Entituled, An Act for Safety and Preſervation of His Majeſty's Perſon and Government againſt treaſonable and ſeditious Practices and Attempts,

There is this Clauſe,

BE it enacted *&c.* That if any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever after the 24th Day of *June* 1661, during his Majeſty's Life, ſhall maliciouſly, and adviſedly publiſh or affirm the King to be an Heretick or a Papiſt, or that he endeavours to introduce Popery; or ſhall maliciouſly and adviſedly, by writing, printing, preaching or other ſpeaking, expreſs, publiſh, utter or declare any Words, Sentences, or other thing or things, to incite or ſtir up the People to Hatred or Diſlike of the Perſon of his Majeſty, or the eſtabliſhed Government, then every ſuch Perſon and Perſons, being thereof legally convicted, ſhall be diſabled to have or enjoy, and is hereby diſabled, and made incapable of having, holding, enjoying, or exerciſing any Place, Office, or Promotion Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, or Military, or any other Employment in Church or State, other than that of his Peerage, and ſhall likewiſe be liable to ſuch further and other Puniſhments, as by the Common Laws or Statutes of this Realm may be inflicted in ſuch Caſes, *&c. See the Statute at Large.*

An Anſwer to a LETTER, written by a Member of Parliament in the Country, upon the Occaſion of his reading of the *Gazette* of the 11th of *December*, 1679.

SIR,

I Received your Letter, when I was engaged in much other Buſineſs, which will excuſe me that I have not returned an Anſwer ſooner, and that it is done no better now: You deſire me to let you know what that Judgment is, which my Lord Chancellor acquainted my Lord Mayor and his Brethren with, and what my thoughts are upon it: and that I may obey you in both, I will firſt tranſcribe that Caſe, as it is reported by Juſtice *Crook*, that being already put into *Engliſh*, whereas the Caſe in *Moor* is in *French*.

Memorandum, that by Command from the King all the Juſtices of *England*, with diverſe of the Nobility, *viz.* the Lord *Elleſmere* Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Dorſet* Lord Treaſurer, Viſcount *Cranbourn* Principal Secretary, the Earl of *Nottingham* Lord Admiral, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Worceſter*, *Devon*, and

thampton, the Lords *Zouch*, *Burghley* and *Knowles*, the Chancellor of the *Dutchy*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *London*, *Popham* Chief Justice, *Bruce* Master of the Rolls, *Anderson*, *Gawdy*, *Walmesley*, *Fenner*, *Kingsmil*, *Warburton*, *Savel*, *Daniel*, *Yelverton* and *Snigg*, were assembled in the *Star-Chamber*, where the Lord Chancellor, after a long Speech made by him concerning Justices of the Peace, and his Exhortation to the Justices of Assize, and a Discourse concerning Papists and Puritans, declaring how they both were Disturbers of the State, and that the King intending to suppress them, and to have the Laws put in execution against them, demanded of the Justices their Resolutions in three things: First, whether the Deprivation of Puritan-Ministers by the High-Commissioners, for refusing to conform themselves to the Ceremonies appointed by the last Canons, was lawful, Whereto all the Justices answered, that they had conferred thereof before, and held it to be lawful; because the King hath the Supreme Ecclesiastical Power, which he hath delegated to the Commissioners, whereby they had the Power of Deprivation by the Canon-Law of the Realm. And the Statute of 1 *Eliz.* which appoints Commissioners to be made by the Queen, doth not confer any new Power, but explain and declare the ancient Power. And therefore they held it clear, *That the King without Parliament might make Orders and Constitutions for the Government of the Clergy, and might deprive them if they obeyed not. And so the Commmissioners might deprive them.* But they could not make any Constitutions without the King: the divulging of such Ordinances by Proclamation is a most gracious Admonition; for as much as they have refused to obey, they are lawfully deprived by the Commissioners *ex Officio*, without Libel *Et ore tenus convocati*. Secondly, Whether a Prohibition be grantable against the Commissioners upon the Statute of 2 *H.* V. if they do not deliver the Copy of the Libel to the Party; Whereto they all answered, that Statute is intended; where the Ecclesiastical Judge proceeds *ex Officio & ore tenus*. Thirdly, Whether it were an Offence punishable, and what Punishment they deserved, who framed Petitions, and collected a Multitude of Hands thereto, to prefer to the King, in a publick Cause, as the Puritans had done with an Intimation to the King, that if he denied their Suit, many thousands of his Subjects would be discontented? Whereto all the Justices answered, that it was an Offence finable at Discretion, and very near *to Treason and Felony in the Punishment*: For they tended to the raising of Sedition, Rebellion, and Discontent among the People: To which Resolution all the Lords agreed. And then many of the Lords declared, that some of the Puritans had raised a false Rumour of the King, how he intended to grant a Toleration to Papists: Which Offence the Justices conceived to be heinously finable by the Rules of the Common Law, either in the King's Bench, *or by the King and his Council*, or now since the Statute of 3 *H.* VII. in the Star-Chamber. And the Lords severally declared how the King was discontented with the said false Rumour, and had made but the Day before a Protestation unto them, that he never intended it, and that he would spend the last Drop of Blood in his Body before he would do it; and prayed, that before any of his Issue should maintain any other Religion than what he truly professed and maintained, that God would take them out of the World.

I doubt not but yourself, and every *English* Protestant, will joyn with this Royal Petitioner, and will heartily say *Amen*.

But

But you desire to know if I think the Resolution of the Judges in this Case ought to deter us from humbly petitioning his Majesty, that this Parliament may effectually sit on the 26th Day of *January* next. In order to this, give me leave to observe to you, As it is most certain, that a great Reverence is due to the unanimous Opinion of all the Judges, so there is a great Difference to be put between the Authority of their Judgments when solemnly given in Cases depending before them, and their sudden and extrajudicial Opinions. The Case of Ship-money itself, is not a better Proof of this, than that which you have now read, as you will now see, if you consider distinctly what they say to the several Questions proposed to them.

As to their Answer to the first Question, it much concerns the reverend Clergy to enquire whether they did not mistake in it? And whether the King, by his Proclamation, can make new Constitutions, and oblige them to Obedience under the Penalty of Deprivation? Should it be so, and should this unhappy Kingdom ever suffer under the Reign of a Popish Prince, he might easily rid himself of such obstinate Hereticks, and leave his Ecclesiastical Preferments open for Men of better Principles: He will need only to publish a Proclamation, that Spittle and Salt should be used in Baptism, that Holy Water should be used, and Images set up in Churches; and a few more such things as these, and the Business were effectually done. But if you will believe my Lord Chief Justice *Cook*, * he will tell you, that it was agreed by all the Judges upon Debate, *Hill. 4th Jacobi*, that the King cannot change his Ecclesiastial Law; and you may easily remember since the whole Parliament declared, that he could not alter or suspend them.

†I have the uniform Opinion of all the Judges given upon great Deliberation, *Mic. 4 Jac.* to justify me, if I say that our Judges here were utterly mistaken in the Answer which they gave to the second Question. I will not cite the numerous subsequent Authorities, since every Man knows, that it is the constant Practice of *Westminister-Hall* at this Day to grant Prohibitions, upon Refusal to give a Copy of Articles, where the Proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts are *ex Officio*.

You see there was a kind of ill Fate upon the Judges this Day, as usually there was when met in the Star-chamber, and that they were very unfortunate in answering two of the three Questions proposed to them; let us go on to consider what does principally concern us at present, their Answer to the last Question.

You have just done reading it, and therefore I need not repeat to you either the Doubt or the Solution of it; but one may be allowed to say modestly, that it was a sudden Answer: 'Tis possible the Lords then present were well enough inform'd, when they were told, that such kind of Petitioning was an Offence next to Treason and Felony; but I dare be so bold as to say, that at this Day, not a Lawyer in *England* would be the wiser for such an Answer; they would be confounded, and not know whether it were Misprision of Treason, which seems an Offence neareſt to Treason, or Petty-larceny, which seems neareſt to Felony.

You will be apt to tell me that I mistake my Lords the Judges, and they spoke not of the Nature of the Crime, but the Manner of the Punishment; but this will mend the Matter but little; for since the Punishments of those two Crimes are so

* 12. *Co.* 19. 12. *Co.* 94. † *Co. Mag. Char.* 616.

very different, you are ſtill as much in the dark as ever, what theſe ambiguous Words mean.

Well, but we will agree, that the Crime about which the Enquiry was made, was a very great one. When Men arrive to ſuch Inſolence, as to threaten their Prince, it will be but little Excuſe to them to call their *Menaces* by the ſoft and gentle Name of Petitions.

But you would know for what, and in what manner we are at preſent to petition; and I will give you a plain and infallible Rule. ‡ It is the Statute 13 *Car.* II. *c.* 5.

Be it Enacted, *&c.* that no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, ſhall ſolicit, labour, or procure the getting of Hands, or other Conſent of any Perſons above the number of Twenty, or more, to any Petition, Complaint, Remonſtrance, Declaration, or other Addreſſes to the King, or both, or either Houſes of Parliament, for Alteration of Matters eſtabliſhed by Law in Church or State, unleſs the Matter thereof have been firſt conſented to, and ordered by three or more Juſtices of the County, or by the major part of the Grand Jury of the County, or Diviſion of the County, where the ſame Matter ſhall ariſe at their publick Aſſizes, or General Quarter-Seſſions, or if ariſing in *London*, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in Common Council aſſembled; and that no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever ſhall repair to his Majeſty, or both, or either of the Houſes of Parliament, upon Pretence of preſenting or delivering any Petition, Complaint, Remonſtrance, or Declaration, or other Addreſſes, accompanied with exceſſive number of People, not at any one Time with above the number of ten Perſons, upon the Pain of incurring a Penalty, not exceeding the Sum of One Hundred Pounds in Money, and three Months Impriſonment, without Bail or Mainprize for every Offence; which Offence to be proſecuted at the Court of *King-Bench*, or at the Aſſizes, or general Quarter-Seſſions, within ſix Months after the Offence committed, and proved by two or more credible Witneſſes.

Here you obſerve the Parliament, who ſet themſelves directly to obviate all the Inconveniences, which might ariſe to the Government from tumultuous petitioning, will not allow that great Numbers ſhould join in Petitions, for Alteration of the Laws (becauſe it is poſſible ill Men might abuſe ſuch a Liberty,) unleſs the Matter of the Petition be conſented to in ſuch a Manner as the Act directs; but in all other Caſes, they leave the Subjects to their undoubted Liberty, as well knowing that from thence there could ariſe no poſſible Inconvenience; but on the contrary, that to bar the People of that humble Way of making their Wants known, might force them upon worſe Ways of doing it.

And therefore I muſt tell you, that you do my Lord Chancellor great Injuſtice, if you think his Speech tends to deter Men from all manner of petitioning: No, that wiſe and eloquent Lord, who receives every Day ſo many Petitions, will, I ſuppoſe, be content the King ſhould receive ſome too. It never yet was thought ſeditious or tumultuous in any Government, for the Subjects in an humble Manner to beg, that he who has the only Power to do it, would redreſs their Grievances: 'Tis the Way by which we apply ourſelves to the King of Heaven, who knows all our Wants, and yet expects from us that we ſhould daily expreſs them to him in humble Petitions. And the Wiſdom of the Church, which

‡ 13. *Car.* II. *c.* 5.

which has appointed Liturgies, and Forms of Common-Prayer, seems to instruct us, that God is pleased when huge Numbers join in the same Petition. Why should not then suppliant Subjects, with like Humility, and in like manner, address themselves to the God on Earth? especially since Kings cannot know our Desires, or our Grievances, till we ourselves inform them what they are. I remember some wicked Councellors of *Darius* did once obtain a Law to be made, ‖ that none should petition any one but the King for thirty Days; but there never yet was found so absurd a States-man as to advise a Law, that Subjects should not supplicate their Prince. 'Tis probable it would be well for some Favourites, who are near a King, if such a Right could be taken from the People, for then all their false Suggestions and Informations might pass undiscovered; but 'tis impossible that a King should long be safe in such a Condition. I will suppose a malicious Statesman, intending to raise a Jealousy in the Mind of the Sovereign, should inform him in dangerous Times, that he was not beloved by his People, and that he was not to trust them: How could the Subjects in such a case recover the Prince's good Opinion, in the Absence of a Legal Representative, but by humble and affectionate Addresses; Or suppose some good Protestant Prince should be so unfortunate, as to have some Counsellors near him who are concealed; and others, whose Crimes make them fear Parliaments; it is easy to suppose, that the one sort will be filling his Ears with Stories, that a great part of his Kingdom are inclined to Popery; and the other sort, that the best of his Subjects are quite out of Love with Parliaments, as factious and seditious Assemblies. Into what unfortunate Circumstances would such a Prince be apt to fall, if his People were precluded from addressing themselves, and opening their Desires to him!

I might go on to trouble you with infinite Instances of this Nature, but there is no want of any in so plain a Case: 'Tis the Doctrine of our Church, that the only Arms of Subjects, are Prayers, Petitions, Supplications and Tears; and they are no Friends either to the King or Church, who would disarm us of these.

* My Lord Chief Justice *Hobbart* tells us, that it is lawful for any Subject to petition to the King for Redress in an humble and modest manner; for (says he) Access to the Sovereign must not be shut up in case of the Subjects Distresses †. It was one of the Crimes for which the *Spencers* were banished by Parliament, that they hindred the King from receiving and answering Petitions from great Men, and others.

And as it is our unquestionable Right, so in all Ages the Usage has been by Petition, to inform our King of our Grievances. In the Reign of King *Ed.* II. and *Ed.* III. Petitions were frequent for Redress of publick Grievances, and for Parliaments, especially out of *Ireland* (though that is a conquer'd Nation,) as may be seen in the close Rolls of the Reigns of those two King. One Instance I will give you for your Satisfaction, but I will tire you with no more, for that would be endless.

‡ 'Tis *Clauf.* 10. *Ed.* II. *M.* 28. *intus pro communitate Hiberniæ. Rex Dilect & fidelibus suis Justic. Cancellar. & Thesaur. suis Hib. salutem ex parte populi nostri terræ prædict. per Petitionem suam coram nobis & Concilio nostro exhibitum nobis est cum instantia supplicatum, quod cum,* &c.

‖ *Dan.* ch. 6. * *Hob.* 220. *Wrenham's* Case. † *Vet. Magn. Chart. Exil. Hugi. De Spencer* 51. ‡ *Clauf.* 10. *E.* II. *M.* 28. *intus Pro communitate Hiberniæ.*

In the 5th Year of King *Richard the* II. The whole Body of the Realm petition'd, that the moſt wiſe and able Men within the Realm might be choſen Chancellors.

King *Henry* VIII. told his Subjects then in Arms againſt him in *Yorkſhire*, that they ought not to have rebelled, but to have applied themſelves to him by Petition.

King *James* by a Proclamation publiſhed in the 12th Year of his Reign, begins thus: The Complaints lately exhibited to us by certain Noblemen, and others of our Kingdom of *Ireland*, ſuggeſting Diſorders and Abuſes, as well in the Proceedings of the late begun Parliament, as in the Martial and Civil Government of the Kingdom, We did receive with extraordinary Grace and Favour.

‖ And by another Proclamation in the 12th Year of his Reign, he declares, that it was the Right of his Subjects to make their immediate Addreſſes to him by Petition; and in the 19th Year of his Reign he invites his Subjects to it.

* And in the 20th Year of his Reign he tells his People, that his own and the Ears of his Privy-Council did ſtill continue open to the juſt Complaints of his People; and that they were not confined to Times and Meetings in Parliament, nor reſtrained to particular Grievances; not doubting but that his loving Subjects would apply themſelves to his Majeſty for Relief; to the utter aboliſhing of all thoſe private Whiſperings and cauſeleſs Rumours, which without giving his Majeſty any Opportunity of Reformation by particular Knowledge of any Fault, ſerve to no other purpoſe but to occaſion and blow abroad Diſcontentment.

† It appears, that the Houſes of Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, *nemine contradicente*, voted Thanks to thoſe Lords who petitioned the King at *York*, to call a Parliament.

‡ And the King by his Declaration printed in the ſame Year, declares his Royal Will and Pleaſure, that all his loving Subjects, who have any juſt Cauſe to preſent or complain of any Grievances or Oppreſſions, may freely addreſs themſelves by their humble Petitions to his Sacred Majeſty, who will graciouſly hear their Complaints.

‖ Since his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration, the Inhabitants of the County of *Bucks* made a Petition, that their County might not be over-run by the King's Deer; and the ſame was done by the County of *Surry* on the ſame Occaſion.

'Tis time for me to conclude your trouble: I ſuppoſe you do no longer doubt, but that you may join in Petition for a Parliament, ſince you ſee it has been often done heretofore: nor need you fear how many of your honeſt Countrymen join with you, ſince you hear of Petitions by the whole Body of the Realm; and ſince you ſee, both by the Opinions of our Lawyers, by the Doctrine of our Church, and by the Declarations of our Kings, that it is our undoubted Right to Petition. Nothing can be more abſurd than to ſay, that the Number of the Supplicants makes an innocent Petition an Offence; on the contrary, if in a thing of this publick Concernment, a few only ſhould addreſs themſelves to the King, it would be a thing in it ſelf ridiculous; the great End of ſuch Addreſſes being to

‖ *Coke*, Juriſdiction of Courts, *p.* 79. *Burarts* Hiſtory of the Reformation, *pag.* 231. *Procl. Dat.* 7. *Feb.* 11. *Jac.*

* Procl. 12 *Jac.* † Procl dat. 10*th July* 19. *Jac.* Procl. dat. 14 *Feb.* 20. *Jac.*

‡ Lords Journal, *An.* 1640. ‖ Declar. 1640.

to acquaint him with the general Desires of his People, which can never be done unless Multitudes join. How can the Complaints of the diffusive Body of the Realm reach his Majesty's Ears in the Absence of Parliament, but in the actual Concurrence of every individual Person in Petition? for the personal Application of Multitudes, is indeed unlawful and dangerous.

* Give me leave, since the *Gazette* runs so much in your mind, to tell you (as I may modestly enough do, since the Statute directs me) what Answer the Judges would now give if such another Case were put to them, as was put to the Judges 2 *Jacobi*.

Suppose the Nonconformists at this Day (as the *Puritans* then did) should sollicit the getting of the Hands of Multitudes to a Petition to the King for suspending the Execution of the penal Laws against themselves; the present Judges would not tell you, that this was an Offence next to Treason or Felony, nor that the Offenders were to be brought to the Council-board to be punished; but they would tell you plainly and distinctly, that if the Hands of more Persons than twenty were sollicited or procured to such a Petition, and the Offenders were convicted upon the Evidence of two more credible Witnesses upon a Prosecution in the Kings-Bench, or at the Assizes, or Quarter Sessions, within six Months, they would incur a Penalty not exceeding One Hundred Pounds and three Months Imprisonment, because their Petition was to change a Matter established by Law. But I am sure you are a better Logician than not to see the Difference which the Statute makes between such a Petition which is to alter a thing established by Law, and an innocent and humble Petition. That a Parliament may meet according to Law, in a time when the greatest Dangers hang over the King, the Church, and the State.

* *Temp. Car.* II. † *Stat.* 13 *Car.* II. *c.* 5.

The *ROMANISTS* best DOCTOR, who by one Infallible Remedy, perfectly cures all *Popish* Diseases whatsoever in a Quarter of an Hour's Time, or half and Hour at utmost, by an approved Dose which never yet failed his Patients. Which approved Remedy may once a Month be had at *Tyburn*, neer *Paddington*, of that *Eminent Physician* of long *Practice*, JOHN KETCH, *Esq*; *Physician* in Ordinary to the POPE: A small Dose whereof being rightly applied, and compounded with a Grain or two of his Holiness's Absolution, and free Pardon, cordially administred, sends the Patient bolt-upright to *Heaven* in a String, without calling at Purgatory by the way. It likewise perfectly cures these *Popish Distempers* following, though of never so long Continuance: *viz. Treason, Murder, and Rebellion.* And all other Popish Contrivances whatsoever, with the utmost speed imaginable, and without the least Hindrance to Christian Honesty. The aforesaid Remedy takes immediately away the *Popish Clap*, known by these following Symptoms, *viz.* Treasonable Contrivances against the King, Kingdom's, and Country's Good, which it cures with speed beyond Imagination. It likewise quenches all *Popish* Zeal to the *Roman-Catholick* Cause, not got by Innocency,

as is by ſome CONCEIVED. This Remedy will be delivered to any Patient at Thirteen-pence Half-penny the Doſe; provided they be legally condemned, but to *Roman Catholicks*, Gratis, provided they can bring his Holineſs's Hand and Seal to certify they have been Actors in the late treaſonable Deſigns on foot, in that horrid blood-thirſty *Plot*. Together with a Letter teſtimonial from his Holineſs to St. *Peter* to admit you without Scruple, yet the Hand being old *Roman*, St. *Peter* himſelf does not well underſtand it. To prevent your miſtake, you may certainly find the Doctor every Execution-Day, at the Sign of the Jeſuits-Cap at *Tyburn*, between the Hours of Eleven and Twelve at Noon, ready to afford you his Remedies aforeſaid, in order to your immediate and ſpeedy Cure.

Remarkable Cures performed by this *Eminent Phyſician*, and his Predeceſſors, ſince *Queen Mary*'s Days laſt, of fiery Memory.

GENTLEMEN,

To the intent I may no way deceive your Expectations, I ſhall here give you a particular of ſome ſeveral Perſons cured by me and my Predeceſſors, and refer you to your own Judgment, whether I ſpeak more than we have performed.

IN the Year 1582, my Grandfather cured Mr. *Babington* and the reſt of his Accomplices, for attempting the Murder of Queen *Elizabeth*, of happy Memory, being fourteen in number: He cured them in two Days time, with only one Doſe to each Perſon adminiſtered. Theſe Perſons having been in *Spain*, *Italy* and *France*, where meeting with no Cure, their Malignity raging worſe than ever, upon their firſt coming hither they were freely diſcharged of the ſame. Their Diſtemper being a bloody-thirſty Attempt upon the Queen Majeſty's Perſon; which was perfectly diſſolved with the firſt hempen Doze. I could give you an Account of ſome more cured by my aforeſaid Grandfather, but hope theſe ſuffice.

In the Year 1605, my Father cured *Guido Faux* of a Malignant Fever, which was ſo wonderfully ſtrong, that it had like to have blown up both King and Parliament; He no ſooner came into his Clutches, but of roaring Lions he made them as tame as Lambs, and ſent them to *Pluto*'s Territories without Bail or Mainprize.

At the ſame time he not only cured him, but the reſt of his Accomplices, beyond Expectation.

In the Year 1660, my Father *Gregory* cured Major-General *Harriſon*, *Hugh Peters*, *Oliver*'s Jeſter, and ſeveral more, of a violent Madneſs; which Frenzy attained to ſo high a pitch, as made them deſtroy their Father, the moſt gracious King living, and turned Religion and Epiſcopacy out of doors; they were cured with one Swing on the High-Rope.

Since which, my Father *Dunn* hath Cured ſeveral *Fifth-Monarchy*-Men under Captain *Venner*, who ſtunk ſo much of *Popery*, that he could hardly diſtinguiſh at the hour of Death what they were, yet they were perfectly cured by my firſt Doſe;

Doſe; which had likewiſe this ſingular Operation, that it not only cured them, but ſome Scores, if not Hundreds beſides; upon whom my Medicine ſo far operated, as through Fear they never ſince durſt attempt the like Rebellion.

Since that he cured one *Hubert*, a *Frenchman*, of a ſcald Head, miſerably ſcorched by the Fire in 66, yet he is forced to ſing *Lacrimy*, in reſpect only one poor Foreigner ſhould partake of his Phyſick, whereas many of his Countrymen deſerve the like. Thus much for Cures performed by my Father and Grandfather; now to my own.

Firſt, I cured Mr. *Stayly*, living in *Covent-Garden*, *London*, of a bloody Deſign againſt his preſent Majeſty.

Secondly, Five remarkable Jeſuits, *Gaven* and his Fellows, who, though they died as innocent as the Child unborn, have reaſon to bleſs me for ſending them to Heaven before their Time.

Next, I perfectly cured *Ireland* and *Groves*, who were ſo well ſatisfied with my Cure, that they gave me my Fee with conſiderable Intereſt.

Gentlemen,

Theſe are but a Touch for a Taſte of my Cures; I hope in my next to make an Addition of ſome Perſons now in Cuſtody, and then I hope to render myſelf eminent: I hope it is not only my Deſire, but the Requeſt of all true Proteſtants, to put a final Period to Treaſon; and then I ſhall have Work enough.

You may ſpeak with me at the Hour, Time, and Place aforeſaid.

MONARCHY aſſerted to be the beſt, moſt ancient, and legal FORM of GOVERNMENT: In a CONFERENCE had at *WHITEHALL* with OLIVER CROMWEL, and a Committee of PARLIAMENT, *April* 1657, made good by the Arguments of *Oliver St. John*, Lord Chief Juſtice; Lord Chief Juſtice *Glynne*, Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlock*, Lord Commiſſioner *Liſle*, Lord Commiſſioner *Fiennes*, Lord *Broghill*, Maſter of the *Rolls*, Sir *Charles Wolſely*, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, and Colonel *Jones*, Members of that Committee. Firſt publiſhed in 1660, and, as *Anthony a Wood* ſays, by *Nath. Fiennes*.

The PREFACE.

IT may be ſaid (and that very truly) that this Iſland of *Great Britain*, which (though ſo called) is, but as it were a Span of Ground, if compared with many Iſlands in the Univerſe, hath been a greater Stage or Field of Blood for

many Centuries of Years laſt paſt, than any other Iſland or Nation in the World, though of far larger Dimenſions, and Capacity of People. And what hath been the Occaſion of thoſe tragical Revolutions which have happened therein (eſpecially in the laſt Age) is too eaſy for any impartial Man to judge, if he obſerve the Series of the ſeveral Paſſages from 1641 to 1659.

The ſtrange Jealouſies of the Government which had crept into the Minds of the People, and the Deſire of Change (a thing natural to the Vulgar) together with the ſubtile Artifices of the principal Engines of the late Confuſions; who ſtimulated the Diſloyalty of the People, under a ſpecious Pretence of Piety and Reformation, (when indeed nothing but Covetouſneſs and vile Ambition, as the chief End, and Rebellion as the Means to attain to that End, lay like the Snake in the Graſs) did diffuſe ſuch a general Infection through the Veins of the whole Kingdom, as if nothing but the Swords of the Incendiaries could have been the Inſtruments to let out that ill Blood. They directed their Points againſt the credulous People as well as againſt the King, who they ſaid had offended: They ſlaughtered many, and many thouſands of poor cheated and deluded Men, as well as embrued their Hands in the Blood of their ſacred and lawful Sovereign: They deceived their ignorant Fellow-Subjects, as the *Turkiſh* Emperors are mentioned in Story to impoſe upon their common Soldiers; who when their Armies were to ford any unpaſſable River, were wont to perſuade them, that as many of them as would throw themſelves in, and make a Pile with their Bodies, which ſhould fill or dam up that Depth, ſhould be ſure to go to *Elyſium*.

Thus did theſe Time-Reformers wade through the Gore of the ignorant People, till they had arrived to the deſired Shore of their Luſt and Ambition. But no ſooner were they gotten into the Seat of Supremacy, but they fell out amongſt themſelves (like ſo many Robbers for a Booty) who ſhould have the greateſt Share in the Spoil and Havock they had made of a rich and opulent Kingdom; and who ſhould be the Governors to preſcribe Laws and Methods of Regimen over the People. And at laſt, the ſtronger Party of them found it was neceſſary to keep that Power they had by arbitrary Government, *viz.* Force of Arms; ſuch a Force as before they dreamed was intended againſt them.

And when they ſaw their illegal Form of No-Government was not like to be long-liv'd; and found by Experience, that the Nation could be no longer ſupported under, nor relieved from the Exorbitancies of their confuſed Anarchy, then they had Wit enough to prove by Arguments, that MONARCHY was the only LEGAL, ANCIENT and NECESSARY Form of Government; though they had not ſo much Honeſty as to reſtore that King to his Throne who had Right to rule over them, but endeavoured to ſet up an Uſurper: From whence may be concluded, that it was not Monarchy alone they firſt ſtruck at, but the utter Excluſion of the ROYAL LINE.

And this Artifice had certainly taken Effect, had it not been prevented by the under-hand Policies of *Lambert*, and ſome others of the then Ringleaders: For though *Cromwell* made a ſeeming Denial, yet it might have been fatal to have truſted him too far.

And now, Reader, having ſaid this, I think I need not make any Apology for the publiſhing the enſuing Collection at ſuch a time as this is; a Time which looks ſo black and diſmal, which ſeems to be, as it were, the Ghoſt or Repre-

ſentation in Effigy of 1641 ; a Time wherein the Government is threatened by two vaſt Extremes, and ſeems to ſtand *inter Scyllam & Charybdim.* And I could heartily wiſh that a due Conſideration of what is herein contained, may ſerve to the converting the Minds of ſeveral Perſons, who, I fear, are almoſt ready to revive the *Good old Cauſe*, and act over the old Tragedy again.

And ſeeing Regal Government is the great Baſis on which the Welfare of this Kingdom ſtands, I wiſh that all *Engliſhmen* would be ſo far from thinking of the Alteration of this admirable Conſtitution, as to bleſs Almighty God that we have a King already; ſuch a King, whoſe tranſcendent Clemency towards us, hath far exceeded our Deſerts; ſuch a King, to whom (next under God) we owe our Laws, Religion, Wealth, Liberty, and Property ; and who graciouſly condeſcended to paſs *An Act of Oblivion* upon Reſtoration. Therefore pray for an Eſtabliſhment of the preſent Government to the end of Days, as prayeth

A hearty Lover

of his King and Country,

C. C.

Thurſday the Ninth of *April* 1657.

ORdered by the Parliament, that a Committee be appointed to wait upon his Highneſs the Lord Protector, in reference to what his Highneſs did yeſterday propoſe in his Speech, now reported to the Houſe.

Reſolved, That this Committee have Power to receive from his Highneſs his Doubts and Scruples, touching any of the Particulars contained in the humble Petition and Advice formerly preſented; and in anſwer thereunto, to offer to his Highneſs Reaſons for his Satisfaction, and for the Maintainance of the Reſolutions of this Houſe, and ſuch Particulars as they cannot ſatisfy his Highneſs in, that they report the ſame to the Parliament.

The Names of the Committee.

Lord *Whitlock*,	Col. *Thiſtlethwait*,	Col. *Whitgrave*,
Lord *Broghill*,	Ld. Commiſſioner *Fiennes*,	Col. *Brooks*,
Maſter of the *Rolls*,	Sir *Richard Onſlow*,	Mr. *Lee*,
Lord Commiſſioner *Liſle*,	Sir *Richard Lucy*,	Mr. *Jenkinſon*,
Mr. *Waller*,	Mr. Secretary,	Mr. *Bampfield*,
Lord Chief Juſtice,	Attorney of the Duchy,	Mr. *Drake*,
Sir *Charles Wolſeley*,	Attorney General,	Col. *Ingoldſby*,
Gen. *Montague*,	Mr. *Godfrey*,	Mr. *Pitts*,
Col. *Jepſon*,	Lord *Howard*,	Mr. *Pickering*,
Sir *Thomas Jones*,	Col. *Jones*,	Lord *Cockram*,
Sir *William Strickland*,	Col. *Carter*,	Mr. *Grove*,

Mr. *Lloyd*,
Mr. *Nath. Bacon*,
Mr. *Ingoldſby*,
Lord Provoſt of *Edenb.*
Mr. *Bedfor*,
Col. *Ireland*,
Col. *Hacker*,
Major *Wagſtaffe*,
Mr. *Francis Bacon*,
Mr. *Downing*,
Mr. *Price*,
Maj. Gen. *Whaley*,
Sir *John Reynolds*,
Mr. *Steward*,
Sir *Chriſt. Pack*,
Mr. *Lawrence*.
Alderman *Foot*,
Capt. *Lilburne*,
Sir *William Roberts*,
Mr. *Trevor*,
Mr. Baron *Parker*,
Mr. *Tigh*,
Sir *John Hobart*,
Mr. *Hamden*,
Mr. *Cromwell*,
Mr. *Throgmorton*,
Mr. *Fleetwood*,
Mr. *Philips*,
Maj. Gen. *Goffe*.
Mr. *Fowell*,
Major *Audley*,
Col. *Wilton*,
Major *Morgan*,
Col. *Wood*,
Maj. Gen. *Berry*,
Lord *Strickland*,
Lord *Cleypoole*,
Mr. *Barkley*
Major *Burton*,
Mr. *Dunch*,
Col. *Markham*,
Major *Aſton*,
Maj. Gen. *Bridges*,
Sir *Thomas Rouſe*,
Mr. *Bond*,
Col. *Fowkes*,
Col. *Bridges*,
Mr. *Moody*,
Col. *Groveſnor*,
Mr. *Gorges*,
Earl of *Tivedale*,
Sir *John Weeſnes*,
Dr. *Dowglas*,
Major *Beake*,
Mr. *Briſcoe*,
Capt. *Stone*,
Mr. *Lucy*,
Col. *Harvey*,
Sir *Liſlebone Long*,
Mr. *Thelwall*,
Sir *Edward Roads*,
Sir *Francis Norris*,
Col. *Sydenham*,
Mr. *Rouſe*,
Mr. *Tromball*,
Mr. *Burton*.

To meet forthwith in the Speaker's Chamber.

Reſolved, That this Committee have Power to appoint ſome of their Number to attend his Highneſs, to deſire him to appoint a time when they may wait upon him according to their Votes.

Hen. Scobell, Clerk of the Parliament.

The Lord Whitlock, 11 April.

I Only underſtand, that by Order of the Parliament, this Committee are tied up to receive what your Highneſs ſhall be pleaſed to offer, as to your Doubts or Scruples upon this Paper: The very Words of the Order are, *That the Committee have Power to attend your Highneſs, to receive from your Highneſs your Doubts and Scruples, touching any the Particulars contained in the humble Petition and Advice, formerly preſented; and in anſwer thereunto, to offer to your Highneſs Reaſons for your Satisfaction, and for the Maintenance of the Reſolutions of the Houſe; and ſuch Particulars as we cannot ſatisfy your Highneſs in, that we may report the ſame to the Parliament, what Particulars your Highneſs ſhall think fit to object.*

Your Highneſs is pleaſed to mention the Government, as it now is, and ſeems to ſome of our Apprehenſions, as if your Highneſs did make that an Objection, *If the Government be well, why do you change it?* If that be intended by your Highneſs as an Objection in the general, I ſuppoſe the Committee will give you Satisfaction.

Lord

Lord Protector.

SIR, I think that neither you nor I, but meet with a very good Heart, to come to ſome Iſſue of this great Buſineſs; and truly that is, that I can aſſure you I have all the Reaſon and Argument in the World to move me to it, and am exceeding ready to be ordered by you in the way of Proceeding, only I confeſs according to thoſe Thoughts I have, as I have anſwered my own Thoughts in preparing for ſuch a Work as this is: I have made this Notion to myſelf: That having met you twice, at the Committee firſt, and returned you that Anſwer that I gave you then; and the Houſe a ſecond time; I do perceive that the Favour and the Indulgence that the Houſe ſhews me in this, is, that I might receive Satisfaction: I know they might have been poſitive in the thing, and ſaid they might have done enough, if they had only made ſuch an Addreſs to me; they might have inſiſted upon it, only to offer it, yet I could plainly ſee, it was my Satisfaction they aimed at; I think really and ſincerely, it is my Satisfaction that they intend, and truly I think there is one Clauſe in the Paper, that doth a little warrant that, *to offer ſuch Reaſons for his Satisfaction, and for the Maintainance of the Reſolutions of the Houſe.*

Now, Sir, it is true, the Occaſion of all this, is the Anſwer that I made, that occaſions a Committee to come hither, in order to my Satisfaction: and truly, Sir, I doubt (if you will draw out thoſe Reaſons from me, I will offer them to you, but I doubt on my part) if you ſhould proceed that way, it would put me a little out of the Method of my own Thoughts, and it being mutual Satisfaction that is endeavoured, if you will do me the Favour, it will more agree with my Method: I ſhall take it as a Favour, if it pleaſe you; I will leave you to conſider together your own Thoughts of it.

Lord Whitlock.

THE Committee that are commanded by the Parliament, and are here preſent to wait upon your Highneſs, I do ſuppoſe cannot undertake to give the Reaſons of the Parliament, for that they have done; but any Gentleman here can give his own particular Apprehenſion for your Highneſs's Satisfaction; and if you will be pleaſed to go in the way which you have propounded, and either in general or in particular to require a Satisfaction from the Committee, I ſuppoſe we ſhall be ready to do the beſt we can to give you Satisfaction.

Lord Protector.

I Think if this be ſo, then I ſuppoſe nothing can be ſaid by you, but what the Parliament hath dictated to you, and I think that is clearly expreſt, that the Parliament intends Satisfaction; then is it as clear, that there muſt be Reaſons and Arguments, that have Light and Conviction in them, in order to Satisfaction.

I ſpeak for myſelf in this, I hope you will think it no otherwiſe: I ſay it doth appear ſo to me, that you have the Liberty of your own Reaſons; I think if I ſhould write any of them, I cannot call this the Reaſon of the Parliament. In Determinations and Concluſions, by Votes of the ſeveral Particulars of the Government, that Reaſon is dilated, and diffuſed, and every Man hath a ſhare of it,

it, and therefore when they have determined such a thing, certainly it was Reason that led them up into it; and if you shall be pleased to make me Partaker of some of that Reason, I do very respectfully represent to you, that I have a general Dissatisfaction at the thing; and I do desire that I may be informed in the Grounds that lead you, whom I presume are all satisfied Persons to the thing, and every Part of it; and if you will be pleased to think so fit, I will not farther urge it upon you: To proceed that way, it will be a Favour to me; otherwise I shall deal plainly with you: It doth put me out of the Method of my own Conceptions, and then I shall beg that I may have an Hour's Deliberation, that we might meet again in the Afternoon.

Lord Chief Justice.

THE Parliament sent us to wait upon your Highness, to give your Highness any Satisfaction that is in our Understandings to give: The whole Paper consists of many Heads, and if your Highness intends Satisfaction, the Propositions being general, we can give but general Satisfaction; and therein we are ready, if that be your Highness's Meaning: I think we shall be ready to give Satisfaction, as far as our Understandings.

Lord Protector.

IF you will please to give me leave, I do agree, truly the thing is a General, as it is either falling under the Notion of Settlement: That is a General that consists of many Particulars; and truly if you call it by that that it is tituled, there it is General, it is Advice, Desires and Advice; and that (the Truth is) that I have made my Objection in, is but to one thing as yet; only the last time I had the Honour to meet the Parliament, I did offer to them, that they would put me into a Condition to receive Satisfaction to the Particulars: No question I might easily offer something particular for Debate, if I thought that that would answer the end; for truly, I know my end and yours is the same, that is, to bring Things to an issue one way or other, that we may know where we are, that we may attain that general end, that is, Settlement; the end is in us both, and I durst contend with any one Person in the World, that it is not more in his Heart, than in mine. I could go to some Particulars to ask a Question, or ask a Reason of the Alteration, which would well enough let you into the Business, (that it might) yet I say it doth not answer me: I confess I did not so strictly examine that Order of Reference, or whether I read it or no, I cannot tell you; if you will have it that way, I shall (as well as I can) make such an Objection as may occasion some answer to it, though perhaps I shall object weak enough, I shall very freely submit to you.

Lord Chief Justice.

THE Parliament hath commanded us for that end, to give your Highness Satisfaction.

Lord Commissioner Fiennes.

MAY it please your Highness, looking upon the Order, I find that we are impowered to offer any Reasons that we think fit, either for the Satisfaction of your Highness, or Maintenance of what the Parliament hath given you

you their Advice in; and I think we are rather to offer to your Highneſs the Reaſons of the Parliament, if your Highneſs's Diſſatisfaction be to the Alteration of Government in general, or in particular.

Lord Protector.

I Am very ready to ſay, I have no Diſſatisfaction, that it hath pleaſed the Parliament to find out a way (though it be of Alteration) to bring theſe Nations into a good Settlement; and perhaps you may have judged the Settlement we were in, was not ſo much for the great End of Government, the Liberty and Good of the Nations, and the Preſervation of all thoſe honeſt Intereſts that have been engaged in this Cauſe; I ſay, I have no Exception to the general, that the Parliament hath thought fit to take Conſideration of a new Settlement, or Government; but you having done it as you have, and made me ſo far intereſted in, as to make ſuch an Overture to me, I ſhall be very glad, if you ſo pleaſe to let me know it, that beſides the Pleaſure of the Parliament, may be ſomewhat of the Reaſon of the Parliament, for intereſting me in this thing, and for making the Alteration ſuch as it is: Truly, I think, I ſhall as to the other Particulars ſwallow this, I ſhall be very ready to aſſign particular Objections to clear that to you, that may be either better to clear, or to help me at leaſt to a clearer underſtanding of the Things for better good, for that I know is in your Hearts as well as mine. Though I cannot preſume that I have any thing to offer to you, that may convince you: But if you will take in good part, I ſhall offer ſomewhat to every Particular. If you pleaſe, as to the firſt of the things, I am clear as to the Ground of the thing, being ſo put to me, as it hath been put; I think that ſome of the Grounds upon which it is done, will very well lead into ſuch Objections or Doubts as I may offer, and will be a very great help to me in it; and if you will have me offer this, or that, or the other doubt that may ariſe methodically, I ſhall do it.

Lord Whitlock.

I Am very much aſſured, that all this Company is come with the ſame Affection and faithful Reſpect to the publick Settlement, as your Highneſs hath pleaſed to expreſs. For my part, I do with a great deal of Clearneſs and Faithfulneſs; and in my particular Apprehenſion, I conceive that the Method that your Highneſs mentioned to proceed in, we may anſwer; and if any Gentleman be of another Opinion, he will be pleaſed to correct me in it.

The Parliament taking Conſideration of the preſent Government, and the Inſtrument that doth eſtabliſh it, ſeemeth to my Apprehenſion to be of Opinion, that it was very fit, there ſhould be ſome Courſe taken for a Settlement in the Government of the Nation, by the Supreme Legiſlative Power; your Highneſs and the Parliament concurring together in it, they found the Inſtrument of Government in the Original and Foundation of it, to require this Settlement by the ſupreme Legiſlative Power, in regard of the Original of the other; which they did, as I apprehend by ſome Gentlemen's Debates upon it, might be an occaſion of ſome Doubts, and of leſs Stability, if it were left to continue upon the ſame Foundation it is.

That

That it will not be ſo clear a Settlement and Foundation for the Preſervation of the Rights and Liberties of the Nation, as if we came to a Settlement by the Supreme Legiſlative Power; upon that Ground it was taken into Conſideration, and a Settlement brought to Effect, upon very ſolemn, full, and candid Debates among themſelves in Parliament.

Their Intentions, I ſuppoſe, were only theſe; *to provide for the Safety and Peace of the Nations hereafter, to provide for the Rights and Liberties, both Spiritual and Civil, of the People of theſe Nations*; and in order to make the beſt Proviſion they could, for theſe great Concernments of the People, the Petition and Advice which they have humbly preſented to your Highneſs, was brought to a Determination by them.

For that Particular which your Highneſs did formerly intimate, when the Parliament did attend upon you, the Committee of the Parliament, and which you are now pleaſed to intimate, concerning the Title, I do humbly apprehend the Grounds of that to be theſe.

The Foundation of that Title of *Protector* being not known by the Law, being a new Title, it was thought, that the Title which is known by the Law of *England* for many Ages, many hundred of Years together received, and the Laws fitted to it, and that to the Law, that it might be of more Certainty and clear Eſtabliſhment, and more conformable to the Laws of the Nation; that that Title ſhould be that of *King*, rather than that other of *Protector*. There is much as to the Eſſence of the Buſineſs, as ſome Gentlemen did apprehend; that the Title ſhould be a known Title, that hath been in all theſe Times and Ages received, and every particular Perſon hath occaſion of knowing of it, and of his Rights applied to it: And likewiſe of the general Rights of the People and their Liberties, which have an Application to that Name, which Application cannot be ſo clear and ſo certain to a new Title, the Title of *Protector*. (Some Gentlemen I heard reaſon it) that the Title of *Protector* is only upon the Original and Foundation as it now ſtands; but the Title of *King*, beſides the Conſtitutions by which it ſhall be made, will likewiſe have a Foundation upon the old and known Laws of the Nation; ſo that there will be both the preſent Conſtitution, and likewiſe the ancient Foundation of the Laws of *England* to be the *Baſis* of the Title of *King*: What Changes of this Nature may bring of Inconvenience with them, can hardly in every Particular be foreſeen; but it is imagined, that many will be, that poſſibly we may not be able beforehand to comprehend; but there ſeems to be more of Certainty and Stability, and of the Supreme Authority, civil Sanction upon that Title, than upon the other: This I humbly apprehend to be one Reaſon, concerning both the Eſtabliſhment of the whole; and as to that particular, which I think is the firſt Part of it, your Highneſs ſeemed to intimate.

Maſter of the Rolls.

MAY it pleaſe your Highneſs, I am very glad that there is ſuch a Latitude as we may ſhew ourſelves here, as I know the Parliament intends to give your Highneſs all Satisfaction as may be: And truly I ſay upon the firſt Head, which your Highneſs is pleaſed to call a *Title*, as if it were a bare *Title*, which I muſt humbly crave Pardon if I do not think, nor the Houſe did not think, but it carries more in it of Weight than a meer *Title*; for upon due Conſideratio

ſideration you ſhall find that the whole Body of the Law is carried upon this Wheel, it is not a thing that ſtands on the top meerly, but runs through the whole Life and Veins of the Law; you cannot almoſt make any thing, or do any thing; look upon all our Laws ever ſince we had Laws, look upon all the Conſtitution, ſtill there is ſuch an Intereſt, not of the *Title*, but of the Name *King*, beſides the *Title*, (that is not the Thing) for the *Title* you may rather tie it to the Perſon than the Thing, but the Word *King* doth ſignify the Perſon. Now, Sir, we do ſee in all the Ways of our Proceedings in the maintaining of the Rights, Properties and Intereſts of the People, and of the Prerogative of the chief Magiſtrate, that the very Office carries on the Buſineſs and not the *Title*, and yet it muſt be ſuch a *Title* too, as implies the Office, and makes the Office ſuitable to the Law; it is the Office that doth dignify the Perſon, not the Perſon the Office: I ſhall crave your Highneſs's Pardon if I ſpeak any thing amiſs, we ſee that it is the very Office that carries on, and not the Perſon; yet that Office muſt have a Suitableneſs. I have obſerved all along, that we have had many Debates that have ariſen in this Nation about the Thing, but the Ground and Reaſon why they have adhered to this Title, was for the Maintenance of their Liberties, not for the Change of the Office. I muſt confeſs, I do not ſee that the other Title will do the ſame Thing; that other Title hath no further Latitude, nor Extent, but the very Inſtrument: It goes no further, for the very Inſtrument is the Foundation of it; we can find no further Inſtrument original: We have had thoſe Names heretofore, but never grounded upon the Thing itſelf, but grounded upon the Office of a *King*; they had no Office, or Duty to perform, but what was under the Office and Duty of a *King*: It is very true, it is not ſo now certainly; for you have now a Title upon that Foundation that is your Inſtrument, and it can reach no further; it is a Title that I cannot ſee, I muſt confeſs: But if we have a good Magiſtrate, and good Officers, it may extend whither it will, it hath no Limit at all; but the chief Magiſtrate, if he ſhould prove otherwiſe, you have no Limit by it by any Rule of Law that I underſtand: If you pleaſe, give me leave to tell you, the very Inſtrument does give a Foundation to the Title of *Protector*, I am ſure, to croſs if he pleaſe, the moſt fundamental Points that the Law hath. There was a Time when a Prince of this Nation (a very late Time too) would change this Name, and it was a very ſlender Change; for it was but from the *King* of *England*, to the *King* of *Great Britain*, and this was preſented to the Parliament; it had a Debate of many Days, and it was reſolved there and ſettled, that they could not change it: There was ſo much Hazard in that Change, they knew not but that all their Rights and Liberties might be thereby altered: and when the King ſaw he could not obtain it of the Houſe, he declared by Proclamation, that he never intended to take any Name upon him, that ſhould put a Doubt to the Liberties and Privileges of Parliament, and cauſed this Proclamation to be put among the Statutes, I may ſay it indeed, very cunningly to be printed, and put among the Statutes (though indeed it was none;) and becauſe there was a Danger, he laid it down willingly; only (ſays he) your Divines in the Pulpits ſhall pray for me by the Title (*King of* Great Britain) and Ambaſſadors ſhall make their Addreſs by that Name; but in your Laws I will not alter the Name. In the Parliament there was a Queſtion, Whether we ſhould not alter the Name of Parliament, and

call it, *The Representative of the People*? But the whole House went upon this Ground, that by changing the Name of Parliament to a Representative, we did not know how it might change the very Course, Ground and Reason of Parliament: There is a great deal of thing in the very Name. I remember a very Honourable Person, now with God, was then very earnest for it, for having this Name changed, and he did shew many Reasons for it; but hearing the Debates and Reasons against it, he sat down and was satisfied; I think I may name him, it was my Lord *Iréton*, who did say he was satisfied, it was not fit to be done at that time. It is a famous Story in every Man's Mouth heretofore, when there was but a little Intention to change the Law, it was a general Resolution given by the Lords, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutare*: It is doubted, yea conceived not possible, to annex the Laws and the Title of *Protector* together; this I must say, we come now with an Intention of a perfect Settlement, such as may give Safety to the Nation, to your Person, to the People: For indeed, Sir, they are very jealous of their Laws and Liberties, and have been in all Ages; and though it may not have an Intention to do such a thing, yet if you have a Doubt, it is better and more safe for the chief Magistrate, to keep that which hath no Doubt then.

The Parliament laying their Interest and their Regard to you together, give you this Advice, this is *Vox Populi*, for it is the Voice of Three Nations in one Parliament. Upon publick Interest the chief Thing is the Safety of the People; that Safety, your Will, your Judgment, nay, give me leave to tell you, your Conscience is bound to it, for it is the principal End of Government and Governors: This is presented to you by three Nations, by the Parliament, although you may make your Hesitations, yet such a Thing is great Weight and Consequence: I know this, that what I have said may seem to imply, as if we should fall upon a Point: By the Laws I can say in all Generations, this is mine, and this is the Princes, and the Prince cannot do me Wrong, nor the Council do me Wrong, *&c.* Therefore I think you may safely, and I hope will agree to this Particular, as we have presented it: I dare not say that your Highness (as it comes as Advice from Parliament) ought to do so.

The Lord Protector.

I Cannot deny but the Things that have been spoken, have been spoken with a great deal of Weight, and it is not fit for me to ask of any of you, if you have a Mind to speak farther of this; but if it had been their Pleasure, truly then I think it would have put me in according to the Method and Way I have conceived to myself, to the more Preparedness to have returned some Answer: And if it had not been to you a Trouble, I am sure the Business requires it from any Man in the World, if he were in any Case, much more from me, to make serious and true Answers, I mean such as are not feigned in my own Thoughts, but such wherein I express the Truth and Honesty of my Heart; I mean by true Answers. I did hope, that when I had heard you so far as it is in your Pleasure to speak to this Head, I should have then (taking some short Notice as I did) have been in a Condition this Afternoon, if it had not been a Trouble to you, to have returned my Answer upon a little Advisement with myself; but seeing you have not thought it convenient to proceed this way, truly I think I may very well say, that I had need have a little Thoughts of the thing to return an Answer to it, lest your Debate should end on my Part, with a very vain

Discourse,

Diſcourſe, and with Lightneſs, which it is very like to do: I ſay therefore, if you think to proceed farther to ſpeak to theſe things, I ſhould have made my own ſhort Animadverſions on the whole this Afternoon, and made ſome ſhort Reply; and this would have uſhered me in, not only to have given the beſt Anſwer I could, but to have made my own Objections.

Lord Chief Juſtice.

SINCE it is your Highneſs's Pleaſure, that it ſhould be ſpoke now altogether, by thoſe that have any thing to ſay, I think it will be the Intent of the Committee and the Parliament, to give your Highneſs Satisfaction in all Particulars, both Subſtance and Circumſtance: I confeſs I waited for Objections from your Highneſs, that being the principal Scope of the Order: Truly my Lord, I ſtand up with no Confidence that I can add any thing to what hath been ſaid; but becauſe it pleaſes your Highneſs to do us the great Favour to put us to Particulars, I think the Queſtion before you is but ſingly thus: I am already *Protector*, and I have that Office put to the Government, whereby we meet the Parliament now: we deſire you to take upon you the Office of *King*; why do you ſo?

That which we are to ſpeak here, is no other, but that which we can underſtand was the Senſe of the Parliament, in Juſtification of what they have done: I ſhall not ſpeak any think of the Government itſelf, but to this Particular, I think the Office of a King is a lawful Office, and the Title too, approved of by the Word of God, that's plain. It is plain likewiſe, it is an Office that hath been exerciſed in this Nation from the Time it hath been a Nation: And I think it is true, that there never was any Quarrel with the Office, but the Male-adminiſtration, that I can remember, about the ill Government; Oftentimes Kings have been blamed, and very juſtly, for their ill Government, but we do not read that there was any Challenge by the Parliament, that this Government we deſire to be diſcharged of: If that be true, it is to me a ſtrange Ground, having paſt the Scrutiny of ſo many Parliaments, where they did debate *de re*, that in all theſe Debates they did not charge it upon the Nation, that the Place is a Burthen in its own Nature, and this too, when Parliaments have had Opportunity to have changed the Government. The name of *KING* is a Name known by the Law, and the Parliament doth deſire that your Highneſs would aſſume that Title; theſe are the Grounds why the Parliament make it their humble Advice and Requeſt to your Highneſs, that you would be pleaſed to aſſume that Title, and I think there is ſomething more in it: You are now Lord *Protector* of the three Nations by the Inſtrument, and there is a Clauſe of this Government, that you ſhould govern according to Law, and your Highneſs is ſworn to that Government: The Parliament doth apprehend that it is almoſt impoſſible for your Highneſs to anſwer the Expectation of the People, to be governed by the Laws, and yet you are ſo tied up, that neither they can rationally call for it, nor you conſcientiouſly do it, and ſo there is neither Lord *Protector*, nor the People, upon a ſure Eſtabliſhment, for there ſtands the Caſe: A *King* hath run through ſo many Ages in this Nation, and hath governed the Nation by that Title and Stile, that it is known to the Law; for the Law of the Nation is no otherwiſe, than what hath been a Cuſtom to be practiſed, as is approved by the People to be good; that's the Law and nothing elſe, excepting Acts Parliament; and now they have been governed by that *Title*, and by that *Mi-*

niſter, and by that *Office*. If ſo be your Highneſs ſhould do any Act, and one ſhould come and ſay, My *Lord Protector*, why are you ſworn to govern by the Law, and you do thus and thus, as you are Lord *Protector*? do I? why, how am I bound to do? why, the King could not have done ſo: why, but I am not *King*, I am not bound to do as the *King*, I am Lord *Protector*; ſhew me that the Law doth require me to do it as *Protector*: if I have not acted as *Protector*, ſhew me where the Law is, why you put any one to a ſtumble in that Caſe: this is one thing that I humbly conceive did ſtick in the Parliament as to that Particular. Another thing is this, you are *Protector*, which is a new Office not known to the Law, and made out of Doors: you are call'd upon, that you would be pleaſed to accept that Office of a *King*, that is, by the whole People: It's the firſt Government that ſince theſe Troubles hath been tendered, by a general and univerſal Conſent of the People. Another thing is this, if any ſhould find fault with them, and ſay, why, how came you to make Governments in this Caſe? why, the Anſwer is, we are a Parliament, and have your Suffrage; you have ever truſted us with all your Votes, and we will juſtify it: but beſides, we have not done it neither; we have but ſettled it upon the old Foundations, then the *Kingſhip*; however ſome may pretend, a *King*'s Prerogative is ſo large, that we know it not, it is not bounded; but the Parliament are not of that Opinion. The *King*'s Prerogative is known by Law, he did expatiate it beyond the Duty; that's the Evil of the Man: but in *Weſtminſter*-Hall the King's Prerogative was under the Courts of Juſtice, and is bounded as well as any Acre of Land, or any thing a Man hath, as much as any Controverſy between Party and Party: And therefore the Office being lawful in its Nature, known to the Nation, certain in itſelf, and confined and regulated by the Law, and the other Office being not ſo, that was a great Ground of the Reaſon why the Parliament did ſo much inſiſt upon this Office and Title, not as circumſtantial, but as eſſential; yea, it is the Head from whence all the Nerves and Sinews of the Government do proceed, as was well ſaid by the Maſter of the Rolls: If we put a new Head, its a Queſtion whether thoſe Nerves and Sinews will grow, and be nouriſhed and ſtrengthned with that Head. I had ſomething in my thoughts which I had forgot; ſomething of an Objection. Why are you ſo pertinacious, or inſiſt ſo much upon this Title? you may apply all the Powers and Authority unto the Office of *Protector*, and then you will give Satisfaction: I muſt needs ſay, he that makes this Objection, makes it but meerly a Name. If any ſhall ſay, I am content the *Protector* ſhall have the Office, but not the Name, I think this Man is very ſtrait laced; then he puts it meerly upon the Word; and truly if there be no more in it, if there be nothing but that Word, you have in the Ballance with it the Deſires of the Parliament: I beſeech you do not break with your Parliament for a Word. Another Objection is, we have been under the *Protector*, and the Judges have taken their Office under that Government, and the Judges have taken their meaſure by the Authority of the *King*, and have taken it to be the ſame with that of *King*, and ſo go on. I confeſs that the Judges have gone very far that way, and I may not ſpeak my own Opinion of this Caſe in this Place, but yet it is very well known that there hath been variety of Opinions and Judgments in this Caſe, even from thoſe that have been Judges of the Nation; and I do not take the People to be upon a very good Eſtabliſhment, when there ſhall be Doubtings in thoſe that ſhould be beſt knowing. I would never

never make a Doubt that tends to the ſhaking of Foundations, if I could avoid it. The taking of this Office will avoid a Doubt, the continuing of the other Office may be more uncertain: I would never make a doubt where it may be clear: perhaps the taking of the other would reduce Men to Satisfaction; there is but a Perhaps in the one, and a Certainty in the other.

11th *of* April, *Sir* Charles Wooleſley.

NOT only we that are here, but many honeſt Hearts in *England*, rejoice to ſee this Day, wherein your Highneſs and the Parliament are with ſo much Nearneſs and Affection debating the Settlement of the Nation. One Reaſon why your Highneſs ſhould take this Title offered you by the Parliament, is, becauſe as you ſtand in relation to the old Government you are obliged to the Law, yet have not the Advantage of the Law, which the chief Magiſtrate ought to have. The Law knows not a *Protector*, and requires no Obedience from the People to him. The Parliament deſires to ſettle one ſo, that the People may know your Duty to them, and they their Duty to you: The Parliament find the Minds of the People of theſe Nations much ſet upon this *Office* and *Title:* God hath by his Providence put a general Deſire of it in the Nation, and they think in things not unlawful they ought to hearken, and to be much inclined by the Deſires of them that ſent them, and in ſuch things as are for their good, as this is, to be much provoked thereby to the doing of them.

Truly, Sir, it hath been much in the thoughts of the Parliament, that the Reaſon why things of late have been ſo unſettled throughout the Nations, hath been becauſe, that to the Body of this People, there hath not been a legal Head: The well-being of the Head, is not more neceſſary to the wholeſome Conſtitution of the Body Natural, than a right Head is neceſſary to the Body Politick. I may humbly tell your Highneſs, this Nation hath ever been a Lover of *Monarchy*, and of *Monarchy* under the Title of a *King*: the Name and Office hath for above a thouſand Years been in this Nation: though they have often changed their Princes, yet never the Name nor Office. 'Tis the great Common Law, that is the Cuſtom of the Nation, approved good by many Ages, to have the Office and Name of a *King:* no new Law that makes any other, can have that Validity, which the Cuſtom of ſo many Ages hath. Sir, the Parliament doth judge the Safety of your Perſon much concerned to take this Title; and 'tis not yourſelf they look to (though their Hearts are full of Honour I may ſay it to your Highneſs as can be) but to you as chief Magiſtrate, repreſenting the People, and being Head of the Law, and all Magiſtracy; the People hath a Share and Concernment in you: We ſee this hath been the great Encouragement of theſe Attempts againſt your Perſon, that the Law did not take notice of you as chief Magiſtrate, and that Juries were generally backward to find any guilty for Treaſon, for attempting againſt you: the Parliament cannot think it fit, to have their chief Magiſtrate in ſuch a condition. Your Highneſs hath been pleaſed to call yourſelf (as when you ſpeak to the Parliament) a *Servant*, you are ſo indeed to the People, and 'tis your greateſt Honour ſo to be. I hope then, Sir, you will give the People leave to name their own Servant: that is a Due you cannot, you will not certainly deny them: their Repreſentatives deſire you will ſerve the People under this Title, and were there no other reaſon, therefore it is the beſt. I beſeech your Highneſs conſider, if you ſhould refuſe this

Title

Title the Parliament preſents you with, you do not only deny yourſelf the Honour they put upon you, but you deny the Nation, you deny the People their Honour, which by right they ought to have. 'Tis their Honour and their juſt Birth-right, to have a Supreme Magiſtrate with the Title of a *King*. I know, Sir, though you can deny yourſelf, yet you will not deny the Nation their due, when their Repreſentatives challenge it from you. The Parliament have highly engaged all the good People of this Nation, to make you who are one of them, (and have been in theſe Troubles their Head and Leader) to be their *King*. And certainly Sir, whatever Diſſatisfaction may be in this caſe, it ought not to weigh: if there be any Judge on Earth of the People's Good, 'tis the whole People repreſented together, and what others ſay, it is but by Individuals. Sir, the Parliament have hundreds, nay thouſands upon their backs, the good People of the Nation, a quiet peaceable People, with you; and what the Parliament ſhall judge fit, is their Duty, and no doubt they will ſubmit: Sir, were there in this matter no other Reaſon why you ſhould accept this, I know this alone, which indeed is the greateſt Reaſon I can give, would ſway you above any thing, that what is before you is the Advice of your great Council the Parliament.

Lord Commiſſioner Fiennes.

I Shall offer what I conceive from their Debates to be the Reaſons why they adviſe your Highneſs to this Title; and ſeeing what is in the Fountain muſt be conveyed by ſuch Pipes, I ſhall clear the State of the Queſtion: In the firſt place, if I miſtake not, 'tis only upon *Name*, not upon any thing, not upon the Office of a *King*, but upon the Title of a *King*; for the Queſtion is, whether the ſame thing ſhall be ſignified by the Office of a *King*, under the Name of a *King*; or by the Office of a *King*, under the Name of a *Protector*. Undoubtedly the Office of a *King* may be more exerciſed under another Name, than it may if the Powers be not *kingly*, though the Name be there; he that ſaid he would not do his Maſter's Will, and yet did it, did it more than he that ſaid he would, and yet did it not: he that hath all the Powers and Authorities of a King, is a King, though he hath not the Name. Either there muſt be a Diverſity, and for any thing that may difference it by the Name itſelf, truly, Sir, either this muſt be done, you muſt enumerate all the Powers of *Protector*, or what is left unenumerated muſt be the ſame thing as the Law ſays is the Duty of a King, and this I think the Judges have determined: this being the clear State of the Queſtion, the Difference will ariſe meerly upon a Name, and the Parliament did not think it agreeable to their Wiſdom for them to look upon all the Laws and all the Caſes, and make the Name of *Protector* to ſuit them, or elſe leave it lawleſs and boundleſs, but what was not confined to the Power of a King, was confined to the deciſion of the Law. That being ſo, the Parliament thinks it is fit for them to do as all wiſe Men do, in making Names, they give out Names according to the Nature of the Thing, and either they muſt fit all the Laws to the Name, and that is impoſſible, or leave the Name unbounded, and that's intolerable. All Creatures were brought to *Adam* to give them Names, he gave them according to their Natures. And ſo the Parliament conſiders what the thing is that they were about to adviſe your Lordſhip to; the Parliament find this to be the ſame Government as was before, and if they would have that, why not their old Name? If the Thing, why not the Title? Truly, it ſeems very reaſonable, that Names

ſhould

ſhould be proportioned to the Thing; they have found diverſe Reaſons why the Name ſhould be *King*, becauſe it is a thing clear to all the World, that the People are more willingly obedient to old Things and Names than to new; and ſo far as old Things can be retained without Danger or Inconvenience, it is the Wiſdom and Duty of all Governors to retain them. I remember in the Stories of our Wars with the *French*, *Edw.* III. had Aſſiſtance from *Flanders*. One thing more of the Name of the *Protector* be conſidered within my relation to the Laws of this Land: Every one knows it does not relate to him that hath the chief Magiſtracy, but as he was Tutor or Guardian to another, that's all the Legal Notion or Uſe of the Name *Protector* in this Land; and the holding this Name, doth hold forth a Gap of Apprehenſion and Expectation, that there may be a Change; theſe are in Subſtance that which I can remember of the Debates of the Parliament.

Lord Com. Liſle.

I Humbly conceive, that in this Title offered to your Highneſs by the Parliament, they do take the ſame Care for your Highneſs, as *Jethro* took for *Moſes*, they find the Weight of the Government, as it is now upon you, under the Title *Protector*, is a Burthen, that will weary both yourſelf and the People likewiſe; and therefore they do deſire your Highneſs will be pleaſed to accept of that Title, that may be an Eaſe to your Highneſs and to the People: The greateſt Weight and Burthen of Government, is when there is a Jealouſy between the Prince and the People for want of a right Underſtanding: though neither Parliament nor People have a Jealouſy of your Perſon, yet of the Title they have, for want of a right Underſtanding: But if your Highneſs will be pleaſed to accept of the Title that is now offered, all Jealouſies will be done away, for they will then underſtand what you are, and truly, Sir, I think the Jealouſy will be higher now, than at firſt when the Remonſtrance was offered to you: For the Title of *Protector* is either the ſame thing in Power with the Title of *King*, or it is ſomething elſe. If it be ſomething elſe, then what the Title of *King* is when it is confined, that will raiſe their Jealouſy very much. If it be the ſame thing, then there is nothing of Difference, but a Name, and they will think there is more than a Name, if the Parliament do offer it to your Highneſs, and your Highneſs ſhould wave it.

Sir, the Parliament did think that your Highneſs was never able to provide to do Juſtice to the Nation for the preſent, nor that Peace ſhould be maintained in the Nation for the future, unleſs your Highneſs accept of this *Title*. National Juſtice does conſiſt in two things, that you do Right to the People with relation to their juſt Rights in relation to the Parliament, that you do right to the People in relation to their juſt Rights according to the Law of the Land. Sir, the Nation's Rights in Parliament can never be done to the People, unleſs the Parliament hath its ancient Right in relation to the Government: and they can never have their Right in relation to the Law, unleſs the Laws have their ancient Right in relation to the Governors. Sir, the Reaſon why the Parliament doth now offer it, as I conceive is this, Sir, they did conſider the Caſe of *David*, it was the proper Time to offer the Title to *King David*, when the Elders of *Iſrael* and the People did covenant with *King David* at *Hebron*. The Remonſtrance offered to your Highneſs is the Covenant of the Three Nations, both for Spiritual and Civil Liberties. If there was a proper Time to make *David King*, when they

covenanted with him at *Hebron*, it is now a proper Time for you to accept this Title, when the Parliament hath brought this with a Covenant for the three Nations, that relates both to their Civil and Spiritual Liberties.

Lord Broghill.

SIR, I can add ſo little to what hath been already ſpoken, that were it not in Obedience to Command, I ſhould with much more Satisfaction be ſilent than now ſpeak: But being under an Obligation, I may not violate, I ſhall in Obedience thereof, preſume to lay my poor Thoughts before you; but firſt I ſhall take the Boldneſs to ſay, I believe it is a thing impoſſible for any to particularize every individual Reaſon, which invites a Parliament to paſs any Vote; for the Parliament is a Body conſiſting of many Members, and all of them reliſh thoſe Arguments and Reaſonings, which are moſt conſonant to every Man's Apprehenſion; in which there is ſo great Variety, that though when a Vote is paſt, we may conclude that Vote is the Senſe of the Houſe, yet we cannot ſay, that theſe, and none but theſe Reaſons produced that Reſult: I only mention this, Sir, that whatever I ſhall ſpeak may be conſidered by you, but as my poor Apprehenſion; what in ſome degree might have contributed to move the Parliament to petition, and adviſe your Highneſs to aſſume the Title and Office of *King*: For it would be too high a Preſumption in any Member, eſpecially in me above any, to dare aver that what I ſhould now ſay, did only invite the Parliament to give your Highneſs that Counſel. Having thus humbly premiſed what I held myſelf obliged unto in Duty, I ſhall now proceed to acquaint you what in my weak Judgment did in ſome meaſure move the Parliament to do what they have done.

Firſt, I humbly conceive, that the Title of *King* is that which the Law takes Notice of, as the Title of ſupreme Magiſtrate, and no other, and that the old Foundations that are good, are better than any new ones, though equally good in their own Nature; what is confirmed by Time and Experience, carries along with it the beſt Trial, and the moſt ſatisfactory Stamp and Authority.

Secondly, It was conſidered too, that it was much better that the ſupreme Magiſtrate ſhould be fitted to the Laws that are in being, than that thoſe Laws ſhould be fitted unto him.

Thirdly, The People legally aſſembled in Parliament, having conſidered of what Title was beſt for the ſupreme Magiſtrate, did after a ſolemn Debate thereof pitch upon that of *King*, it being that by which the People knew their Duty to him, and he the Duty of his Office towards them, and both by old and known Laws.

Fourthly, There are hardly any, who own Government at all in theſe Nations, but think themſelves obliged to obey the old Laws, or thoſe which your Highneſs and the Parliament ſhall enact. So that if the ſupreme Magiſtrate of theſe three Nations be intituled *King*, all thoſe who reverence the old Laws, will obediently and chearfully accept of him, as that which is ſettled upon the Eſtabliſhment they own; and all that own this preſent Authority will do the like, becauſe grafted by it, by which none can reſt unſatisfied that think it a Duty to obey former Authorities or the preſent.

Fifthly, The former Authorities know no ſupreme Magiſtrate, but by the Title of *King*, and this preſent Authority deſires to know him by no other; which

which if refuſed, might it not too much heighten our Enemies, who may bolſter up their faint Hopes, with ſaying to one another, and to thoſe which aſſiſt them, that their Chief is not only under that Title which all paſt Parliaments have approved, but under that Title which even this Parliament does approve likewiſe; and that your Head is not known by the former Laws, and has refuſed to be known by that Application, which even the Parliament, that he himſelf hath called, doth deſire to know him by.

Sixthly, By your Highneſs bearing the Title of *King*, all thoſe that obey and ſerve you, are ſecured by a Law made long before any of our Differences had a Being, in the 11th *Hen.* VII. where a full Proviſion is made for the Safety of thoſe that ſhall ſerve whoever is *King*: it is by that Law that hitherto our Enemies have pleaded Indemnity, and by your aſſuming what is now deſired, that Law which hitherto they pretended for their Diſobedience, ties them even by their own Profeſſion and Principles to Obedience: and I hope taking off all Pretences from ſo numerous a Party, may not be a thing unworthy Conſideration; that Law ſeems very rational, for it doth not provide for any particular Family or Perſon, but for the Peace and Safety of the People by obeying whoever is in that Office, and bears that Title. The End of all Government is to give the People Juſtice, and Safety, and the beſt Means to obtain that End, is to ſettle a ſupreme Magiſtrate; it would therefore ſeem very irrational, that the People having obtained the End, ſhould decline that End only to follow the Means, which are but conducing to that End; ſo that if the Title and Office of *King* be veſted in your Highneſs, and that thereby the People enjoy their Rights and Peace, it would be little leſs than Madneſs, for any of them to caſt off thoſe Bleſſings, only in order to obtain the ſame End under another Perſon.

Seventhly, There is at preſent but a Divorce between the pretending *King* and Imperial Crown of theſe Nations, and we know that Perſons divorced may marry again; but if the Perſon be married to another, it cuts off all Hope. Theſe may be ſome of thoſe Reaſons, which invited the Parliament to make that Deſire, and to give that Advice to your Highneſs of aſſuming the Title of *King*. There is another, and a very ſtrong one, which is, that now they have actually given you that Advice; and the Advices of the Parliaments, are Things which always ought, and therefore I am confident will carry with them very great Force and Authority: Nor doth this Advice come ſingly, but accompanied with many other excellent Things, in reference to our civil and ſpiritual Liberties, which your Highneſs hath borne a juſt and ſignal Teſtimony to. It is alſo a Parliament, who have given unqueſtionable Proofs of their Affection to your Highneſs, and who if liſtened to in this Particular, will be thereby encouraged to give you more.

Lord Protector.

I Have very little to ſay to you at this time, I confeſs I ſhall never be willing to deny, or defer thoſe Things which come from the Parliament to the ſupreme Magiſtrate, if they come in the bare and naked Authority of ſuch an Aſſembly as known by that Name, and are really the Repreſentations of ſo many People, as a Parliament of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* is: I ſay it ought to have its Weight, and it hath ſo, and ever will have with me. In all things a Man is free to anſwer Deſires, as coming from Parliaments: I may ſay that,

in as much as the Parliament hath been pleaſed to condeſcend to me ſo far, to do me this Honour, a very great one added to the reſt, to give me the Advantage of ſo many Members of theirs, ſo able, ſo underſtanding the Grounds of Things; it is I ſay, a very ſingular Honour and Favour to me; and I confeſs, I wiſh I may, and I hope I ſhall do what becomes an honeſt Man to do, in giving an Anſwer to theſe Things, according to the Deſire, that either I have, or God ſhall give me, or I may be helped by reaſoning with you into; and I did not indeed in vain alledge Conſcience to the firſt Anſwer I gave, but I muſt ſay, I muſt be a very unworthy Perſon, to receive ſuch Favour, if I ſhould prevaricate, when I ſaid Things did ſtick upon my Conſcience, which I muſt ſtill ſay they do; only I muſt ſay, I am in the beſt way that I can be for Information, I ſhall gladly receive it. Here have been diverſe Things ſpoken by you to-day, with a great deal of Judgment and Ability, and Knowledge; and I think the Things, or the Arguments, or Reaſonings that have been uſed, have been upon theſe three Accounts: To ſpeak to the Thing ſimply, or in the abſtract Notion of the Title, and the poſitive Reaſons upon which it ſtands, and then comparatively, both in the Thing, and in the Foundation of it, in order to ſhew the Goodneſs of it comparatively. It is alledged to be ſo much better than what is, and that is ſo much ſhort of doing the Work that this will do: And thirdly, ſome Things have been ſaid by way of Precaution, upon Arguments that are little from the Thing, in the Nature of it, but are Conſiderations from the Temper of the People of the Nation, what will gratify them, which is ſurely conſiderable; as alſo by way of Anticipation of me, in my Anſwer, by ſpeaking to ſome Objections that others have made againſt this Thing: Theſe are Things in themſelves each of them conſiderable. To anſwer to Objections, I know it is a very weighty Thing, and to make Objections is very eaſy, and that will fall to my Part, and I am ſure I ſhall if I make them to Men that know ſo well how to anſwer them, becauſe they have in part received them from others, upon the Debates already had; but upon the whole Matter, I having as well as I could taken theſe Things that have been ſpoken, which truly are to be acknowledged by me to be very learnedly ſpoken, I hope therefore you will give me a little time to conſider of them, when it may be your beſt time for me to return to you, to meet you again, I ſhall leave that to your Conſideration.

Lord Whitlock.

Your Highneſs will be pleaſed to appoint your own time.

Lord Protector.

On *Monday* at Nine of the Clock, I will be ready to wait upon you.

His Highneſs's Anſwer at the Conference at the Committee at Whitehall, April 13, 1657.

My Lord,

I Think I have a very hard Taſk upon my Head, though it be to give an Account of myſelf, yet I ſee I am beſet on all Hands here: I ſay but to give an Account of myſelf, but it is in a Buſineſs that is very comprehenſive of others

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in ſome Senſe to us, and, as the Parliament have been pleaſed to make it, all the Intereſts of theſe three Nations.

I confeſs, I conſider two Things: Firſt, to return ſome anſwer to the Things that were ſo ably and well ſaid the other Day, on Behalf of the Parliaments putting that *Title* in the Inſtrument of Settlement. I hope it will not be expected that I ſhould anſwer to every Thing that was then ſaid, becauſe I ſuppoſe the main Things that were ſpoken, were Arguments from antient Conſtitutions, and Settlement by the Laws, of which I am ſure I could never be well ſkilled, and therefore muſt aſk the more Pardon in what I have tranſgreſſed in my Practice, or ſhall now tranſgreſs through my Ignorance of them in my Anſwer to you.

Your Arguments, which I ſay were chiefly upon the Law, ſeem to carry with them a great deal of neceſſary Concluſion, to inforce that one Thing of *Kingſhip*; and if your Arguments come upon me to inforce upon me the Ground of Neceſſity, why then I have no room to anſwer; for what muſt be, muſt be, and therefore I did reckon it much of my Buſineſs to conſider whether there were ſuch a Neceſſity, or would ariſe ſuch a Neceſſity from thoſe Arguments.

It was ſaid, that *Kingſhip* is not a Title but an Office, ſo interwoven with the fundamental Laws of this Nation, as if they could not, or well could not be executed and exerciſed without, partly (if I may ſay ſo) upon a ſuppoſed Ignorance of the Law that it hath of any other Title, it knows no other, neither doth any other know it, the Reciprocation of this ſaid *Title*, or *Name*, or *Office*, as you pleaſe to ſay is underſtood in the Dimenſions of it, in the Power and Prerogatives of it, which are by the Law made certain, and the Law can tell when it keeps within Compaſs, and when it exceeds its Limits, and the Law knowing this, the People can know it alſo, and People do love what they know, and it will neither be *pro ſalute populi*, nor for our Safety to obtrude upon them Names that they do not, nor cannot underſtand.

It is ſaid alſo, that the People have been always by their Repreſentatives in Parliament, willing to vary Names for as much as hath been ſaid before they love Settlement. And there were two good Inſtances given of that, the one in King *James*'s Time, about his Deſire to alter ſomewhat of the Title, and another in the Long Parliament, wherein they being otherwiſe rationally moved to admit of the Word Repreſentative inſtead of Parliament, they refuſed it for the ſame Reaſon. It hath been ſaid alſo, that the holding to this Word doth ſtrengthen the Settlement, becauſe it doth not any thing *de novo*, but reſolves Things in their old Current: It is ſaid, it is the Security of the chief Magiſtrate, and that it ſecures all that act under him; truly theſe are the Principles of thoſe Grounds that were offered the laſt Day, ſo far as I do recollect. I cannot take upon me to refel thoſe Grounds; for they are ſo ſtrong and rational; but if I ſhall be able to make any anſwer to them, I muſt not grant that they are neceſſarily concluding, but take them only as Arguments, that have perhaps much of Conveniency, and Probability towards concluding; for if a Remedy or Expedient may be found that they are not neceſſary, they are not inevitable Grounds, and if not neceſſary, and concluding, why then they will hang upon the Reaſon of Expediency, or Conveniency; and if ſo, I ſhall have a little Liberty, otherwiſe I am concluded before I ſpeak, and therefore it will behoove me to ſay what I have; why they are not neceſſary Concluſions, nor that they are, nor that it is

(I ſhould ſay) ſo interwoven in the Laws, but that the Laws may not poſſibly be executed to equal Juſtice and equal Satisfaction of the People, and equally to anſwer all Objections as well without it, as with it; and then when I have done that, I ſhall only take the liberty to ſay a Word or two for my own Grounds, and when I have ſaid what I can ſay as to that, I hope you will think a great deal more than I ſay.

Truly though *Kingſhip* be not a Title but a Name of Office that runs through the Law, yet it is not ſo *ratione Nominis*, but from what is ſignified, it is a Name of Office plainly implying a ſupreme Authority, is it more, or can it be ſtretched to more? I ſay it is a Name of Office plainly implying the ſupreme Authority; and if it be ſo, why then I would ſuppoſe, (I am not peremptory in any thing that is Matter of Deduction or Inference of my own.) Why then I ſhould ſuppoſe that whatſoever Name hath been or ſhall be the Name, in which the ſupreme Authority ſhall act, why, (I ſay) if it had been thoſe four or five Letters; or whatſoever elſe it had been, that Signification goes to the Thing, certainly it does, and not to the Name, why then there can be no more ſaid but this, why this hath been fixed, ſo it may have been unfixed, and certainly in the Right of the Authority, I mean as a legiſlative Power, in the Right of the legiſlative Power. I think the Authority that could chriſten it with ſuch a Name, could have called it by another Name, and therefore it was but derived from *that*. And certainly they had the Diſpoſal of it, and might have had it, they might have detracted, or changed; and I hope it will be no Offence to you, to ſay (as the Caſe now ſtands) ſo may you; and if it be ſo that you may, why then I ſay, there is nothing of Neceſſity in your Argument, but Conſideration of Expedience of it, I had rather (if I were to chuſe) if it were the natural Queſtion, which I hope is altogether out of the Queſtion. But I had rather have any Name from this Parliament than any Name without it, ſo much do I value the Authority of the Parliament; and I believe all Men are of my Mind, in that I believe the Nation is very much of my Mind, though that be an uncertain way of arguing what Mind they are of. I think we may ſay it without Offence, (for I would give none) though the Parliament be the trueſt way to know what the Mind of the Nation is, yet if the Parliament will be pleaſed to give me a Liberty to Reaſon for myſelf, and that be made one Argument, I hope I may urge againſt that, elſe I can freely give a Reaſon of my own Mind, but I ſay undoubtingly (let us think what we will) what the Parliament ſettles in that which will run through the Law, and will lead the Thread of Government through the Land, as well as what hath been, conſidering that what hath been upon the ſame Account, ſave that there hath been ſome long Continuance of the Thing, it is but upon the ſame Account, it had its Original ſomewhere, and it was with Conſent of the Whole, there was the Original of it, and Conſent of the Whole will I ſay be the Needle that will lead the Thread through all, and I think no Man will pretend Right againſt it, or Wrong: And (if ſo) then under Favour to me, I think all thoſe Arguments from the Law are (as I ſaid before) not neceſſary, but are to be underſtood upon the account of Conveniency, it is in your Power to diſpoſe and ſettle, and before we can have Confidence that what you do ſettle, will be as authentick as thoſe Things that were before, (eſpecially as to the individual Thing) the Name or Title upon Parliamentary Account, why then I ſay there will be way made (with leave) for me to offer a Reaſon or two, to all that hath elſe been ſaid, otherwiſe I ſay my Mouth

Mouth is ſtopt: there are very many Inforcements to carry on this Thing, I ſuppoſe it will ſtand upon a way of Expedience and Fitneſs: truly I ſhould have urged one Conſideration more that I had forgotten, and that is, not only to urge the Things for Reaſon, but for Experience, perhaps, it is a ſhort one, but it is a true one, (under Favour) and is known to you all in the Fact of it (under Favour) although there have been no Parliamentary Declarations, that the ſupreme Authority going in another Name, and under another Title than *King*; why it hath been complied with twice without. That is, under the *Cuſtodes Libertatis Angliæ*, it hath ſince I exerciſed the Place, and truly I may ſay that almoſt univerſal Obedience hath been given to all the Ranks and Sorts of Men to both; and to begin with the higheſt Degree of Magiſtracy at the firſt Alteration, and when that was the Name, and though it was the Name of an inviſible Thing, yet the very Name (though a new Name) was obeyed, did paſs for current, and was received, and did carry on the Juſtice of the Nation. I remember very well that my Lords the Judges were ſomewhat ſtartled, and yet upon Conſideration (if I miſtake not) I believe ſo, there being of them without Reflection, as able and as learned as have ſat there (though they did I confeſs at firſt demur a little) yet they did receive Satisfaction, and did act as I ſaid before. I profeſs it, for my own Part, I think I may ſay it, ſince the beginning of that Change, I would be loath to ſpeak any thing vainly, but ſince the beginning of that Change to this Day, I do not think in ſo many Years thoſe that were called, (and worthily ſo accounted) Halycon Days of Peace in 20 *Eliz.* and King *James*, and King *Charles*'s Time: I do not think, but that the Laws did proceed with as much Freedom and Juſtice, with leſs private Sollicitation either from that that was called then ſo, or ſince I came to the Government; I do not think (under Favour) that the Laws have had a more free Exerciſe, more uninterrupted by any Hand of Power, the Judge leſs ſollicited by Letters, or private Interpoſitions, either of my own or other Men's, in double ſo many Years in all thoſe Times of Peace: And if more of my Lords the Judges were here than now are, they could tell what to ſay to what had been done ſince, and therefore I ſay (under Favour) theſe two Experiences do manifeſtly ſhew, that it is not a *Title*, though ſo interwoven with the Laws, that makes the Law to have its free Paſſage, and do its Office without Interruption, (as we think) but that if a Parliament ſhall determine that another Name ſhall run through the Laws, I believe it may run with as free a Paſſage as this: Which is all that I have to ſay upon that Head.

And if this be ſo, then truly other things may fall under a more indifferent Conſideration, and then I ſhall arrive at ſome iſſue to anſwer for myſelf in this great Matter, and all this while nothing that I ſhall ſay doth any way determine againſt my Reſolution, or Thoughts againſt the Parliament, but really and honeſtly, and plainly, conſidering what is fit for me to anſwer. The Parliament deſires to have this Title, it hath ſtuck with me and yet doth ſtick, and truly although I hinted the other day, that it is thought that your Arguments to me did partly give poſitive Grounds for what was to be done, and comparative Grounds, ſaying that which you were pleaſed to do, and I gave no Cauſe for that I know of, that is to compare the Effects of *Kingſhip* with ſuch a Name as I for the preſent bear with *Protectorſhip*, I ſay I hope it will not be underſtood, that I do contend

contend for the Name, or any Name, or any Thing, but truly and plainly (if I ſpeak as in the Lord's Preſence) I in all Things right as a Perſon under the Diſpoſition of the Providence of God, neither naming one Thing nor other, but only anſwering to this *Name* or *Title*; for I hope I do not deſire to give a Rule to any Body, becauſe I have profeſſed I have not been able, and I have ſaid truly I have not been able to give one to myſelf, but I would be underſtood in this. I am a Man ſtanding in the Place I am in, which Place I undertook not ſo much out of Hope of doing any Good, as out of a Deſire to prevent Miſchief and Evil, which I did ſee was imminent on the Nation. I ſay we were running Headlong into Confuſion and Diſorder, and would neceſſarily run into Blood, and I was paſſive to thoſe that deſired me to undertake the Place which now I have; I ſay not ſo much of doing Good, which a Man may lawfully, if he deal deliberately with God and his own Conſcience, a Man may, I ſay, lawfully if he deal deliberately with God and his own Conſcience, a Man may lawfully, as the Caſe may be (though the Caſe is very tickle) deſire a great Place to do good in. I profeſs I had not that Apprehenſion when I undertook the Place that I could do ſo much Good, but I did think that I might prevent imminent Evil, and therefore I am not contending for one Name compared with another, and therefore have nothing to anſwer to any Arguments, that were uſed in giving Preference to *Kingſhip* or *Protectorſhip*; for I ſhould almoſt think that any Name were better than my Name, and I ſhould altogether think, any Perſon fitter than I am, for any ſuch Buſineſs: And I compliment not (God knows it) but this I ſhould ſay, that I do think from my very Heart, that in your ſettling of the Peace and Liberties of this Nation, which cries as loud upon you as ever Nation did, for ſomewhat that may beget a Conſiſtance, otherwiſe the Nation will fall to Pieces; and in that as far as I can, I am ready to ſerve not as a King, but as Conſtable; for truly I have, as before God, thought it often, that I could not tell what my Buſineſs was, nor what I was in the Place I ſtood, ſave comparing it with a good Conſtable, to keep the Peace of the Pariſh, and truly this hath been my Content and Satisfaction in the Troubles that I have undergone, that yet you have Peace: why now truly (if I may adviſe) I wiſh to God you may be but ſo happy as to keep Peace ſtill, if you cannot attain to theſe Perfections as to do this, I wiſh to God we may have Peace, (that do I) but the Fruits of Righteouſneſs are ſhewn in Meekneſs, (a better thing than we are aware of) I ſay therefore, I do judge for myſelf, there is no ſuch Neceſſity of the Thing, for the other Names may do as well, I judge for myſelf, I muſt ſay a little, I think I have ſomewhat of Conſcience to anſwer as to this Matter, why I cannot undertake this *Name*, why truly I muſt needs go a little out of the way to come to my Reaſons, and you will be able to judge of them, when I have told you them; and I ſhall deal ſeriouſly, as before God; if you do not all of you, I am ſure ſome of you do, and it behoves me to ſay, I know my Calling from the firſt to this Day: I was a Perſon that from my firſt Employment was ſuddenly preferred and lifted up from leſſer Truſts to greater, from my firſt being a Captain of a Troop of Horſe, and I did labour (as well as I could) to diſcharge my Truſt, and God bleſſed me as it pleaſed him, and I did truly and plainly, and then in a way of fooliſh Simplicity (as it was judged by very great and wiſe Men, and

good

good Men too) desired to make my Instruments to help me in this Work; and I will deal plainly with you, I had a very worthy Friend then, and he was a very noble Person, and I know his Memory was very grateful to all, Mr. *John Hampden*.

At my first going out into this Engagement (I saw) their Men were beaten at every Hand; I did indeed, and desired him that he would make some Additions to my Lord *Essex*'s Army, of some new Regiments, and I told him, I would be serviceable to him, in bringing such Men in, as I thought had a Spirit that would do something in the Work: This is very true that I tell you, God knows I lye not; your Troops, said I, are most of them old decayed Serving-men and Tapsters, and such kind of Fellows; and said I, their Troops are Gentlemen's Sons, younger Sons, and Persons of Quality; do you think that the Spirits of such base and mean Fellows will be ever able to encounter Gentlemen, that have Honour, and Courage, and Resolution in them? Truly, I presented him in this manner conscientiously, and truly I did tell him, you must get Men of a Spirit: And take it not ill what I say (I know you will not) of a Spirit that is likely to go on as far as Gentlemen will go, or else I am sure you will be beaten still: I told him so, I did truly. He was a wise and worthy Person, and he did think that I talked a good Notion, but an impracticable one; truly I told him I could do somewhat in it, I did so, and truly I must needs say that to you (impart it to what you please) I raised such Men as had the Fear of God before them, and made some Conscience of what they did, and from that Day forward I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the Enemy they beat continually; and truly this is Matter of Praise to God, and it hath some Instruction in it to own Men that are religious and godly, and so many of them as are peaceably, and honestly, and quietly disposed to live within Government, as will be subject to those Gospel Rules of obeying Magistrates, and living under Authority; I reckon no Godliness without this Circle: But without this Spirit, let it pretend what it will, it is diabolical, it is devilish, it is from diabolical Spirits, from the Height of *Jotham*'s Wickedness; why truly I need not say more than to apply it thus.

I will be bold to apply this to this Purpose, because it is my all, I could say as all the World says, and run headily upon any thing; I must tender this to you, as a thing that sways with my Conscience, or else I were a *Knave* and a *Deceiver*. I tell you there are such Men in this Nation, that godly Men of the same Spirit, Men that will not be beaten down with a worldly nor carnal Spirit, while they keep their Integrity: I deal plainly and faithfully with you, that I cannot think that God would bless an Undertaking of any thing that will justly and with cause grieve them, that they will be troubled without cause; I must be a *Slave* if I should comply with any such Humour. I say there are honest Men, and faithful Men, and true to the great Things of the Government, to wit, the Liberty of the People, giving them what is due to them, and protecting this Interest, I think verily God will bless you for it: But if I know (as indeed I do) that very generally good Men do not swallow this Title, (though really it is no Part of their Goodness) to be unwilling to submit to what a Parliament shall settle over them; yet I must say, that it is my Duty and my Conscience to beg of you, that there may be no hard Things put upon me; Things I mean

hard

hard to them, that they cannot ſwallow: If the Nation may as well be provided for without theſe Things that I have printed to you, as according to my Apprehenſion, it may, I think truly it will be no Sin in you, it will be to you as it was to *David* in another Caſe; no Grief of Heart to yours, that you have a Tenderneſs, even poſſibly, if it be their Weakneſs, to the Weakneſs of thoſe that have Integrity and Honeſty, and Uprightneſs, and are not carried away with the Hurries that I ſee ſome are, who think that their Virtue lies in deſpiſing Authority, oppoſing it: I think you will be the better able to root out of this Nation that Spirit and Principle; and it is as deſirable as any thing in this World, by complying, indulging, and being patient to the Weakneſs and Infirmities of Men that have been faithful, and have bled all along in this Cauſe, and are faithful, and will oppoſe all Oppoſitions; I am confident of it, to the Things that are the Fundamentals in your Government, in your Settlement, for Civil and Goſpel Liberties.

I confeſs, for it behoves me to deal plainly with you, I muſt confeſs, I would ſay, I hope I may be underſtood in this, for indeed I muſt be tender, what I ſay to ſuch an Audience as this is; I ſay, I would be underſtood, that in this Argument I do not make Parallel, between Men of a different Mind and a Parliament which ſhall have their Deſires; I know there is no Compariſon, nor can it be urged upon me, that my Words have the leaſt Colour that way, becauſe the Parliament ſeems to give liberty to me to ſay any thing to you; as that is a Tender of my humble Reaſons and Judgment, and Opinion to them; and if I think they are ſuch, and will be ſuch to them, that are faithful Servants, and will be ſo to the ſupreme Authority, and the Legiſlative whereſoever it is: If I ſay, I ſhould not tell you, knowing their Minds to be ſo, I ſhould not be faithful, if I ſhould not tell you ſo, to the end you may report it to the Parliament: I will ſay ſomething for myſelf, for my own Mind, I do profeſs it, I am not a Man ſcrupulous about Words, or Names, or ſuch Things I have not; but as I have the Word of God, and I hope I ſhall ever have, for the Rule of my Conſcience, for my Informations: So truly, Men that have been led in dark Paths, through the Providence and Diſpenſation of God; why, ſurely it is not to be objected to a Man; for who can love to walk in the dark, but Providence doth often ſo diſpoſe. And though a Man may impute his own Folly and Blindneſs to Providence ſinfully, yet it muſt be at my Peril: The Caſe may be, that it is the Providence of God that doth lead Men in Darkneſs; I muſt needs ſay, I have had a great deal of Experience of Providence, and though it is no Rule without or againſt the Word, yet it is a very good Expoſitor of the Word in many Caſes. Truly the Providence of God hath laid aſide this *Title* providentially *de facto*, and this not by ſudden Humour or Paſſion, but it hath been by Iſſue of as great Deliberation as ever was in a Nation, it hath been the Iſſue of ten or twelve Years Civil War, wherein much Blood hath been ſhed; I will not diſpute the Juſtice of it, when it was done, nor need I tell you what my Opinion is in the Caſe, were it *de novo* to be done, but if it be at all diſputable, and that a Man comes and finds that God in his Severity hath not only eradicated a whole Family, and thruſt them out of the Land for Reaſons beſt known to himſelf, and hath made the Iſſue and Cloſe of that, to be the very Eradication of a *Name* or *Title*, which *de facto* is, it was not done by me nor by them

them that tendered me the Government that now I act in, it was done by the Long Parliament, that was it, and God hath ſeemed providential, not only to ſtrike at the Family, but at the *Names*; and as I ſaid before *de facto* it is blotted out, it is a Thing caſt out by an Act of Parliament, it is a Thing that hath been kept out to this Day; and (as *Jude* ſaith in another Caſe) ſpeaking of abominable Sins that ſhould be in the latter Times, he doth likewiſe when he comes to exhort the Saints, he tells them, they ſhould hate even the Garments ſpotted with the Fleſh. I beſeech you think not, that I bring this as an Argument to prove any thing, God hath ſeemed ſo to deal with the Perſons, and with the Family, but he blaſted the Title, and you know when a Man comes (*à parte poſt*) to reflect, and ſee this is done, and laid in the Duſt, I can make no Concluſion but this, they may have ſtrong Impreſſion upon ſuch weak Men as I am, and perhaps, (if there be any ſuch) upon weaker Men it will be ſtronger: I will not ſeek to ſet up that which Providence hath deſtroyed, and laid in the Duſt, and I would not build *Jericho* again, and this is ſomewhat to me, and to my Judgment and Conſcience, that it is true, it is that that hath an awe upon my Spirit, and I muſt confeſs, as the Times are, they are very fickle, very uncertain, nay, (God knows) you had need have a great deal of Faith, to ſtrengthen you in your Work, and all Aſſiſtance, you had no need to look at Settlement, I would rather I were in my Grave, than hinder you in any thing, that may be for Settlement for the Nation; for the Nation needs, and never needed it more; and therefore out of the Love and Honour I bear you, I am for ever bound to do, whatever becomes of me, I am ever bound to acknowledge you have dealt moſt honourably and worthily with me, and lovingly, and had Reſpect for one that deſerves nothing: Indeed out of the Love and Faithfulneſs I bear you, and out of the Senſe I have of the Difficulty of your Works, I would not have you loſe any Help that may ſerve you, that may ſtand in ſtead to you, but would be a Sacrifice that there might be (ſo long as God ſhall pleaſe to let this Parliament ſit) a Harmony, and better, and good Underſtanding between all of you, and (whatſoever any Man thinks) it equally concerns one Man as another to go on to Settlement; and where I meet with any that is of another Mind, indeed I could almoſt curſe him in my Heart; and therefore to the end I may deal heartily and freely, I would have you loſe nothing that may ſtand you in ſtead in this way. I would adviſe you, that if there be any of a froward and unmannerly, or womaniſh Spirit, I would not that you ſhould loſe them, I would not that you ſhould loſe any Servant or Friend, that may help in this Work, that they ſhould be offended by that, that ſignifies no more to me than as I told you, that is, I do not think the thing neceſſary, I do not, I would not that you ſhould loſe a Friend for it, if I ſhould help you to many, and multiply myſelf into many, I would be to ſerve you in Settlement, and therefore would not that any, eſpecially any of theſe, that indeed perhaps are Men that do think themſelves engaged to continue to you, and to ſerve you, ſhould be any ways diſobliged from you.

The Truth is, I did make that my Concluſion to you at the firſt, when I told you what Method I would ſpeak to you in, I may ſay, that I cannot with Conveniency to myſelf, nor Good to this Service, that I wiſh ſo well to, ſpeak out all my Arguments in order to Safety, and in order in Tendency to an effectual carrying on of this Work, I ſay I do not think it fit to uſe all the Thoughts I

have in my Mind, as to that Point of Safety, but I ſhall pray to God Almighty that he would direct you to do what is according to his Will, and this is that poor Account I am able to give of myſelf in this Thing.

16 April, *Lord Chief Juſtice* Glynne.

The Name and Office eſſential to Settlement.

FIRST, Becauſe it is known to the Law, his Duty known in Reference to the People, and the People's Duty known in Reference to him, this cannot be tranſmitted to another Name, without much Labour, great Hazard, if it may at all. To go by Individuals, and reckon up all the Duties and Powers that a *King* by our Laws hath in Reference to his Truſt towards the People, and the Duty of the People towards him, is a Work of ſo great Labour, that would require Months, yea Years, if not Ages.

Secondly, To apply its relative, *talis qualis*, would introduce theſe Difficulties. Firſt it would be a new Thing, how it would prove is but gueſt, and its the Foundation-Stone, its unſafe to put it to a Hazard, when you have a ſafe one. Secondly, thoſe Certainties and Securities that accompany that Title are incident by the ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of the Nations; and that which the other Office can have, are introductive, and given him *de novo* from this Parliament, as their ancient Inheritance, that can claim but by a new Title of Purchaſe.

Thirdly, The People and your Highneſs looſe the beſt Title, both to their Liberty and your Rights, which is the *Law*, *antient Cuſtom*, and *Uſage*, and claim it only but upon the Strength of the Parliament; but if you take it as a King, you have the Strength of both.

Fourthly, If you aſſume any other Name, and have the Rights given you by Parliament, it may ſeem as if the People had loſt their ancient Rights, and had need of new ones to be created by this Parliament.

Fifthly, The Aſſumption of the Title of King, is without need of any other Authority to protect the People, and bind the People to obey you.

Sixthly, If you ſhould take the Name of *Protector*, or any other new Title, whatſoever Authority is applied thereto, is but grafting upon a Stock that is new, and doubtful whether it will bear the Fruits well, and ſtill liable to former Objections without Doors.

Seventhly, If you take the Title of *King*, the worſt affected cannot object againſt Authority, or at all againſt the Parliament, as the Donor.

16 April, *Maſter of the Rolls.*

IT is certain that all Governments in themſelves may be good, for none are *male in ſe*, but the Rule that hath always been obſerved, that the moſt neceſſary and prudent Courſe to govern a Nation, muſt be taken from that Proportion which is moſt ſuitable to the Nature and Diſpoſition of the People that are governed, if this be the general Rule always in the World, we may well draw this Argument: Both from an abſolute Neceſſity, and *ex neceſſitate conſequentis* alſo. The chief Governor in a ſettled Government being obliged to

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do for the Good of his People, not only *quoad bonum ſed quoad optimum*, then the Conſideration that will follow properly here will be, whether the Name King, which in the Judgment of the Law implies the Office, be not the beſt Government for the People's Safety; but *ex neceſſitate cauſæ, & neceſſitate conſequentis*, to explain this, it muſt be premiſed that when we ſpeak of *King*, we muſt take the Difference between the Perſon dignified with the *Name*, and the *Name* itſelf; for this muſt be taken for a ſure Ground, the Word *King* is a Name, as it is a Word which the Law doth look upon, ſo it hath its proper *Baſis* and Foundation upon the Law, and is as ancient as the Law is; now, the Perſon of the *King* is a Name that hath its Dignity and Foundation from the Word *King*, as *ex neceſſitate conſequentis*, becauſe in Reaſon a Man muſt be uſed to exerciſe that Authority which proceeds from that Name. Theſe Things being very clear, by the fundamental Grounds of the Law, if then we examine the Foundation of Things, according to the Rules of the Law, it is manifeſt that the Name *King*, the *Laws*, *Rights*, *Property* and *Liberties* of the People, and alſo *Parliaments* themſelves, have but one Foundation, and have the original Preſcription, and ancient Cuſtoms, that is, Cuſtoms Time out of Mind, ſo that in Judgment of Law the *Three*, the *King*, the *Law*, and the *Parliament*, are the Parties of the Government of this Nation, which having the *Baſis* and Foundation from Preſcription, creates this Form of Government in this Nation, which is not a Form in the vulgar Acceptation of the Word *(Form)* but it is the Form of Government ſettled in this Nation, that is, of the eſſential Part, and hereby the Law *forma dat eſſe*. Then to me it is an impoſſible Thing that any Act of Parliament, even without a Deſtruction to the eſſential Part of the Government, can place that *Office* in another Name (be what it will) which naturally wants the Foundation and Ground of that Power and Office which that Name hath.

Firſt, Becauſe the Alteration deſtroys the Foundation, which is Preſcription, and annexes to it a Name that the Law of the Land hath no Acquaintance with.

Secondly, It ſets all Laws, Liberties, and what is dear to us upon a new Foundation, as to the People; for whatſoever is created by an Act, cannot have Life and Authority but from that Act, and ſhall never look back to its firſt original Conſtitution; and it takes from the People the Rules and Grounds which they have known by Experience, and ſends them to ſeek them in a Power, of which no Wit of Man can ſuddenly apprehend the Bounds and Limits, when ſo many Doubts may ariſe, even in the old Foundation, which Experience and Time hath excellently refined from theſe Grounds: I may ſafely ſay, that there never was but one *KING* in *England* from the firſt Foundation of *Kingſhip*, and can ſafely conclude there will never be more, and that there have been many, and more I hope will be, whoſe Perſons ſhall exerciſe that Office: For the Law doth poſitively affirm, the *King* never dies; and that the Reaſon is, becauſe its Original is grounded upon the ſame Foundation, which is ſo conjoined together, that no Death can make a Partition: And the Difference is, the *King* never dies; but the Name and the Thing hath a kind, in a vulgar Senſe, of an Immortality, if we conſider the Continuance of the Word and Perſon that is inveſted with that Name by the Judgment of them, is not ſaid to die; but to deviſe, which is to depoſite, and to lay up the Name and Title of the King. Indeed to depoſite

it in another Hand, all which proceeds in Judgments of Law, *ex neceſſitate conſequentis*, and from the neceſſary Inconveniencies and Miſchiefs that may ariſe to the People by *Interregna*, and by other Conſequences, that would be too long to relate; there is a famous Example in 1 *Hen.* VII.

The common Ground is taken by the Acceſſion of the Office and Dignity to the Perſon, but the true Ground is the Name, and the Office is become Part of the Body of the Law, which ſhould puniſh the Offences, againſt which it was committed, which doth prove both the Neceſſities of the Name and the neceſſary Relation there is between the Name and the Law, and it is a neceſſary Deduction that the Name *King* is the Thing wherein the Office and Power is placed, and therefore not practicable by any Statute or Act of Parliament, to divide the Power and Office from the Name, and transfer that Power without the Name; the Word King hath ſuch eſſential Reference to the Law, that it never looks to the Perſon, to make that the Ground of the Eſſence, but if it had been the Name, the Law was ſatisfied, and therefore it never examined the Right of the Perſon, how he became inveſted with the Power, but *de facto* whether he were or no, and if ſo, whether *de facto* or *de jure*, it hath the ſame Influence upon the People's Right, and the ſame Advantages to the chief Governor.

The OBJECTIONS of the Government now, and of the Government under the Keepers of the Liberties, and the Quietneſs under both of them.

1. *Remember the Difficulties in making.*
2. *The Grounds why the Judges acted, though ſome refuſed.*
3. *That upon Debate when Inconveniencies were ſet forth, theſe Grounds another Parliament might change, and the like.*
4. *To the Government, the Diſlike of the People, how ſome diſreliſh this now ſet up.*
5. *The Laws did proceed far, when the* Ordinary Proceſs *diſobeyed, a good Army to help us, the Ground and Reaſon of the War againſt the Perſon: For the Breach of Truſt in his Departure againſt his Promiſe in Parliament, upon the Petition of the Speakers*, &c. *and was not againſt the Office but againſt Breach of Truſt in that Office, by the Abſence of the Perſon.*

There is alſo another Reaſon why the Office cannot be annext to another *Name*, either by Act of Parliament or otherwiſe, for in any other Name you muſt ſuppoſe the *Office*, the *King*, ſo that any other Name is but a Fiction in reſpect of the right Name, and that would be very dangerous, both to the Laws and to the Property, to lay the *Baſis* and Foundation upon a Fiction, which was a Reaſon that ſome of the Judges forbear to act upon the Name of *Cuſtos Libertatis Angliæ*, *&c.* and the ſame Reaſon upon any other Name; I urged alſo that this Petition and Advice was Matter of Right not of Grace, which was never denied by any Prince in this Nation; nor can it be, becauſe there is an Obligation in all Caſes

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to do *Right*, and this Obligation is upon the *Protector* whilſt he takes upon him the chief Magiſtracy.

Colonel Jones, 16 April.

MAY it pleaſe your Highneſs, I am unwilling to ſpend the time in ſpeaking after thoſe two learned and honourable Perſons that ſpake laſt, and therefore ſhall endeavour in what I have to ſay to thoſe Doubts you was pleaſed to make, when this Committee had the Honour laſt to attend you, to be as brief as may be. Your Highneſs was pleaſed then to ſay, that though the Arguments brought to the Maintenance of the Title *King*, in the Petition preſented to you by the Parliament, were weighty, yet in your anſwering them you muſt not grant them neceſſarily Concluſions, but take them as having much of Conveniency and Probability of, towards concluding; for if an Expedient may be found, they are not then neceſſary. And you were pleaſed to tell us that though *Kingſhip* be not a Title, but an Office interwoven in our Laws, yet it is not ſo *ratione nominis*, but from what it ſignifies, that being a Name of Office plainly implying the ſupreme Magiſtrate, and therefore whatever Name it be, wherein the ſupreme Magiſtrate reſides, the Signification will give to the Thing, and not to the Name, and ſeeing this Title had a Commencement, and alſo hath been unfixed, why may not a new one now commence and be now fixed by the legiſlative Authority, and thereby be made to run through the Law, as well as the Title *King*; (from whence may be inferred this Title is not neceſſary) but may it pleaſe your Highneſs, if it be conſidered the Intention of the Parliament in this their humble Addreſs to you, *(viz.)* that it is a *Settlement*: It would then be likewiſe conſidered, whether a new Name will be not found, in this Caſe to make a new Office alſo, and whether then the Novelty thereof will not hazard it, or fruſtrate that great End of Settlement, the Antiquity and Trial of Laws, being that which doth beget the greateſt Reverence and Satisfaction of them in the People, and that the Change of the Name makes it a new Office will appear both in reſpect of his Authority, who bears the Office, and in reſpect of the People's Obligation in matter of Obedience to that new Officer; for by the ancient Law he cannot claim Subjection from them, nor can the People thereby claim Protection from him; the Strength then of the Settlement, and of their Rights and Liberties, as far as they relate to this new ſupreme Magiſtracy, will reſt upon a new and untried Conſtitution, and this Authority upon the ſame Foundation, the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors, even in leſſer Matters when they introduce a new Law, made it for the moſt part a Probationer only; and I may humbly ſay, we have now ſome Years been making Probationaries of new Governments, and therefore the Parliament, finding the People not yet ſettled with any of them, return to that which by long Experience and Cuſtom hath been found to ſuit with their Minds, and Rights, the People having not the ſame Satisfaction or Acquieſcence in any new Thing which they have in long approved Laws and Cuſtoms, a new Thing being in itſelf uncertain, not only whether it will prove good or no, but alſo in this caſe, in reſpect that one main Property of the Settlement being a co-ordinate Power, depends upon it, and will be ſubject to be controverted whether one co-ordinate is well put up by another, or may not by the like Power that ſets it up, be pulled down again, which

which cannot but leave Men's Minds as doubtful of Settlement as ever, Things uncertain and diſputable, naturally carrying Unſettlement with them. Time and Experience hath grafted this *Name* and *Office* in the Minds of the People, and that (as I ſaid already) begets Reverence and Satisfaction in their Minds. Alſo they were the Exorbitances of the Office (which in great meaſure this Petition provides againſt) that was complained of, and not the *Office* nor *Name*, which are founded upon the ancient Laws, the altering of either alters the Conſtitution, and lays it upon a Foundation leſs certain, and eaſier to be ſhaken; and therefore to take up the *Office* without the *Title* will be to take it up with all the Objections of Scandal: or otherwiſe it is ſaid to be liable to, and yet to want the Support of the ancient Laws it carries with it, and the Advantage of ſatisfying and ſettling the Minds of ſuch of the People of theſe Nations, as by the Conſideration of Novelties, and what in this Caſe attends it, will otherwiſe reſt doubtful and unſettled. Theſe are ſome of the Grounds I obſerved in the Debate of the Parliament, to induce them to judge this *Title* not only expedient, but in reſpect of Settlement neceſſary. Your Highneſs was pleaſed to object alſo the Diſſatisfaction of good Men, which you judged in Things indifferent were to be conſidered.

They are ſo, and it hath been ſo judged by the Parliament, who manifeſted great Tenderneſs in that kind, and I hope ever will: But in this Matter found by the Parliament not to be indifferent, but neceſſary for the Settlement of theſe Nations, they hope that wherein good People have not already been ſatisfied, they will endeavour for Satisfaction: And it is to be hoped, that when the Matter of this Petition will be made more Publick, they will find ſuch Care and Proviſion made for good Men, and of good Things, that will certainly give them Satisfaction; I think I may ſafely ſay, ſuch a poſitive Proviſion for their Liberties and Encouragement hath not been found under any former *King*, nor any other Form of Government, to which your Highneſs hath been pleaſed yourſelf to give that Teſtimony, ſo that it is not *Kingſhip* alone, as formerly the Parliament adviſeth your Highneſs unto, but to the Office with ſuch a Proviſion made for the good Intereſt; and if then your Highneſs (of whoſe Faithfulneſs to their Intereſt good People have received ſuch ample Teſtimony) will be pleaſed to conſent to this Petition of the Parliament, an Authority always of no ſmall Eſteem and Reverence with the beſt of Men; I doubt not but when it is done they will chearfully acquieſce, though while it is doing they may have Scruples for that of Providence laying aſide the *Title*, I thinking the Argument thence will be as cogent againſt the Office itſelf, and againſt Government by a ſingle Perſon under any Title, the Acts of Parliament mentioned are as expreſsly againſt the one as the other; and therefore the Exerciſe of the ſupreme Power by a ſingle Perſon under any *Title*, is as much a Contradiction of Providence and theſe Acts of Parliament, as the Exerciſe thereof under the Title of a *King*: But certainly the laying aſide of a Thing *de facto*, which though indeed it be an Act of Providence, yet it cannot be conſtrued, that the Intendment of that Providence is finally to lay it aſide, never to be re-aſſumed again: The Conſequences of ſuch a Poſition are many and may be dangerous, for what by that Rule is not to be laid aſide.

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I remember here an Objection made, by your Highneſs in another Place, which I had almoſt forgotten, which was, that we did enjoy our Laws, and that the Juſtice was freely adminiſtered under ſeveral Changes and Titles, as that of the Keepers of the Liberty, and the Title your Highneſs now bears. To which I humbly anſwer, that if ſo, it may be ſaid, Thanks are rather to be given to the Perſons into whoſe Hands the Power fell, than to the Conſtitutions. However, I crave leave to ſay this, that Changes imply not a Settlement, and ſince Providence led us from our old Conſtitution, we have in a few Years had four or five Changes; and that theſe Changes have not been accompanied with more Hazards, it is a Matter of Praiſe to the Lord, and of Commendation to the Powers we have been under; but if one Providence laid aſide *Kingſhip*, another led it in, and calls upon you to take it up: And it is to me a remarkable Thing, that Providence hath caſt it under ſuch Conſtitutions and Laws, as if when we have thrown out the Tyrant that oppreſſed in our Spiritual and Civil Rights, we can by our ancient Laws graft another in, that may be a fit Inſtrument to preſerve both; who (as the learned Perſon that ſpoke laſt ſaid) may make up as it were but one *King:* This five hundred Years the Law not admitting an *Inter-regnum*, from whence I infer, that as it was not the end of our War, as appears by ſix or ſeven Declarations of Parliament, one whereof was ordered to be read in all Churches; ſo our Providence led not to lay aſide either the *Name* or *Office*, but that Family which oppreſſed us, then all Men's Lives and Liberties depend on this Settlement, it is neceſſary then to lay it in the ſtrongeſt Foundation that may be.

And as for that of Safety, it is not for me to ſpeak much to it, but certainly it is to be hoped, that as a Parliament adviſe your Highneſs to Things honeſt and lawful, and by them judged neceſſary for a good Settlement, and therein take care and provide for our Rights as Men and Chriſtians, and your Highneſs thereunto, all Dangers by God's Bleſſing upon your Highneſs's Wiſdom, backed with ſuch an Annuity, and an Army under the Conduct of ſo many religious and faithful Perſons, ſo well principled to the Obedience of lawful Powers, may be prevented. And therefore I humbly hope God will incline your Highneſs to grant the Petition and Advice of the Parliament.

16 April, *Sir* Richard Onſlow.

The Lord Protector's OBJECTIONS.

Objection, That the Title of *King* is a Name of an Office, and any other Name which may imply the ſupreme Magiſtrate hath the ſame Signification, and therefore no Neceſſity of the Name.

Anſwer, Every Office ought to have a Name adequate to the ſaid Office, and no other Name than *King* can be ſuitable and comprehenſive enough to contain in it the common Good to all Intents and Purpoſes.

It is a Rule, that the Kings of *England* cannot alter the Laws of *England ratione nominis*, but is bound to govern according to the Laws of *England*; but for any other Name, there is no Obligation lies upon it.

That

That the very Title is neceſſary was declared in the ninth Year of *Edw.* IV. when the great Controverſy was betwixt *Edw.* IV. and *Hen.* VI. that ſometimes one was in Poſſeſſion and then another, that it was neceſſary the Realm ſhould have a *King*, under whom the Laws might be maintained and holden; for every Action done by the *King* in Poſſeſſion was valid and good, for it was his Juriſdiction Royal; ſo likewiſe the firſt of *Hen.* VII. ſo the third, the ſame Opinion was held and declared, that a *King de facto* was neceſſary, and in all Alterations from Perſons and Families. Yet our Anceſtors always retained the *Title* and the *Name*.

There is a *prius* and a *primum*, another Name may in order and degree be firſt, that is, before other Men, but it was a *King* was *primum*, the firſt Name that had its beginning with our Laws.

The Cuſtoms of *England* are the Laws of *England*, as well as our States Laws, the Title of *King* and *Cuſtom* are two Twins born together, and have had Continuance together, and therefore to ſay *Protector*, of which we know the Date, with *Cuſtom* (of which no Memory can ſpeak) is a kind of Contradiction to the Original.

Then there muſt be a Law introductive, becauſe *Protector* is a new Name that our Law doth not yet know. Now to ingraft a young Cien upon an old Stock it will never grow, but there muſt be an Eradication of the old Root and a new Plantation muſt be made, and that all the old Cuſtoms, muſt be put into poſitive Laws, and that will be a Thing conſiſting of much Time and great Difficulty.

The Title of *King* is ſo incorporated, and in conjunction with our *Cuſtoms*, which do very much concern the People of *England* to be upheld, and then there is a Rule, *Quæque res in conjunctione pro bono conjunctionis*, that ought to be done which is for the good of the Conjunction and Benefit thereof, and if it be for the Advantage of the ſingle Perſon and the People, it brings me to mind of another Rule my old Maſter *Tully* taught me, *Communis utilitatis derelictio contra naturam eſt*, it is not natural to decline that which is for a common Benefit and Utility.

And therefore I ſhall ſay but this as to the Title, that as the the Patriarch *Jacob* joined together in his Bleſſing upon *Judah* the Law-giver and the Scepter, ſo the Parliament of the three Nations deſires to preſerve the Title *King* in and upon the *Law*.

2. *Objection*, Another Argument your Highneſs was pleaſed to draw from Providence, that had brought you to this Place through much Darkneſs, and had ſeemed to lay this Title aſide of *King*.

Anſwer, It becomes all Men to acknowledge the acting of the Providence and Power of God for bringing to paſs whatſoever he hath determined in the World, and it is the mighty and wiſe Hand of Providence which triumphs over Nations, and triumphs and treads down all Oppoſitions: Yet your Highneſs obſerves, it is not a Rule to walk by without the Word, the Reaſon, the Cauſes are hidden in the ſecret Counſel of God's Will; you may ſee in the Revelations, the Book is ſealed up with ſeven Seals, we may read what is paſt, becauſe it is written on the outſide of the Book, but what is to come we cannot read, and we ought not to limit Providence, nor can we bound it with *a no further*.

3. *Objection*, This State hath by Providence received ſeveral Changes to great Ones from the former Conſtitution, that of the Keepers of the Liberties of *England* and this preſent Government, under the Title of *Protector*, and the firſt ſeemed to be the Reſult of ſeven Years War againſt the *Title* and the *Family*.

Anſwer, It muſt be confeſſed, it proved the Event of ſeven Years of the War, but the Reaſons of the War did not lead to it, for the War was for *King* and *Parliament*, for the *Office*; but againſt the Perſon, againſt the Exorbitancy and Irregularities in his Government, but it was Providence that took away at that time both the *Office* and the *Family*.

It was alſo Providence that altered from that of a *Republick*, to this of a *Protector*; that Act being as much againſt *Protector* as a *King*, for it was againſt a *ſingle Perſon*.

And may not, by the ſame Series of Providence, this Parliament as well ſet up Kingly Government, as that Parliament took it away, having alſo the ſame Power they had.

4. *Objection*, Another Ground why your Highneſs would not accept of the Title was, the Diſſatisfaction many Perſons, who had been inſtrumental in carrying on the Work, have againſt that Title.

Anſwer, In every Change of Government there was and ſtill will be Perſons unſatisfied, becauſe Men are of mixt Intereſts and differing in Judgment, upon the Change to a Republick. Thoſe that conceived the Monarchical Government beſt were unſatisfied: But all ought to ſubmit and be concluded by the Judgment of a Parliament.

Your Highneſs was pleaſed to ſay that neither yourſelf nor thoſe that tendered to you the Inſtrument were Authors in the firſt Change, but it was the Long Parliament, ſo that I may conclude, they were not engaged for that Government by King.

It hath been indeed the Honour of the Soldiery that in all theſe Changes they have ſtill followed Providence, and have acquieſced, acting and living in practical Conformity, but I wiſh they would be ſatisfied, for their Love ſake to us, and their Labours for us. High ſhould his Reward be in Heaven, and happy his Remembrance on Earth, that would be the Means of ſuch an Accord; but to ſatisfy all Men, ſo divided as we are, would be no leſs than a Wonder. I ſhall ſpeak in a Parable in the thirty-ſeventh Chapter of *Ezekiel*, Ver. 16. the Lord ſaid to the Prophet, *Take two Sticks, write upon one Stick for* Judah *and the Children of* Iſrael *Companions, and take the other Stick and write upon it for* Joſeph *the Stick of* Ephraim, *for all the Houſe of* Iſrael *his Companions, and join theſe two Sticks in one Stick, and they ſhall become one in thy Hand; theſe are the two Nations of* Iſrael *and* Judah, *two diſtant and differing Names, but they ſhall come under one King, and* David *ſhall be their King*; thus they were united.

5. *Objection*, Juſtice hath been as well adminiſtered, as free from Solicitations under theſe Changes as before.

Anſwer, You were pleaſed to ſay you undertook that Charge to preſerve from Confuſion, which indeed is the worſt of Evil, and the ſame Reaſon might prevail with Judges, and other Magiſtrates to execute Juſtice, and give to Men their Rights, which is ſo deſirable to all Men and of abſolute Neceſſity.

Juſtice may be compared to the Water in the Spring, if kept from his natural Channel will break his way through the Bowels of the Earth: Nature ſometimes may ſuffer Violence, there is a Peace in a Ceſſation to War, and there is a Peace in the regard of the Diſtraction may be termed; but an intermitting Peace, for your Highneſs is pleaſed to acknowledge that the People call for a Subſiſtery and cry aloud for Settlement, from which, under Favour, I may infer, that as yet there is no Settlement ſo well ſettled as to be accounted perfect and good.

Your Highneſs is pleaſed to declare you had rather take a *Title* from this Parliament, than any Title from any other Place or without it.

The Parliament of *England* is the Womb of the Commonwealth, and in that Womb there hath been a Conception and Shape, and Proportion, and Form, and Life, and groweth as far as the Navel could nouriſh; there hath been alſo a Delivery and a Name given, there has been *Conceptu conceptus partus & opus*, and it hath been a great Work to bring us to this Delivery, it is therefore the humble Advice of the Parliament that your Highneſs would be pleaſed to make it ſpeak the *Engliſh* Tongue.

April *the* 16*th*.

Lord Commiſſioner Fiennes.

YOUR Highneſs the other Day laid down as a Ground of your enſuing Diſcourſe this Poſition, that there was no Neceſſity of the Name and Title of *King*, upon which Foundation your Highneſs ſeemed to build the Arguments and Reaſons of your Highneſs's Diſſatisfaction, as to that *Name* and *Title*, and that in ſuch ſort as the Matter is now circumſtantiated and ſtated by your Highneſs's own ſelf, that there is a Neceſſity either in the Affirmative or Negative, if it be not neceſſary that the Name be aſſumed, it is of Neceſſity to be declined; and if no Neceſſity to decline it, then there is a Neceſſity to aſſume it: For although the Nature of the Thing be itſelf ſuch as poſſibly may admit a Latitude of Argument upon the Point of Expediency and Conveniency, and that we are not ſhut up under an abſolute Neceſſity either the one way or the other, yet the Parliament having given their Judgment upon it, and their Advice to your Highneſs in it, your Highneſs ſeemeth to admit that there lieth a kind of Neceſſity upon you to aſſume it: If there be not a Neceſſity to wave it, for you will not without Neceſſity decline the Advice of the Parliament having ſaid that you ſhould rather chuſe any Name, which they ſhould fix, than any Name whatſoever without. Then it holdeth out thus much, that you will not put Expediency and Conveniency, but only Neceſſity in Ballance with their Judgment, who are the proper Judges of Things in that Nature, and what is moſt expedient and convenient therein for the three Nations, which they repreſent, and thought a Name might otherwiſe be inconvenient, yet accompanied with Judgment of the Parliament, it would become more acceptable to your Highneſs, than any other Name without, as your Highneſs hath ſaid and admitted, and beſides the Grounds of Diſſatisfaction held forth by your Highneſs, relating to Conſcience, they muſt be ſuch as are grounded upon a Neceſſity in the Negative, though the Reaſons alledged by the Committee ſhould not of themſelves conclude, but only

only in Expedience in the Affirmative; yet they are so far from concluding Necessity in the Negative, that they do it by Accident in the Affirmative, because there is not only no Necessity of the Negative, but an Expediency in the Affirmative, which notwithstanding is more than lay upon the Committee to make out, it being sufficient, as this Case is, to shew that there is not a Necessity to decline it, is to conclude a kind of Necessity to take it, and whether or no if the Position laid down by your Highness were admitted, the Reasons given by your Highness, do upon Supposition conclude a Necessity of declining this Name, is the Question in the second Place: When the first Position hath been considered, how far it must or need not to be admitted, there is a double Necessity in a natural and a moral Necessity: A paternal Necessity falleth not under Consideration Rules, if it be one Respect, because there is a kind of Impossibility, at once to enumerate all particular Cases and Circumstances, wherein the chief Magistrate shall or shall not have Power or Right, which many Hundred of Years hath done and fitted the Laws in all Particulars to the *Name* and *Title* of *King*, but to the Name of *Protector*, or any new Name, either all Cases and Circumstances must by particular Enumeration be applied, which would be the Work of an Age (as it hath been of many Ages in that Name of a *King*) or it must be left at least in what is not enumerated boundless and lawless, which that it should not be: There is a moral, that is to say, a politic Necessity, or else, to suit a particular Enumeration, there must be a general Clause, that in all things not particularly specified, they shall be defined by the Laws and Rights belonging to the Name *King*, and then the Question will be merely nominal, and consequently not be put in Ballance with the Judgment of the Parliament, for that a Necessity in the Negative cannot arise out of a meer nominal Difference of the Thing, and the Definition thereof being identically the very same, and there being no Difference but only that of a new Name, which in the Judgment of diverse wise Men, may draw after it such a Consequence, as the putting of old Wine into a new Bottle, which may hazard the Loss of the Thing, and of the Laws, and Liberties of the Nation, which are desired to be preserved thereby: as to moral Necessity, it is either so *absoluta Necessitate*, or *Necessitate Præcepti*, or *Necessitate Medii*; for the first Necessity there are but four Things that are necessary in that Sense, as God is necessarily good, true, *&c.* and as to that Necessity which is *Virtute Præcepti*, it is so either primarily or secondarily *in Terrenu Actus Humani*, and of the latter Sort is the matter in Question, of at all, necessarily *Necessitate Precepti*; for though Magistracy be an Ordinance of God primarily, yet particular Forms of Magistracy and Government, and much more the Circumstances of those Forms, as Names, Titles, and the like, are first Ordinances of Men, before they are Ordinances of God; first Man sets his Stamp upon them, and then God sets also Impress upon them, and therefore though they be but Ordinances of Men, yet the Apostle saith, we are to submit unto them for the Lord's sake, whether to the King as Supream, or to Governors as those that are sent by him, and what *Peter* calls Ordinances of Men, *Paul* calls Ordinances of God, and yet they are to be obeyed not only for Fear, but also for Conscience sake; so that in these Forms of Government Men may do as they will, as in other Contracts wherein it is free for them to contract, or not to contract, or to make their Covenants this way or

another; but when they have made them, they muſt keep them, for then God's Seal is upon them: Now as to the matter in Queſtion, it is clear, that the unqueſtionable Stamp of human Authority, and the Ordinance of Man in theſe Nations, hath accompanied this Office under this Name for many Hundred Years together; and if it was waved and laid aſide, as of late Years, it is now ſet up again by as good an Authority, and a fuller Repreſentative of the three Nations; and though it be only by Petition to your Highneſs, yet it is in ſome Sort a Petition of Right; for the People of theſe Nations have an Intereſt in their Government and Laws (whereof this was amongſt Fundamentals) as well as in their Liberties and Lands; and although particular Perſons may have forfeited their Intereſt in the Government, yet I do not know that the Nations have forfeited their Intereſt therein, but if this Point ſhall ſeem to be driven too far, yet it is clear, that if this Office under this *Name* and *Title* be moſt known, and moſt ſuitable to the Laws of theſe Nations, moſt agreeable to the Deſires and Diſpoſitions of the People, and moſt likely to maintain Quiet and Peace in the Nations, with Juſtice and Liberty, which are the great Ends of Government, and of all Forms and Names therein, as in the Judgment of the Parliament it is: Then as it is the Duty of the Parliament to adviſe it, ſo doth thereby lay an Obligation upon your Highneſs to accept it *Neceſſitate Medii*, as a neceſſary *Medium* to attain thoſe Ends: And whereas your Highneſs is pleaſed to ſay this *Medium* is not neceſſary, becauſe the Ends may be attained by another *Medium*, as appeareth in theſe two Names and Titles, *Cuſtodes Libertatis Angliæ* and *Protector:* beſides, the Experience in the one, that was but of ſhort Continuance, and of the other, that it hath and doth ſtill ſtand but in a ſhaking and uncertain Condition, and of both that they have attained the End but imperfectly, and through the Help of a great deal of Force; and though it cannot be denied, but that the End may in ſome Degree be obtained by ſuch other *Mediums*, which may ſerve the Turn in Caſe of Neceſſity, and when no better can be had; yet where ſuch a Neceſſity is in the Caſe, there doth ſpring out of a kind of moral, or at leaſt a politic End of the contrary, and of embracing that which is the beſt *Medium*; for in Caſe of Neceſſity, there might be a Government without any Laws, and that *Arbitrium boni Juris* ſhould ſerve inſtead of all Laws; and yet where Laws can be had, none will ſay that Laws are not neceſſary: When a Man hath a better Lamb in his Flock, a worſe will not ſerve; but in that Caſe there is a moral Neceſſity, that the beſt be brought for a Sacrifice, when the Parliament (and they ſuppoſe the like Reaſon extends alſo to your Highneſs) are perſwaded in their Judgments, that this is the beſt *Medium* to preſerve the Liberties and the Peace of the Nations; and yet no Neceſſity appearing unto them ſo to do, ſhould make Choice of a weaker Prop, and that thereupon ſhould enſue Inconvenience, and that the Band of Peace being broken, Blood and Confuſion ſhould return upon the Nation, it muſt needs alſo return upon their Thoughts, that they had been been wanting in their Duty, in not providing the beſt Remedy, which poſſibly might have prevented the Miſchief which leadeth to the Conſideration of the ſecond Queſtion in this matter, whether admitting your Highneſs's Poſition, that there is not a Neceſſity of this Name *King*; the Reaſon held forth by your Highneſs, makes out ſuch a Neceſſity, as that you cannot take upon you that *Name* though adviſed thereto by the Parliament, as the beſt and moſt reducing to the

the Ends of Government, withal granting not abſolutely neceſſary, if there fall not out to be Neceſſity in the Caſe, to the contrary, your Highneſs was pleaſed in the firſt Place to mention the Diſſatisfaction; as to this Particular of many godly Men, and ſuch as have grown up all along with you in the carrying on this great Cauſe, as Soldiers, which indeed muſt needs be a very great and tender Conſideration to your Highneſs, as it is alſo to all of us, who reap the Fruit of their Prayers, and of their Hazards, and great and worthy Service, and it would be a great Happineſs, if it might pleaſe God that great and good Things were carried on with Unanimity and Harmony amongſt good Men: but the Felicity hath never yet been granted unto us, but that great Matters and Changes have been accompanied with great Difficulties, with great Difference of Judgments, even amongſt the beſt Men, as our late Changes ſufficiently teſtify. For your Highneſs knows well when that Change was made, whereby this *Name* and *Office* was laid aſide, how many godly Men and your old Friends were diſſatisfied therewith, and yet thoſe that had then the Power did not think that they ſhould therefore forbear to do what then was judged for the Good of the Nation. There was the like Diſſatisfaction on the other Side of many godly Men, when your Highneſs took upon you the Government under the Name of *Protector*, and yet it was not held an unjuſt Obſtacle to what was then thought good for the Nation. There is a certain Latitude wherein there may be had a Reſpect to Friends, when the Public Good of the whole Nation is in Queſtion, other Conſiderations may not take Place, and it is not Love to ſatisfy Mens Deſires to their own Hurt, and the Hurt of the Public; ſo it cannot be thought, but that godly and ſober Men, when they ſee this *Name* ſtamped firſt with the Ordinance of Man, and after with God's Ordinance, (for ſo it will then be) they will ſubmit thereunto for the Lord's Sake, and ſatisfy their Minds that they ought ſo to do, for that other Reaſon alledged by your Highneſs, that this *Name* hath been blaſted and taken away by the Parliament, it is clear, that the *Thing* was as much blaſted as the *Name* and the Government by *one Perſon*, under what Name ſoever, as much and more blaſted than this *Name*; but in Truth, neither *Name* nor *Thing* hath been at all blaſted by God; otherwiſe than he blaſted all things and Names of this Nature. It may be as truly ſaid, that he hath blaſted Parliaments, for they have alſo undergone and felt the like Blaſts, but God hath ſo declared his Will concerning all particular Forms of Government, that they are wholly at the Pleaſure and Diſpoſition of Men to be continued and altered and changed according to the Exigency of Affairs, and Public Good of the People and Nations for which they are created by Men; for the Scripture calleth them *Humanæ Creationis*. Therefore as Men blaſt them, ſo God blaſteth them; and when Men ſet them up again, God honoureth them again, and commands they ſhould be honoured. One Parliament thought the perfect State of Affairs required the taking away of this *Name* and *Office*; and this Parliament judgeth, the preſent State of Affairs requireth the reſtoring it to the Nations again. As to that Point of Safety, which your Highneſs touched upon, we may beſt anſwer it, by drawing a Curtain before it, as your Highneſs has given us an Example: There are Diſſatisfactions on the one Side, as well as on the other, neither is the Conſideration of Danger only on the one Side; and ſome Things may be more convenient for your Highneſs to conceive, than for us to ſpeak:

only

only I ſhall remember your Highneſs what the Wiſe-man ſaith, *he that obſerveth the Wind ſhall never ſow, and he that regardeth the Clouds ſhall never reap:* The Huſbandman in the Way of his Calling muſt rule his Actions by the Ordinance and revealed Will of God, without attending unto the uncertain Events, which may ariſe through the Indiſpoſition of the Air, which is in God's Hands and Diſpoſition; ſo every Man in the Way of his Calling, muſt attend to what is the revealed Will of God, to guide his Reſolutions and Actions thereby, and not by the various Minds of Men, which are in the Hands of God: and the Wiſe-man alſo ſaith, *he that walketh uprightly, walketh ſurely*, he walketh uprightly that walketh according to God's revealed Will. It is alſo a great Note of Integrity to ſpeak as a Man thinketh, to do as he ſpeaketh, and to ſuit Names to Things, and as your Parliament hath thought to ſuit with this Thing; ſo have they offered to your Highneſs with much Integrity, and without any other Reſpect, ſaving to your Good and Liberty of the Nations.

Lord Broghill. *April.* 16.

YOUR Highneſs the laſt time this Committee had the Honour to wait on you, ſeemed to be of Opinion, that it was not neceſſary, that you ſhould aſſume the Title of *King* to exerciſe legally the Office and Duty of ſupreme Magiſtracy of theſe three Nations; becauſe that the Title of *Protector* is by the Authority of Parliament made the Title of the chief Magiſtrate would do as well and anſwer all Ends of Government as fully, as that which now the Parliament does deſire and adviſe your Highneſs to take upon you: but to effect this, either all the Powers and Limitations of a *Protector* muſt be more particularly enumerated, or he muſt under the Name have all the Authorities with a *King*, as a *King* has by the Law. Of the firſt of theſe then (as thoſe learned Gentlemen that have ſpoken before have fully proved) whatſoever is not particularly ſpecified, the *Protector* is left to act arbitrarily, or a Parliament muſt be called to ſupply every new diſcovered Defect, his Power being derived only from that Authority that now does, or hereafter ſhall conſtitute them, which will prove dangerous and inconvenient both to himſelf, and the People; and to ſet down all Authorities and Abundances which are requiſite, will be a Work of ſo much Time and Difficulty, if that in the Nation only it ſeems impracticable, in the acting it will be much more found ſo; if the ſecond, then it will evidently appear, if the Difficulty is only about a Name, and it would be a ſad Thing indeed that any Diſagreement ſhould be between your Highneſs and the Parliament: eſpecially when the Thing differed in, as the ſettling of our Foundation, and the Thing differed upon, is only a Name; I hope that Unhappineſs will be ſo well foreſeen, as never to run into.

Your Highneſs was pleaſed to take Notice, that if the Title of *Protector* were ſettled by Parliament, hardly any thing could be objected againſt it; but that it is a Title not ſo long known to theſe Nations, as that of a *King*, which is a grave and weighty Objection, ſince in conſtituting of Governments, the ableſt and moſt deſerving Judges are uncapable to ſee theſe Diſadvantages and Inconveniencies which Time and Experience do render evident, which may be a Reaſon, if not the chief one, why our Anceſtors would never alter Kingly Government, though they had often the Power to do it, and were provoked thereunto

by Exorbitance and evil Government of their Princes; chuſing rather to bound that Office proportionably to the Evils they have deſerved in it, than to eſtabliſh a new Model of their own, in erecting of which they could not have in ſome Ages, the Experience they had of that, and to caſt off an Office that has been ſome hundred of Years a pruning and fitting for the Good of the People, to eſtabliſh one that has been but newly known, were to think ourſelves wiſer in one Day than our Forefathers have been ever ſince the firſt erecting of *Kingſhip*.

It has been an unqueſtionable Principle that the Magiſtrate is eſtabliſhed for the Laws, and not the Laws for the Magiſtrate: If therefore the Title of *Protector* ſhould be the Title of the ſupreme Magiſtrate, we ſhould fit the Laws to him, not him to the Laws; which would be by our Practice to contradict our Profeſſions, and poſſibly wound the People's Rights; but in this Point there has been ſo much ſaid, and that ſo learnedly by thoſe worthy Perſons, who have ſpoken before, that to prove the Neceſſity of your Highneſs aſſuming the Title of *King*, and ſhould only add a mentioning of thoſe many Reaſons that the Parliament of three Nations think it neceſſary you ſhould do it, which is evident, by their inſerting it amongſt theſe three Things, which they eſteem fundamental as to the Settlement: Yea, they have placed at the Head of thoſe Fundamentals, and laid ſo great Streſſes on it, that in their humble Petition and Advice, they declare, that if it be not accepted of, the Whole ſhall be eſteemed null and void, ſo that the higheſt Neceſſity impoſed by a Parliament will have the beſt Acceptance; your Highneſs was pleaſed to mention, that we had recent Experiments what the ſupreme Magiſtracy of the Nation might be well carried in to all Effects and Purpoſes under another Name and Title than that of *King*, *viz.* under the Name of *Keepers of the Liberty of England*, and under the Name of *Protector*; but I ſhall humbly beſeech your Highneſs to conſider, that becauſe that was not grounded upon the old known Laws, it was of very ſhort Duration: And the ſecond for the ſame Reaſon, the Parliament is now petitioning and adviſing your Highneſs to alter, ſo what is brought as Arguments to prove, what your Highneſs mentions, poſſibly may rather evince the contrary: Beſides, Sir, it is Confeſſion on all Hands, that theſe two Changes ſprung from Neceſſity: Therefore were not, neither ought to be of longer Continuance than that Neceſſity which cauſed them; and this is the great and real Difference between Conſtitutions that are eſtabliſhed meerly becauſe neceſſary, and thoſe that are eſtabliſhed meerly becauſe good: For what is only of Neceſſity is but temporary, as no Effect laſts longer than it's Cauſe: But what is good in it's own Nature, is always good, and if by intervening Accidents it be a while clouded, yet at length it ſhines and overcometh, and all wiſe Men do deſire to revert unto it. To prove that the firſt of theſe Changes, the *Keepers of the Liberty of England*, was only an act of Neceſſity and not of Choice, I need but mind your Highneſs of what the Maſters of the Rolls then ſpake of, the Parliament did even now evert; that after the Abſolution of *Kingſhip*, the Parliament were neceſſitated to adviſe with a Civilian of another Nation, what the *Hollander* had done, what they did, they were at a loſs what to do, the Providence of God hath ſo altered the Temper of Officers between that Time and this preſent, that the Change appeared beſt, becauſe neceſſary: But the Parliament eſteems the Change now deſired neceſſary, becauſe beſt; nor can we poſſibly better expreſs

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our Thankfulneſs for the Opportunity which now God hath put into our Hands, than to Employment, to make the beſt and laſtingeſt Settlement; all Things are beſt which are found beſt upon Trial; but all the Changes we have been under of late were upon Belief, not Experiment, and having had an Eſſay of all, the Parliament have found that above all *Kingſhip* is the beſt, ſo that by the beſt Judges, and by the beſt way of judging, that Form of Government now preſenting to your Highneſs, hath the preceding in the People's Opinion, and therefore is hoped you will have it in yours.

It may poſſibly be fit for your Highneſs's Obſervation that the beſt Breach which happened amongſt thoſe worthy Perſons, which inſtrumentally carried on our Common Cauſe, ariſe from the taking away the *Title* and *Office* of *King*, ſo often declared for and engaged to be maintained by the Parliament, till then we went Hand in Hand, and took ſweet Council together; and if the aboliſhing thereof cauſed ſo ſad a Breach, probably the Reſtoration of it may make it up again.

Your Highneſs was pleaſed to ſay, you aſſumed the Office you now bear with no better Hope than to prevent Miſchief; queſtionleſs we may expect better Fruits from the ſupreme Magiſtracy: And if your Highneſs, who is every way ſo worthy of that Office, had no better Hopes under the Title *Protector*, we may juſtly ſubſcribe it not unto yourſelf, but unto the Conſtitution of Government you acted under, and therefore your Highneſs do aſſume the ſupreme Magiſtracy according to the Laws: We ſhall both hope and believe that you will not only prevent ill, but do much good, the beſt Governor being grafted upon the beſt Government. Your Highneſs expreſſed ſome Doubts, that the Providence of God hath blaſted the *King*'s Office in the Duſt, and that by an Act of Parliament was laid aſide: But I humbly hope your Highneſs will pardon me, if I cannot have the like Apprehenſion; I cannot believe if that Office were blaſted by the Hand of God, that the Parliament would adviſe and petition you to take it up. Beſides, Sir, the very Act which firſt caſt out the Kingly Office, did alſo caſt out the ſupreme Magiſtracy in any ſingle Perſon: Yea, by way of Election, or otherwiſe; therefore I beg your Pardon, if I cannot think that Act of Parliament can be interpreted as a providential Blaſting of that Office, which your Highneſs thought neceſſary to accept of, and by Virtue of which we have for ſome Years paſt enjoyed Quiet and Protection. So that if *Kingſhip* be blaſted, then ſupreme *Magiſtracy in a ſingle Perſon* is as much, being both equally declared againſt at the ſame time, and in the ſame Act of Parliament; and that ſince your Highneſs by your Actings have evinced you did not believe the *ſupreme Magiſtracy in a ſingle Perſon* was blaſted by Providence, you will permit us to believe that *Kingſhip* is no more blaſted than that the ſame Authority, and the ſame Act having blemiſhed (as far as it could) both alike; but your Highneſs is pleaſed to ſay, *Kingſhip* is caſt out *de facto*. If the Weight of the Argument do reſt thereon, your Highneſs by accepting the Petition and Advice of the Parliament will make your Argument as ſtrong for *Kingſhip* as ever it was againſt it, and it is hoped your Highneſs will not doubt, but what one ſupreme Authority did ſuppreſs, another may erect; that ſeemed neceſſary then in the Judgment of them only, then they knew not what to do when they had erected Kings, and we ſhall be in the like Perplexity if now you

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accept not of this: What the Long Parliament did after ſo long a War, muſt be conſidered rather as Reſult of Providence, than the caſting out the other. The Eſtate of Parliament muſt be conſidered under that Notion alſo, and yet I think there are few that eſteem it not as fit to refer it again under due Qualifications, as then it was eſteemed fit not to allow of it under any; if alſo your Highneſs's Arguments were carried on as far as they might be, I apprehend it might alſo bring it in queſtion, that the Parliaments were blaſted by Providence; for whoever allows not the diſſolving of the long Parliament to be under that Notion, will hardly find a good Reaſon for its Diſſolution; but it may be anſwered, that it may not be caſt down in Reference to ſome that acted in it, who were ſuſpected to have a Deſign of perpetuating themſelves in that Authority, which would have turned what ſhould have been our Phyſick into our Food. To which I humbly anſwer, had that been ſo, the People might have had new Writs ſent unto them for the Election of their Repreſentatives, who might have carried on the publick Affairs of the Nation by a new Parliament; but it ſeems thoſe Times would not bear it, and therefore a Convention of ſelect Perſons were called, unchoſen by the People, to whom all Power was devolved, and who had even a Right to have perpetuated themſelves by calling in to themſelves from Time to Time whom they thought fit: ſo that Parliaments were not for that Turn only laid aſide, but even by that Conſtitution which did it, were perpetually excluded: by which it is evident, that if *Kings* were *de facto* blaſted, Parliaments were the like; yea much more, for in the Act for aboliſhing *Kingſhip*, it was Treaſon in thoſe only who offered to reſtore it, but by Conſent in Parliament; but in that Aſſembly there was no ſuch Proviſion for Parliaments ever, as hath been ſaid. By their Conſtitution Parliaments were excluded; and to evidence how much Streſs there lies barely upon a legal Name, that Aſſembly, to give greater Authority to their Actings, ſtiled themſelves a Parliament, as the only Name the Parliament took Notice of, as the ſupreme Authority of the Nation which poſſibly may invite your Highneſs to believe that godly Men and wiſe Men think it eſſential to have Titles conſonant to our Laws: And therefore, that your Highneſs in the Exerciſe of the ſupreme Magiſtracy will be the rather invited to aſſume the Title *King*, that being conſonant, and that only being conſonant to the Law, I think all ſober Men agree of that Government; but for the particular Form thereof, it is left to the Wiſdom of thoſe which the People chuſe to repreſent them, to ſet upon ſuch a Form as may be moſt fitted to their *Genius*, and likelieſt to prove their Good and Quiet. If any can prove that *Kingſhip* by the Word of God is unlawful, or that People have not Power to give the ſupreme Magiſtrate what Name they think beſt, I ſhould be then ſilent; but ſince that Power is unqueſtionable in the Repreſentative of the People, and that they have deſired your Highneſs to govern them by the Title of *King*, and ſince alſo nothing can be objected againſt it, and both Reaſon and Cuſtom pleads for it, we earneſtly hope you will not think fit to deny the People that which is but their Right, and I believe it was not yet denied by any ſupreme Magiſtrate to any People: To which may be added, that if the *Kingſhip* has been caſt out by many Providences, your Highneſs's accepting it, will ſhew, that it is reſtored at leaſt by as many more as have happened in Reference thereunto, from its Abſolution to its Reſtitution.

Your Highneſs did further Object, that ſome good Men would be offended at your Acceptance of that Title. I confeſs it is very conſiderable, and I think every judicial Perſon of the Houſe would be very cautious to give Men under that Character a juſt Offence; but your Highneſs will be pleaſed to permit me to mind you of the Character you gave of good Men in your laſt Speech; they are ſuch you ſaid as give Obedience to Goſpel-Ordinances, which requires Obedience to Authorities, not for Fear, but for Conſcience Sake; that you reckon nothing of Godlineſs without the Circle, and that any Principle which oppoſeth thus was diabolical, and ſprung from the Depth of Satan's Wickedneſs. You were pleaſed further to ſay, that though ſome good Men ſcrupled at that Name the Parliament thought fit to aſſume, yet their doing ſo was no Part of their Goodneſs: By all which it will be evident, that your Acceptance thereof cannot offend good Men, but by their eſteeming their Obedience to a Goſpel-Ordinance, an Offence which I hope no good Men will or can do. I ſhall alſo humbly beſeech your Highneſs to conſider, that if on the one ſide the Acceptance of the Title may offend ſome good Men, ſo on the other ſide, the Declining it will give Offence to the Parliament, where all good Men are legally and at once only repreſented. The Caſe of *David*, when his Child was ſick, may poſſibly parallel the Caſe of ſuch good Men as are herein unſatisfied; while as the Child was ſick, he was very earneſt with the Lord for the reſtoring of it to Health, but God was not pleaſed ſo to do, and the Child died; his Servants being of another Principle than himſelf, thus reaſoned, if his Trouble and Grief were ſo great, while yet the Child was not dead, what will it be now it is dead; but *David* reaſoned thus, while there was Hope, I wreſtled with God; but ſince his Will is declared, I chearfully ſubmit to it. I hope, as ſcrupulous good Men's Caſes in the particular of *Kingſhip*, is a Parable in the Hiſtory, ſo it will likewiſe prove in the Event. Your Highneſs was further pleaſed to mention ſome Conſiderations in reference to Safety; to which I humbly anſwer, the Things that are offered to you are juſt in themſelves, in reference to Civils and Spirituals, and ſo acknowledged by you: That Authority that tenders them is the ſupreme legal Authority of three great Nations. You have a faithful and a good Army, and we have you at the Head of them; what ſhall we then fear? To which I ſhall only add, that Safety hath been often in Danger by the Kings and Parliaments diſagreeing, but this is the firſt time, (if it be in Danger) that ever it was by their Agreement; to which I may further add, that whatever Evil may ariſe from your Agreement with your Parliament; it will befall us in the way of our Duty, which is an inward Comfort to ballance any outward Evil; but if any Evil happens, by your not cloſing with your Parliament, we ſhall undergo the outward Harm, and be denied the inward Support. Your Highneſs was pleaſed to ſay, you had rather have any Name that is not given by them. Permit me therefore now to ſay, that to all other Arguments we have one irrefutable, and that is your own Engagement; for the Parliament doth deſire and adviſe you to accept the Name of *King*; hitherto we have pleaded but upon the Account of your Engagement, and it is humbly hoped your Highneſs, who hath ſo exactly obſerved your Word to your worſt Enemies, will not break it unto your beſt Friends, the Parliament.

Lord

Lord Whitlock, 16 April.

SIR, I have very little to trouble your Highneſs with, ſo much hath been already ſpoken, and ſo well, that it will be hard for me or any other to undertake to add to it; only the Duty of my Employment, and ſomething due to your Highneſs, occaſions me to ſpeak a few Words to acknowledge with very humble Thanks, the Honour and Right which you have done this Committee, by the clear and free Diſcourſes and Conferences which they have had with your Highneſs, and for your frequent Expreſſions and Teſtimonies of Affection and Reſpect to the Parliament, whoſe Senſe in this I may preſume to ſpeak, that never any Perſons met their ſupreme Magiſtrate with more Love, Duty and Honour, than the Parliament have met your Highneſs with in their preſent Addreſſes; which Argument of Love deſerves the Eſteem and Force, which I doubt not but your Highneſs will put upon it. I am fearful to be too tedious at any time, eſpecially at ſo late an Hour, and therefore ſhall ſpeak but ſhort, to ſome Things which I remember not to have been mentioned. Your Highneſs was pleaſed at the laſt Meeting, to ſay that the original Inſtitution of the Title *King* was by common Conſent, and that the ſame common Conſent might inſtitute any other *Title*, and make it as effectual as that of *King*: This muſt be acknowledged; but withal you may be pleaſed to obſerve, that the Title of *King* is not only by an original common Conſent, but that Conſent alſo proved and confirmed, and the Law fitted thereunto, and that fitted to the Laws, by the Experience and Induſtry of many Ages, and many hundreds of Years together; whereas any other *Title* will be only by preſent common Conſent, without that Experience and Approbation; for that Experience which your Highneſs mentioned to have been of other Titles, and the due Adminiſtration of Juſtice under them, this Experience is far ſhort of the other; and for the Courſe of Juſtice, we have Cauſe to thank that Care which placed ſo good Judges and Officers over us; yet give me leave to ſay, that in private Cauſes between Party and Party, and in publick Matters, in nominal Cauſes, it was not eaſy to find Juſtice to be done by ſome Jurors: And many Queſtions have riſen upon the Occaſion of thoſe new Titles, concerning that tender Point of good Men's Satisfaction: I think it requires a very great Regard from us, and I doubt not but thoſe good People will be fully ſatisfied, if they conſider the Covenants, Promiſes and Precepts, which in the Scriptures are annexed to the Name of *King*; and although ſome have alledged, that they belong to any chief Magiſtrate as well as to *King*; yet no Man did ever read the original Word tranſlated otherwiſe than *King*, neither do I find the preſent Title once mentioned in the holy Text; if the preſent Authority be a lawful Authority, which I hope none of us will deny, ſurely thoſe good Men, who are ſo well principled in Godlineſs, will not forget that Precept of Submiſſion to Authority, and to be ſatisfied with that which lawful Authority ſhall ordain. Their Rights and Liberties are the ſame with ours, and the Parliament cannot adviſe any thing for the Preſervation of the People's Rights, but theſe good Men are included, which I hope will be no Diſſatisfaction to them in all the Changes which we have ſeen: There hath been a Diſſatisfaction to ſome, yet ſtill the Bleſſing of God hath gone along through all theſe Changes, with thoſe who carried on his Intereſt, and the Cauſe being

the ſame, the ſame Mercies have been continued, and I doubt not but if the intended Change, or rather Reſtitution be made, as I hope it will, I doubt not but the ſame God will continue his Bleſſings to that good old Cauſe, wherein we are engaged; and that good Men receive Satisfaction by it. Your Highneſs hath been told, that the Title of *King* is upon the Foundation of Law, and that a new Title muſt have a Conſtitution to make the Laws relate unto it, and that unto the Laws; I ſhall only add this, that a Title by relation is not ſo certain and ſafe, as a Title upon the old Foundation of the Law; and that a Title upon a preſent ſingle Conſtitution, as any new Title muſt be, cannot be ſo firm, as a Title both upon the preſent Conſtitution, and upon the old Foundation of the Law likewiſe, which the Title of *King* will be; if any Inconvenience ſhould enſue upon your Acceptance of this Title which the Parliament adviſeth, your Highneſs's Satisfaction will be, that they did adviſe it.

On the contrary part, if Inconvenience ſhould ariſe upon your Highneſs's Refuſal of this Title, which the Parliament hath adviſed, your Burden will be the greater. And therefore whatſoever may fall out will be better anſwered by your Highneſs complying with your Parliament, than otherwiſe. This Queſtion is not altogether new; ſome Inſtances have been given of the like, (to which I ſhall add two or three) the *Titles* of the Kings of *England*, in the Realm of *Ireland*, was Lord of *Ireland*. And the Parliament in the thirty-third Year of *Henry* VIII. reciting that Inconveniences did ariſe there by reaſon of that Title, did enact, that *Henry* VIII. ſhould aſſume the *Stile and Title of King of* Ireland, which in the Judgment of this Parliament was preferred before the other. In the State of *Rome*, new Titles proved fatal to their Liberties.

Their Caſe was not much unlike ours; they were wearied with a civil War, and coming to a Settlement, *Cuncta diſcordiis civilibus feſſa nomine principis, ſub imperium accepit*, ſome would not admit the Title *Rex* to be uſed, but were contented to give the Titles of *Cæſar*, *perpetuus Dictator*, *Princeps*, *Senator*, *Imperator*. *Non ſum Rex ſed Cæſar*, came at laſt to this, *Voluntas Cæſaris pro lege habeatur*; the Northern People were more happy amongſt themſelves; a private Gentleman of a noble Family took up Arms with his Countrymen againſt a Tyrant, and by the Bleſſing of God reſcued their native Liberties, and Rights of their Country from the Oppreſſion of that Tyrant. This Gentleman had the Title of *Marſhal* given unto him, which continued for ſome Years. Afterwards their Parliament, judging it beſt to reſume the old Title, elected this Gentleman to be their *King*; and with him was brought in the Liberty of Proteſtant Religion, and the Eſtabliſhment of the civil Rights of that People, which have continued in a proſperous Condition ever ſince unto this Day. Sir, I ſhall make no other Application but in my Prayers to God to direct your Highneſs and the Parliament (as I hope he will) to do that which will be more for his Honour and the Good of his People.

The Lord Protector's Speech, April 20, 1657.

I Have as well as I could conſidered the Arguments uſed by you the other Day, to inforce the Concluſion that refers to the Name, and Title, that was the ſubject Matter of the Debates, and Conferences that have been between us; I ſhall not now ſpend your Time, nor my own much in repeating thoſe Arguments,

ments, and in giving Anſwers to them, although (indeed) I think they are but the ſame that they were formerly, only there were ſome additional Inforcements of thoſe Arguments by new Inſtances; I think truly after the rate of Debate, I may ſpend your time, which I know is very precious, and unleſs I were a ſatisfied Perſon, the Time would ſpin out and be very unprofitable ſpent, ſo it would; I only muſt ſay a Word or two to that, that I think was new. What comes from the Parliament in the Exerciſe of the legiſlative Power, which this is, I underſtand it to be an Exerciſe of the legiſlative Power, and the Laws were always formerly paſt this way, and that of Bills was of a newer Date; I underſtand that, I ſay, but it is ſaid that was, is done by the Parliament now, and ſimply hangs upon the Legiſlative, ſeems to be a thing that is *ex dono*, not *de jure*, not a thing that is of ſo good weight, and ſo ſtrong, as what refers from them to the Law that is already in being. I confeſs there is ſome Argument in that that is there, but if the Strength will be as good without it, though it comes as a Gift from you, I mean as a thing that you provide for them, or elſe it will never come at them, ſo in a ſenſe it comes from you, it is that, that they otherwiſe come by; therefore in a Senſe it is *ex dono*, for that helps a Man to what he cannot otherwiſe come by, he doth an Act that is very near a Gift, and you helping them to it, it is in a kind a Gift to them; otherwiſe they could not have it; but if you do it ſimply by your legiſlative Power, the Queſtion is not, what makes this more firm, whether the manner of the ſettling of it, or the manner of your doing of it, it is always as great a Labour; but yet the Queſtion lies in the Acception of them, who are concerned to yield Obedience and accept this, and therefore if a Thing that hath for its Root and Foundation but your Legiſlative in an Act of yours, if I may put a But to it, I do not do ſo, for I ſay it is as good a Foundation, as that other is, and if it be as well accepted, and that the other be leſs then truly it is, I ſhould think the better, and then all that I ſay is founded upon the Law: I ſay all thoſe Arguments that are founded in the Law are for it, becauſe it hath been ſaid it doth agree with the Law, the Law knows the Office, the Law knows the People knows it; and the People are likelier to receive Satisfaction that way: Thoſe have been Arguments that have been already, and truly I know nothing that I have to add to them, and therefore I ſay alſo thoſe Arguments may ſtand as we found them, and left them already; only this I think truly, as it hath been ſaid to me, I am a Perſon that have done that, that never any that were actually Kings of *England* refuſed: The Advice of the Parliament I confeſs that runs to all, and that may be accounted a very great Fault in me, and may ariſe up in Judgment againſt me another time, if my Caſe be not different from any Man's that was in the chief Command, and Government of theſe Nations that ever was before, and truly I think it is they that have been in, and owned to be in the right of the Law, as Inheritors coming to it by Birthright, or otherwiſe by the Authority of Parliament, who yet have had ſome previous Pretence of Title, or Claim to it; I think (under Favour) I deſerve leſs Blame than another doth, if I cannot ſo well comply with the Title, with the Deſires of the Parliament in it, as others do, for they that are in, would take it for an Injury to be out of it; truly theſe Arguments are very ſtrong to them, why they ſhould not refuſe that, that is tendered to them by the Parliament: But I have dealt plainly with you, and I have

not

not complimented with you, I have not desired, I have no Title to the Government of these Nations, but what was taken up in a Case of Necessity, and temporary, to supply the present Emergency, without which we must needs, I say we had been all, after the rate of the printed Book, and after the rate of those Men, that have been taken, going into Arms, if it had not been taken; it was visible to me as the Day, if I had not undertaken it, and so it being put upon me, I being then General, as I was General by Act of Parliament, being upon me to take Power in my Hand, after the Assembly of Men that was called together had been dissolved. Really the Thing would have issued itself in this Book, for, as I am informed the Book knows an Author; it was a leading principal Person in that Assembly, when, now I say, I speak in the Plainness and Simplicity of my Heart, as before Almighty God, I did out of Necessity undertake that, that no Man, I think, would have undertaken but myself; it hath pleased God that I have been instrumental in keeping the Peace of the Nation to this Day, and to keep it under a Title that some say signifies but a keeping it to another's Use, to a better Use, that may improve it to a better Use; and this I may say, I have not desired the Continuance of my Power or Place, either under one Title or other, that have I not, I say it, if the Wisdom of the Parliament could find where to place Things so as they might save this Nation, and the Interests of it; the Interest of the People of God in the first Place, of those godly honest Men, for such a Character I reckon them by, and live in the Fear of God, and desire to hold forth the Excellency and Christian Course in their Life and Conversation; I reckon that proceeds from Faith; and looking to the Duties towards Christians, and to the Humanity to Men as Men, and to such Liberties and Interests, as the People of this Nation are of, and look upon that as a standing Truth of the Gospel, and who lives up to that, according to that, is a godly Man, in my Apprehension; and therefore, I say, if the Wisdom of this Parliament, I speak not this vainly, nor like a Fool, but as to God; and if the Wisdom of this Parliament, should have found a Way to settle the Interests of this Nation, upon the Foundations of Justice and Truth, and Liberty, to the People of God, and Concernments of Men, as *Englishmen*, I would have lain at their Feet, or any Body's Feet else, that this might have run in such a Current; and therefore I say, I have no Pretensions to Things for myself, or to ask this or that, or to avoid this or that: I know the Censures of the World may quickly pass upon me, but I thank God I know not where to lay the Weight that is laid upon me; I mean the Weight of Reproach, and Contempt, and Scorn, that hath been cast upon me; I have not offered you any Name in Competition with *Kingship*. I know the evil Spirits of Men may easily obtrude upon a Man, that he would have a Name that the Law knows not, and that is boundless, and is that under which a Man exercises more Arbitrariness; but I know there is nothing in that Argument, and if it were in your Thoughts to do any of that Kind, I think whatsoever it was, it would bound it, and limit it sufficiently: I wish it were come to that, that no Favour should be shewed to me, but that the Good of these Nations might be consulted, as I am confident they will be by you in whatsoever you do; but I may say this, in an Answer to that, that doth a little pinch upon me, and the more when I am told it is my Duty. I think it can be no Man's Duty, nor Obligation, but between God and himself, if he be conscious of his own Infirmities,

Infirmities, Diſabilities, and Weakneſſes; and that he is not able perhaps to encounter with, (although he may have a little Faith too, for a little exerciſe) I ſay I do not know which way it can be imputed to me for a Fault, or laid upon me as a Duty, except I meant to gripe at the Government of the Nations without a legal Conſent, which I ſay I have done in Times paſt, upon Principles of Neceſſity, and I promiſe, I ſhall think whatever is done without Authority of Parliament, in order to Settlement, will neither be very honeſt, nor yet that, that I underſtand. I think we have fought for the Liberties of the Nation, as well as for other Intereſts: You will pardon me, that I ſpeak theſe Things in ſuch a Way as this is; I may be borne withal, becauſe I have not truly well borne the Exerciſe that hath been upon me now theſe three or four Days, I have not I ſay; I have told you my Thoughts, and have laid them before you, you have been pleaſed to give me your Grounds, and I have told you mine; and truly I do purpoſely refuſe to mention thoſe Arguments that were uſed when ye were laſt here, but rather tell you, what ſince I tell you lies upon my Heart, out of the Abundance of Difficulty and Trouble that lies upon me, and therefore you having urged me, I mean offered Reaſons to me, and urged them with ſuch Grounds as did occur to you, and having told you the laſt Time I met you; that the Satisfaction of them did not reach to me, ſo as wholly to convince my Judgment of what was my Duty: I have thought rather to anſwer you, with telling you my Grief, and the Trouble I am under; and truly, my Intentions and Purpoſes they are honeſt to the Nation, and ſhall be by the Grace of God, and I cannot tell how upon collateral Pretences, to cut towards Things that will be deſtructive to the Liberties of this Nation; any Man may give me leave to die, and every Body may give me leave to be as a dead Man, when God takes away the Spirit, and Life, and Activity that is neceſſary for the carrying on ſuch a Work; and therefore I do leave the former Debates as they were, and we had them, letting you know that I have looked a little upon the Paper; the Inſtrument, I would ſay, in the other Parts of it, and conſidering that there are very many Particulars in the Inſtrument, ſome of the general, of reference; others ſpecified, and all of Weight (let the Title be what it will be) to the Concernment of the Nations. I think I may deſire that thoſe may be, ſuch as what they be applied to, either one thing or another, they might be ſuch as the People have no Cauſe, as I am confident your Care and Faithfulneſs needs neither a Spur, nor any Admonition to that: I ſay (reading in your Order, by order of Parliament for the Committee) that there are diverſe Particulars that are, that if I do make any Scruple of them, I ſhould have the Freedom with this Committee to caſt my Doubts. The Truth of it is, I have a Paper here in my Hand, that doth contain diverſe Things, with relation to the Inſtrument, that I hope have a public Aſpect with them, therefore I cannot preſume but they will be very welcome to you, therefore I ſhall deſire that you will read them. I ſhould deſire, if it pleaſe you, that Liberty (which I ſubmit to your Judgment, whether you think I have it or no) that I might tender theſe few Things, and ſome others that I have in Preparation, and truly I ſhall reduce them to as much Brevity as I can; they are too large here, and if it pleaſe you to-morrow in the Afternoon, at three of the Clock, I may meet you again, and I hope we ſhall

come

come to know one another's Minds, and ſhall agree to that, that ſhall be to the Glory of God, and the Good of theſe Nations.

The Lord Protector, April 21, 1657.

My Lord,

I Think you may well remember what the Iſſue was of the laſt Conference I had with you, and what the Stick was then, I confeſs I took Occaſion from the Order of Parliament, in which they gave you Power to ſpeak with me about theſe Things that were in the Body of that Inſtrument and Deſire, which you have been pleaſed to ſpeak with me; but that I might confer with you about thoſe Particulars, and might receive Satisfaction from you as to them, whether a good Iſſue will be to all theſe Affairs or no, is only in the Hands of God, that is a great Secret, and Secrets belong to God, and Things revealed to us, and ſuch Things are the ſubject Matter of this Inſtrument of yours, and are as far as they may have relation to me, that you and I may conſider, what may be for publick Good, that ſo they may receive ſuch an Impreſſion as can humanly be given to them. I ſhould be well underſtood, and that I ſay the former Debates and Conferences have been upon the Title, and that reſts as it did, ſeeing that, as I ſaid before, your Order of Commitment, doth as well reach to the Particulars contained in the Inſtrument, as to that of the *Title*, I did offer to you that I ſhould deſire to ſpeak with you about them alſo, that ſo we may come to an Underſtanding one with another, not what the Things are in Parts, but what is in the Whole conduceable to that End, that we all ought to aim at, which is a general Settlement upon good Foundations; as truly, as I have often ſaid even to the Parliament itſelf, when they did the Honour to me, to meet me in the Banqueting-Houſe, ſo I may ſay to you, that are a Committee, a very conſiderable Repreſentation of them, that I am hugely taken with the Word Settlement, with the Thing, and with the Notion of it; I think he is not worthy to live in *England* that is not; no, I will do my Part ſo far as I am able, to expel that Man out of the Nation, that doth not of that in the general come to a Settlement, becauſe indeed it is the great Miſery and Unhappineſs of a Nation to be without it; and it is like a Houſe, and ſo much worſe then a Houſe divided againſt itſelf, it cannot ſtand without Settlement; and therefore I hope we are all ſo far at a good Point, and the Spirit of the Nation, I hope in the Generality of it, is ſo far at a good Point, we are all contending for a Settlement, that is ſure; but the Queſtion is *de modo*, and of thoſe Things that will make it a good one, if it were poſſible: That is no Fault to aim at Perfection in Settlement; truly I have ſaid, and I ſay it again, that I think that that tends to the making of the Nation, to enjoy the Things we have declared for, and I would come upon that Iſſue with all Men or any Man; the Things we have declared, that have been the Ground of our Quarrelling and Fighting all along, is that will accompliſh the general Work; Settlement is the general Work, now that which will give the Nation to enjoy their Civil and Religious Liberties, that will conſerve the Liberties of every Man, and not to rob any Man of what is juſtly his; I think thoſe two Things make up Settlement; I am ſure they acquit us before God and Man, who have endeavoured as we have done, through ſome Streamings of Blood to attain that end, if I may tell you my Experience in this Buſineſs,

and offend no good Man that loves the Publick before that which is perſonal, truly I ſhall a little ſhortly recapitulate to you what my Obſervations, and Endeavours and Intereſt hath been to this end, and I hope no Man that hath been intereſted in Tranſactions all along will blame me, if I ſpeak a little plainly; and he ſhall have no cauſe to blame me, becauſe I will take myſelf into the number of the culpable Perſons, if there be any ſuch, though perhaps apt enough out of the Self-Love I have, to be willing to be innocent, where I am ſo, and yet to be as willing to take my Reproach, if any Body will lay it upon me where I am culpable; and truly I have, through the Providence of God, endeavoured to diſcharge a poor Duty, having had, as I conceive, a clear Call to the Station I have acted in all theſe Affairs, and I believe very many are ſufficiently ſatisfied in that, I ſhall not go about to ſay any thing to clear it to you, but muſt exerciſe myſelf in a little ſhort Chronology to come; to that I ſay is really all our Buſineſs at this time, and the Buſineſs of this Nation to come upon clear Grounds; and to conſider the Providence of God, how they have led us hither unto. After it pleaſed God to put an end to the War of this Nation, a final End, which was done at *Worceſter* in the Determination and Deciſion that was there by the Hand of God, for other War we have had none, that perhaps deſerves the Name of War, ſince that Time, which is now ſix Years in *September*, I came up to the Parliament that then was, and truly I found the Parliament, as I thought, very diſpoſed, to put a good Iſſue to all thoſe Tranſactions that had been in the Nation, and I rejoyced at it; and though I had not been well ſkilled in Parliamentary Affairs, having been near ten Years in the Field, yet in my poor meaſure my Deſires did tend to ſome Iſſue, believing verily that all the Blood that had been ſhed, and all that Diſtemper that God had ſuffered to be amongſt us, and in ſome Senſe God hath raiſed amongſt us, that ſurely Fighting was not the End, but the Means that had an End, and was in order to ſomewhat, truly it was then, I thought Settlement, that is, that Men might come to ſome Conſiſtencies, and to that End I did endeavour to add my Mite, which was no more than the Intereſts of any one Member that was there, after I was returned again to that Capacity, and I did, I ſhall tell you no Fable, but the Things that diverſe Perſons here can tell, whether I ſay true or no: I did endeavour it, I would make the beſt Interpretation of this, but yet this is Truth, and nothing of Diſcovery on my Part, but that which every Body knows to be true, that the Parliament having done theſe memorable Things, that they had done Things of Honour, and Things of Neceſſity, Things that if at this Day you have any Judgment, that there lieth a Poſſibility upon you to do any Good, to bring this Nation to any Foot of Settlement, I may ſay you are all along beholden to them in a good meaſure, but yet truly as Men that contend for publick Intereſt are not like to have the Applauſe of all Men, nor Juſtification from all Hands, ſo it was with them; and truly when they had made Preparation that might lead to the iſſuing in ſome good for the Settlement of theſe Nations in Points of Liberty and Freedom, from Tyranny and Oppreſſion, from the Hazard of our Religion, to throw it away upon me that deſigned by Innovations to introduce Popery, and by complying with ſome Nations introduce Arbitrarineſs upon a civil Account, why they had more Enemies than Friends, they had ſo all along, and this made them careful out of Prin-

ciples of Nature, that do sometimes suggest best, and upon the most undeniable Grounds they did think that it was not fit for them presently to go and throw themselves, and all this Cause into Hands that perhaps had no Heart nor Principle with them to accomplish the End that they aimed at, I say, perhaps, through Infirmity they did desire to have continued themselves, and to have perpetuated themselves upon that Act, which was perhaps just enough obtained, and necessarily enough obtained when they did get it from the *King*, though truly it was good in the first obtaining of it, yet it was by most Men, who had ventured their Lives in this Cause, judged not fit to be perpetuated, but rather a Thing that was to have an End, when it had finished it's Course, which was certainly the true way of it, in the Subserviency to the bringing in that which might be a good and honest Settlement to the Nation. I must say to you that I found them very willing to perpetuate themselves, and truly this is not a Thing of Reflection upon all, for perhaps some were not so, I can say so of some of them, the sober Men that I had converse with, they would not have, but the major Part I think did over rule, in that they would have continued; this is true that I say to you, I was intreated to it, and advised to it, and was by this *medium* to have accomplished it, that is, to have sent into the Country to have reinforced their Number, and by new Election to have filled them up; and this Excuse it had, it would not be against the Liberty of the People, nor against the Succession of Men to come into Rule and Government, because as Men died out of the House, so they should be supplied, and this was the best Answer could be given to that Objection that was then made, that the best way to govern, is to have Men successive, and in such great Bodies as Parliaments, to have Men to learn to know, how to obey as well as to govern, and truly the Expediment that we had then was, that I tell you, the Truth of it is, this did not satisfy a Company of poor Men, that had thought they had returned their Lives, and had some Thoughts, that they had a little Interest to enquire after these Things, and the rather because really they were invited out upon Principles of Honesty, Conscience and Religion, for spiritual Liberties, as many as would come, where the Cause was a little doubtful, there was a Declaration that was very inviting, and Men did come in upon that Invitation, and did thereby think themselves not to be mercenary Men, but Men that had Wives and Children in the Nation, and therefore might a little look after Satisfaction in what would be the Issue of the Business, and when this Thing was thus prest, and it may be overprest, that a Period might be put, and that that might be ascertained, and a time fixed, why truly, then the Extremity ran another way; this is very true that I tell you, though it shame me, I do not say it shames all that were of the House, for I know all were not of that Mind, why truly when this was urged then another Extremity; what was that? Why truly then it was seeing a Parliament that might not be perpetual, the Parliament might always be sitting, and to that end there was a Bill framed, that Parliaments might always be sitting, that as soon as one Parliament went out of their Place, another might leap in, and when we saw this, truly we thought we did but make a Change in Pretence, and did not Remedy the Thing; and then upon that was pursued with that great Heat, I dare say there was more Progress in it in a Month, than was with the like Business in four, to hasten it to an Issue, that such a Parliament might

might be brought in, and would bring the State of the Nation into a continual Sitting of Parliament: We did think, who are plain Men, and I think it ſtill, that that hath been according to the fooliſh Proverb, out of the Frying-Pan into the Fire; for looking at the Government, they would then have, it was Commonwealth's Government? Why we ſhould have had fine Work then, we ſhould have had a Council of State, and a Parliament of four hundred Men, executing arbitrary Government without Intermiſſion, ſaving of one Company, one Parliament ſtepping into the Seat of another, while they left them warm, the ſame Day that one left, the other was to leap in; truly I did think, and I do think, however ſome are very much enamoured with that kind of Government, why it was no more but this, that Committees of Parliament ſhould take upon them, and being inſtead of the Courts at *Weſtminſter*, perhaps ſome will think there had been no Hurt in that Arbitrarineſs in Committees, where a Man can neither come to prove nor defend, nor to know his Judges, becauſe there are one ſort of Men that judge him to-day, and another ſort of Men to-morrow; this ſhould have been the Law of *England*, and thus ſhould have been the way of judging this Nation; and truly I thought that that was an ill way of judging, for I may ſay to you with truth to that after it pleaſed God your poor Army, thoſe poor contemptible Men came up hither, it was ſo, an Outcry here in this Place to ſee a Cauſe here, determined and judged, and Committees erected to fetch Men from the extremeſt Parts of the Nation to *London*, to attend Committees to determine all Things, and without any manner of Satisfaction, whether a Man travel never ſo right or wrong he muſt come, and he muſt go back again as wiſe as he came, this truly was the Caſe and our Condition, and truly I muſt needs ſay, take all in that was in the Practices, I am ſorry to tell the Story of it, though there was indeed ſome Neceſſity of the Buſineſs, a Neceſſity of ſome Committees to look to Indemnity, but no Neceſſity of Committees inſtead of Courts of Juſtice, but it was ſo, and this was the Caſe of the People of *England* at that Time: And that the Parliament aſſuming to itſelf the Authority of the three Eſtates that were before, it was ſo aſſuming that Authority, and if any Man would have come and ſaid, what are the Rules you judge by? Why, we have none, but we are Supreme in Legiſlature, and in Judicature, this was the State of the Caſe, and I thought, and we thought, and I think ſo ſtill, that this was a pitiful Remedy, and it will be ſo while and whenſoever a Legiſlative is perpetually exerciſed, when the Legiſlative and the executive Powers are always the ſame, and truly I think the Legiſlature would be almoſt as well in the four Courts of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and if they could make Laws and Judges too, you would have excellent Laws, and the Lawyers would be able to give excellent Counſel, and ſo it was then: This was our Condition without Scruple and Doubt, and I ſhall ſay no more to it, but truly it was offered then truly and honeſtly; and deſire, and beg that we might have a Settlement, and that now is here, that is propoſed a Settlement: It was deſired then, it was offered and deſired that the Parliament would be pleaſed either of their own Number, or any elſe to chuſe a certain Number of Men to ſettle the Nation, this is Unſettlement, this is Confuſion: For give me leave, if any Body now have the Face to ſay, and I would die upon this, if any Man in *England* have the Impudence or the Face to ſay, that the Exceptions of the Parliament was the Fear of their haſty throwing of the Liberties of the People of God, and the Nation into a bare Repreſenta-

tive of the People, which was then the Buſineſs we oppoſed, if any Man have the Face to ſay it now, that did then, or I will ſay more, ought then to judge it had been a confounding of the whole Cauſe, that we had fought for, which was, I would look upon that Man's Face, I would be glad to ſee ſuch a Man, I do not ſay there is any ſuch here, but if any ſuch ſhould come to me, ſee if I would not look upon him, and tell him he is an Hypocrite. I dare ſay it, and I dare to die for it, knowing the Spirit that hath been in ſome Men to me; they come and tell me they do not like my being *Protector*. Why do you not? Why? becauſe you will exerciſe arbitrary Government: Why what would you have me to do? Pray, turn Gentlemen all again, and we will like you exceeding well, I was a Child in its ſwadling Clouts, I cannot tranſgreſs by the Government, I cannot do any thing but in Ordination with the Council, they feared arbitrary Government by me upon that Account; but if returned to be General, then they were not afraid of arbitrary Government. Such as theſe are, ſuch Hypocriſies as theſe are, ſhould they enter into the Heart of any Man that hath any Truth or Honeſty in him? and truly that is our Caſe, and finding our Caſe to be thus, we did preſs the Parliament, as I told you, that they would be pleaſed to ſelect ſome worthy Perſons, that had loved this Cauſe and the Liberties of *England*, and the Intereſt of it; and we told them, we could acquieſce and lie at their Feet; but to be thrown into Parliaments, that ſhould ſit perpertually, though but for three Years, they had the Experience of.

The Experience of which many remain to this Day, to give Satisfaction to honeſt and ſober Men; why truly we thought it might ſatisfy, but it did not; and therefore we did think, that it was the greateſt of Dangers to be overwhelmed and brought under a Slavery by our own Conſent, and Iniquity to become a Law: And there was our Ground we acted upon at that Time; and truly they had perfected the Bill for perpetuating of Parliaments to the laſt Clauſe, and were reſolved to paſs it as a Bill in Paper, rather than comply with any Expedient: If your own Experience add any thing to you in this, in this Point, whether or no in Caſes civil and criminal, if a Parliament ſhould aſſume an abſolute Power, without any Controul, to determine the Intereſts of Men in Property and Liberty; whether or no this be deſirable in a Nation: if you have any Senſe, as I believe you have, you have more than I have. I believe you will take it for a Mercy, that that did not befall *England* at that Time, and that is all I will ſay of it. Truly I will now come and tell you a Story of my own Weakneſs and Folly, and yet it was done in my Simplicity, I dare avow it was; and though ſome of my Companions, and truly this is a Story, that would not be recorded a Story, that would not be told, but when good Uſe may be made of it. I ſay it was thought then, that Men of our Judgment, that had fought in the Wars, and were all of a Piece upon that Account; why ſurely theſe Men will hit it, and them Men will do it to the Purpoſe, whatever can be deſired, truly we did think, and I did think ſo, the more to blame of, and ſuch a Company of Men were choſe and did proceed in Action, and truly this was the naked Truth, that the Iſſue was not anſwerable to the Simplicity and Honeſty of the Deſign; what the Iſſue of that Meeting would have been, and was feared, upon which the ſober Men of that Meeting did withdraw, and came and returned my Power as far as they could, they did actually the greater Part of them

into

into my own Hands, profeſſing and believing, that the Iſſue of that Meeting would have been the Subverſion of your Laws, and of all the Liberties of this Nation, the Deſtruction of the Miniſters of this Nation. In a Word, the Confuſion of all things; and inſtead of Order, to ſet up the judicial Law of *Moſes*, in Abrogation of all our Adminiſtrations, to have been adminiſtered the judicial Law of *Moſes*, *pro hic & nunc*, according to the Wiſdom of any Man, that would have interpreted the Text, this way or that way; and if you do not believe that they were ſent Home by the major Part, who were judicious, and ſober, and learned, the worſt upon this Account, and with my Conſent, alſo *à parte poſt*, you will believe nothing; for the Perſons that lead in the Meeting were Mr. *Feake* and his Meeting in *Black-Friers*, Major General *Harriſon*, and thoſe that aſſociated with him, at one Mr. *Squibb*'s Houſe, and there were all the Reſolutions taken, that were acted in that Houſe Day by Day, and this was ſo *de facto*, I know it to be true; and that this muſt be the Product of it, I do but appeal to that Book, I told you of the other Day, that all Magiſtracy and Miniſtery is Antichriſtian, and therefore all theſe things ought to be aboliſhed, which we are certain muſt have been the Iſſue of that Meeting, ſo that you have been delivered, if I think right, from two Evils; the one Evil, a ſecular Evil; that would have ſwallowed up all religious and civil Intereſt, and made us under the horrideſt Arbitrarineſs that ever was exerciſed in the World; that we might have had five or ſix Hundred Friends, with their Friends, to have had a Judgment of all Cauſes, and to have judged without a Rule, thinking that the Power that ſwallowed up all the other lawful Powers in the Nation, hath all the Power that ever they had, both a Legiſlative and Judiciary, I ſay that which ſwallows both the civil and religious Intereſt. And the other merely under a ſpiritual Intereſt, had ſwallowed up again in another Extreme all our civil and religious Intereſt, and had made our Miniſtry, and all the Things we are beholding to God for: Truly we think we ought to value this Intereſt above all Intereſts in the World, but if this latter had not been as ſure deſtroyed as the former, I underſtand nothing; and having told you theſe two Things, truly I muſt needs ſay, it makes me in Love with this Paper, and with all Things in it, and with theſe Additions, that I have to tender to you, and with Settlement above all Things in the World, except that where I left you the laſt Time; and for that I think we have debated: I have heard your Mind, and you have heard mine; I have told you my Heart and my Judgment, and the Lord bring forth his own Iſſue; I think we are now to conſider, not what we are on the Foot, and of the Government that called this Parliament, which 'till there be an End put to it, is that that hath Exiſtence; and I ſhall ſay nothing to that, if that accompliſheth the End of our fighting, and all thoſe bleſſed and good Ends that we ſhould aim at; if it do, I would we might have that, and remain where we are; if it doth not, I would we might have that which is better, which truly I now come out of myſelf to tell you, that as to the Subſtance and Body of your Inſtrument, I do look upon it, as having Things in it, (if I may ſpeak freely and plainly) I may, and we all may, I ſay the Things that are provided for in this Government, have the Liberties of the People of God, ſo as they never had it; and he muſt be a pitiful Man that thinks the People of God ever had that Liberty, either *de facto*, or *de jure*, that is to ſay, *de jure*, from God; I think, they have had

had it from the Beginning of the World to this Day, and have it ſtill but aſſerted by a *jus humanum*; I ſay, they never had it ſo, as they have it now, and I think you have provided for the Liberty of the People of God and of the Nation, and I ſay he ſings ſweetly, that ſings a Song of Reconciliation betwixt theſe two Intereſts; and it is a pitiful Fancy, and Wiſdom, and Ignorance, to think they are inconſiſtent, and may conſiſt; and I ſpeak my Conſcience in this Government, I think you have made to conſiſt; and therefore I muſt ſay in that, and in other Things you have provided well, that you have; and becauſe I ſee the Root of the Parliament gives you leave to ſpeak with me about the Particulars, I think the Parliament doth think, that any Member they have is not to be neglected in offering of any thing, that may be of additional Good, and upon that Account, I having a little ſurveyed the Inſtrument, I have a Paper here to offer to you upon that Account; and truly I muſt needs ſay and think, that in ſuch a Caſe as this, where ſo new a Work, and ſo ſtrange a Work as this that is before you, it will not be thought ill of. I do with a little Earneſtneſs preſs to you ſome Explanations in ſome that may help to contemplate, and leave me; for it is only handled with me; this Tranſaction is only handled with me, at this Time, not with you and the Parliament, whom you repreſent. I ſay, I would be glad that you might leave me and all Oppoſers without Excuſe; as well as that I could wiſh, that you ſhould ſettle this Nation to the uttermoſt Good of it, in all Things I have to offer to you; they are not very weighty, they may tend to the Completion of the Buſineſs; and therefore I ſhall take the Freedom to read them to you.

In the fourth Article and ſecond Paragraph you have ſomething under that Head, that reſpects the Calling of Members to Parliament, you would not exclude thoſe that (were under Duke *Hamilton*) and made that Invaſion; becauſe it hath been ſaid to you perhaps, that if you ſhould exclude all, you ſhall have no Members from *Scotland*; I hope there be Perſons of that Nation, that will be ready to give a better Teſtimony of their Country than to admit of that Argument; and I hope it is none, but if it be one, then truly to meet with the leaſt upon that Certainty of the Qualifications, you ſhould indeed exclude Men of your own Country, perhaps upon better Crimes, and hold them off upon ſtricter Characters; it is thought that that Qualification that ſaith, that the Teſtimony that they ſhall have, *that they are Men that have given good Teſtimony in their peaceable and quiet Living*, why truly for diverſe Years, they have not been willing to do other; they have not had an eaſy Poſſibility to do otherwiſe, to live unquietly, though perhaps have been the ſame Men many of them; though I know many of them are good Men, worthy Men, and therefore whether it be not fit, in that Place to explain ſomewhat elſe, and put ſome other Character upon it, that may be accounted a good Teſtimony, of their being otherwiſe minded, and of their being of another Judgment, I confeſs I have not any thing here to ſupply it with, but certainly if it ſhould be ſo, as it is in your Article, though they be never ſo indiſpoſed, and Enemies, and remain ſo; yet if they have lived peaceably, where they could neither will nor chuſe, they are to be admitted; I only tell you ſo, being without any Amendment for it, and when I have done, I ſhall offer the whole to you, this is the ſecond Paragraph.

In the third Paragraph of the ſame Article, whereas it is ſaid, that the Perſons in *Ireland be made uncapable, to elect or be elected, that before the firſt of* March, 1649, *have borne Arms for the Parliament, or otherwiſe given Teſtimony of their good Affections, and continued faithful to the Parliament, and are ſince revolted*, whether it be not neceſſary that it be more clearly expreſt, it ſeeming to capacitate all thoſe, who have revolted from the Parliament, if they have borne Arms for the State, before the firſt of *March* 1649. it ſeems to reſtore them, but if ſince then they have revolted, as many I doubt of our *Engliſh-Iriſh* have done, why then the Queſtion is, whether theſe Men, who have lately been angry and fled to Arms, whether you will think their having born Arms formerly on the Parliament's Side, ſhould be an Exemption to them, that is but tendered to you that ſome worthy Perſon here will give an Anſwer unto.

In the fifth Paragraph of the ſame Article you have incapacitated public Preachers from ſitting in Parliament, and truly I think, that your Intention is ſuch as have Paſtoral Function, ſuch as are actually and real Miniſters; for I muſt ſay to you in the Behalf of our Army, in their next Place to their fighting, they have been very good Preachers; and I ſhould be ſorry they ſhould be excluded from ſerving the Commonwealth, becauſe they have been accuſtomed to preach to their Troops, Companies, and Regiments, which I think have been one of the Bleſſings upon them, to the carrying on of the great Work. I think you do not mean ſo, but I tender it to you, that if you think fit there may be a Conſideration had of it; there may be ſome of us, it may be, that have been a little guilty of that, that would be loth to be excluded from ſitting in Parliament. In the ſame Paragraph there is Care taken for the nominating Commiſſioners to try the Members which are choſen to ſit in Parliament, and truly thoſe Commiſſioners are uncertain Perſons, and it is hard to ſay what may happen, I hope they will be always good Men, but if they ſhould be bad, then perhaps they will keep out good Men: Beſides, we think, truly if you will give us leave to help, as to the Freedom of the Parliament, it will be ſomething that will go rather harſhly down, than otherwiſe, very many Reaſons might be given, but I do but tender it to you, I think if there be no Commiſſioners, it would be never a whit the worſe, but if you make Qualifications, if any Man will preſume to ſit without thoſe Qualifications, you may deal with them: A Man without Qualifications ſitting there, is as if he be not choſe, and if he ſit without being choſen, and ſo without a Qualification, I am ſure the old Cuſtom was to ſend him to the Tower, to impriſon ſuch a one, if any one ſit there, that have not right to ſit there, if any Stranger come in upon his pretended Title of Election, then perhaps it was a different Caſe, if any ſit there upon Pretence of a Qualification upon him, you may ſend him to Priſon without any more ado; whether you think fit to do ſo or no, it is Parliamentary Buſineſs, I do but hint to you, I believe if any Man had ſat in former Parliaments, that had not taken the Oaths preſcribed, it would have been a Fault enough, *&c.* I believe ſomething of that kind, would be equivalent to any other Way, if not better. In that Article, which I think is the fifth Article, which concerns the Nomination of the other Houſe, in the Beginning of that Article, it is that the Houſe is to be nominated as you deſign it, and the Approbation is to be from this Houſe, I would ſay to be from the Parliament, it is ſo; but then now, if any

ſhall

ſhall be ſubſequently named, after this Houſe is ſat, upon any accidental Removal or Death, you do not ſay, though it ſeems to refer to the ſame that the firſt Election doth, yet it doth not refer clearly to this, that the Nomination ſhall be, where it was in the chief Officer, and the Approbation of the other Houſe, if I do expreſs it clearly that you pardon me in, but I think that is the Aim of it, it is not clearly expreſt there as I think you will be able to judge whether it be or no.

In the 7th Article, that which concerns the Revenue, that is the Revenue that you have appointed to the Government, in which you have diſtributed Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds of it to the Maintainance of the Civil Authority, One Million to be diſtributed to the Maintenance of your Forces by Sea and Land, you have indeed ſaid it in your Inſtrument, and we cannot doubt of it, but yet you have not made it certain, nor yet thoſe temporary Supplies which are intended for the Peace and Safety of the Nations. It is deſired that you will take it into your Thoughts, and make both thoſe certain, both as to the Sum and Time, that thoſe Supplies ſhall be continued, and truly I hope I do not curry Favour with you; but it is deſired, and I may very reaſonably deſire it, that theſe Monies whatever they are, that they may not, if God ſhall bring me to any Intereſt in this Buſineſs, which lieth in his own Power, that theſe Monies may not be iſſued out, by the Authority of the Chief Magiſtrate, but by the Advice of his Council; ſeeing you have in your Inſtrument made a Co-ordination in general Terms, that this might be a reſerved Thing, that the Monies might not be diſtributed; it will be a Safety to whomſoever is your ſupreme Magiſtrate, as well as Security to the Public, that the Monies might be iſſued out by the Advice of the Council, and that the Treaſurers that receive this Money, may be accountable every Parliament, within a certain Time limited by your ſelves, every new Parliament, the Treaſurer may be accountable to the Parliament, for the diſpoſing of the Treaſury, and there is mention made of the Judges in the 9th Article. It is mentioned, that the Officers of State, and the Judges are to be choſen by the Approbation of the Parliament; if there be no Parliament ſetting, if there be never ſo great a Loſs of Judges, it cannot be ſupplied, and whether you do not intend, that it ſhould be by the Choice with the Conſent of the Council, in the Intervals of Parliament to be afterwards approved by Parliament.

The Twelfth Article relates to ſeveral Qualifications, that Perſons muſt be qualified with, that are put into Places of public Office and Truſt; now if Men ſhall ſtep into public Places and Truſt, that are not ſo qualified they may execute it. An Office of Truſt is a very large Word, it goeth to almoſt a Conſtable, if not altogether, it goeth far; now if any ſhall come, that are not ſo qualified, they certainly do commit a Breach upon your Rule; and whether you will not think in this Caſe, that if any ſhall take upon them an Office of Truſt, that a Penalty ſhall be put upon them where he is excepted, by the general Rule, whether you will not think it fit in that reſpect to deter Men from accepting of Offices and Places of Truſt contrary to that Article, the next is fetched in ſome Reſpects, I may ſay, by Head and Shoulders, in your Inſtrument; yet in ſome Reſpects it hath Affinity with it, I may ſay I think is within your Order upon this Account, I am ſure of it, there is a Mention in the laſt Parts of your Inſtrument, of your Purpoſe to do many good Things, I am confident

not like the Gentleman that made his laſt Will, and ſet down a great Number of the Names of Men, that ſhould receive Benefit by him, and there was no Sum at the latter End. I am confident, you are reſolved to deal effectually in the Thing at the latter End; and I ſhould wrong my own Confidence, if I ſhould think otherwiſe: I hope you will think ſincerely, as before God, that the Laws may be regulated; I hope you will. We have been often talking of them, and I remembered well at the old Parliament, that we were three Months, and could not get over the Word *Incumbrances*, and then we thought there was little Hope of regulating of the Law, when there was ſuch a Difficulty as that, but ſurely the Laws need be regulated, and I muſt needs ſay, I think it is a Sacrifice acceptable to God upon many Accounts; and I am perſwaded, it is one Thing that God looks for, and would have. I confeſs, if any Man would aſk me, why, how would you have it done? I confeſs I do not know how; but I think verily at the leaſt, the Delays in Suits, and the Exceſſiveneſs in Fees, and the Coſtlineſs of Suits, and thoſe various things, that I do not know what Names they bear, I heard talk of Demurrers and ſuch like Things which I ſcarce know; but I ſay certainly, that the People are greatly ſuffering in this Reſpect, they are ſo; and truly, if all this whole Buſineſs of Settlement, whatſoever the Iſſue of it ſhall be, it comes, as I am perſwaded that it doth, as a thing that would pleaſe God by a Sacrifice in, or rather as an Expreſſion of our Thankfulneſs to God: I am perſwaded, that this will be one Thing that will be upon your Hearts, to do ſomething that is honourable and effectual in it, that truly I ſay, that it is not in your Inſtrument, in ſomewhat that relates to the Reformation of Manners; you will pardon me, my Fellow Soldiers, that were raiſed up upon that juſt Occaſion of the Inſurrection, not only to ſecure the Peace of the Nation, but to ſee that Perſons that were leaſt likely, to help on Peace or continue it, but rather to break; diſſolute and looſe Perſons, that can go up and down from Houſe to Houſe, and they are Gentlemens Sons that have nothing to live on, and cannot be ſupplied to live to the Profit of the Commonwealth, which I think had a good Courſe taken with them, and I think that which was done to them was honourably, and honeſtly, and profitably done; and for my own Part, I muſt needs ſay, it ſhewed the Diſſoluteneſs which was then in the Nation, as indeed it ſprings moſt from that Part of the Cavaliers, ſhould that Party run on, and no Care be taken to reform the Nation, to prevent perhaps Abuſes that will not fall under this Conſideration; we can ſend our Children into *France*, before they know God or good Manners, and return with all the Licentiouſneſs of that Nation; neither Care taken to educate them before they go, nor to keep them in good Order, when they come Home; indeed this makes the Nation not only commit thoſe abominable Things, moſt inhuman Things amongſt us, but hardens Men to juſtify thoſe Things; as the Apoſtle ſaith, not only to do wickedly themſelves, but take Pleaſure in them that do ſo; and truly, if ſomething be not done in this kind, without ſparing that Condition of Men, without ſparing Mens Sons, though they be Noblemens Sons; let them be who they will is deboiſt, it is for the Glory of God, that nothing of outward Conſideration ſhould ſave them in their Debauchery, from a juſt Puniſhment and Reformation; and truly, I muſt needs ſay it, I would as much bleſs God to ſee ſomething done, as to that heartily,

upon this Account, not only to those Persons mentioned, but to all the Nation, that some Course might be taken for Reformation, that there might be some Stop put to such a Current of Wickedness and Evil as that is; and truly, to do it heartily, and nobly, and worthily: The Nobility of this Nation especially, and the Gentry will have cause to bless you, and likewise that some Care might be taken, that those good Laws already made for the punishing Vice, may be effectually put in Execution. This must I needs say of our Major-Generals that do you Service, I think it was an excellent good Thing, I profess I do, and I hope you will not think it unworthy of you, that when you have seen that, though you have good against the common Country Disorders, that are every where, who is there to execute them: Really a Justice of the Peace, shall from the most be wondered at, as an Owl, if he go but one Step out of the ordinary Course of his Fellow Justices, in the Reformation of these Things; and therefore I hope may represent that to you, as a thing worthy of your Consideration, that something may be found out to suppress such Things, I am persuaded you would glorify God in it, as much as by any one thing you can do, and so I think you will pardon me. I cannot tell in this Article that I am now to speak unto, whether I speak to any thing or nothing: There is a Desire that the publick Revenue be not alienated, but by the Consent of the Parliament; I doubt publick Revenue is like *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ*, that is a Notion only, and not to be found as I know of; but if there be any, and God bless us in our Settlement, there will be publick Revenue accurring, and whether you will subject this to any Alienation without the Consent of the Parliament, is that which is offered to you; truly this Thing that I have further to offer to you it is the last in this Paper, and it is a Thing that is mentioned in the sixteenth Article, that you would have those Acts and Ordinances that have been made since the late Troubles during the Time of them, that they should, if they be contrary to this Advice, that they should remain in such Force, in such manner, as if this Advice had not been given; why that that is doubted, is whether or no this will be sufficient to keep Things in a settled Condition, because it is but an Implication, it is not determined, but you do pass by the Thing without such a Foundation as will keep those People which are now in Possession of Estates upon this Account, that their Titles may be questioned and shaken, if that be not explained; and truly I believe you intend very fully in this Business if the Words already do not suffice, that I submit to your own Advisement, but there is in this a very great Consideration; there hath been since the Government several Acts and Ordinances, that have been made by the Exercise of that legislative Power, that was exercised since we undertook this Government, and I think your Instrument speaks a little more faintly to these, and dubiously than to the other; and truly I will not make Apology for any thing, but surely two Persons, two sorts of Men will be meerly concerned upon this Account; that is, they that are exercised, and the Persons who are Objects of that Exercise, it wholly dissettles them wholly, if you be not clear in your Expressions in this Business, it will dissettle us very much to think that the Parliament, that doth not approve well of what hath been done upon a true Ground of Necessity, as far as it hath saved this Nation from running into total Arbitrariness, or subject it to any sort of Men that would perhaps do so. We think we have in that Thing deserved well

of

of the State, if any Man will ask me, but ah, Sir, what have you done since? Why ah, as I will confess my Fault where I am guilty, so I think taking the Things as they were, I think we did the Commonwealth Service, and we have in that made great Settlements, that have we; we have settled almost all the whole Affairs in *Ireland*, the Rights and Interests of the Soldiers there, and of the Planters and Adventurers; and truly, we have settled very much of the Business of the Ministry, and I could wish that that be not to secure the grave Men, I wish it be not, but I must needs say, if I have any thing to rejoice before the Lord in this World, as having done any Good, or Service, I can say it from my Heart; and I know I say the Truth, that it hath been, let any Man say what he will to the contrary, he will give me leave to enjoy my own Opinion in it, and Conscience, and Heart, and dare bear my Testimony to it, there hath not been such a Service to *England*, since the Christian Religion was perfect in *England*, I dare be bold to say it, however here and there, there may have been Passion and Mistakes, and the Ministers themselves, take the generality of them, they will tell it is besides the Instructions, and we did take it upon that Account, and we did not trust upon doing that which we did, *Virtute Institi* as a *Jure Divino*, but as a civil Good, but —— so we end in this Thing, we know not better how to keep the Ministry good, and to augment it to Goodness, than to put such Men to be Triers; Men of known Integrity, and Piety, orthodox Men, and faithful, we know not how better to answer our Duty to God, and the Nation, and the People of God, in that respect in doing what we did, and I dare say, if the Grounds upon which we went, will not justify us, the Issue, and Event of it doth abundantly justify us, God having had exceeding Glory by it, in the Generality of it, I am confident forty-fold; for as heretofore the Men that have been admitted into the Ministry in Times of Episcopacy, alas what pitiful Certificates served to make a Man a Minister! If any Man could understand *Latin*, and *Greek*, it was as if he spake *Welsh*, he was sure to be admitted, which in those Days went for *Hebrew* with a great many; but certainly the poorest Thing in the World would serve turn, and a Man was admitted upon such an Account, I, and upon a less, I am sure the Admission that had been to those Places since, had been under this Character, as the Rule that they must not admit a Man, unless he be able to discern some of the Grace of God in him, which was so put to, as that it was not foolishly or senslessly, but so far as Men could judge according to the Rules of Charity; but such a Man whose good Life and Conversation they could have a very good Testimony of four or five of the neighbour Ministers, who knew him, nor could they admit him, unless he could give a very good Testimony of the Grace of God in him; and to this I say, I must speak my Conscience in it, though a great many are angry at it, all are angry at it, and how shall you please every body: Then say some, none must be admitted, except perhaps he will be baptized, this is their Opinion, they will not admit a Man into a Congregation, except he be so much less to be a Minister; the *Presbyterian* he will not admit him, except he will be ordained, generally they will not go to the *Independants*; truly I think if I may not be partial, I think if there be a Freedom of Judgment, it is there. Here is three sorts of godly Men that you are to take Care for, and that you have provided for in your Settlement; and how could you now put it to the *Presbyterians*, but

you must have done it with a Possibility of Exclusion of all those *Anabaptists*, and of the *Independants*; and now you have put it into the way, that if a Man be of any of these Judgments, if he have the Root of the Matter in him, he may be admitted; this hath been our Care and Work, by some Ordinances of ours, both laying the Foundations of it, and many hundred of Ministers being in upon it, and if this be a Time of Settlement, then I hope it is not a Time of Shaking, and therefore I hope you will be pleased to settle this Business, that you will neither shake the Persons that have been poorly instrumental, to call you to this Opportunity of settling this Nation, and doing good to it; nor shake those honest Men's Interests that have been thus settled, considering so much Good hath been wrought by them, and so I have done with the Offers to you: But here is somewhat that is indeed exceedingly past my Understanding, for I have as little Skill in Arithmetick as I have in the Law; there is great Sums, it is well if I can count them to you. The present Charge of the Forces both by Sea and Land, including the Government, will be Two Millions Four Hundred Twenty-six Thousand Nine Hundred and Eighty-nine Pounds, the whole present Revenue in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, is about One Million Nine Hundred Thousand Pounds, I think this was reckoned at the most, as now the Revenue stands: Why now towards this, you settle by your Instrument One Million Three Hundred Thousand Pounds for the Government, and upon that Account to maintain the Force by Sea and Land, and this without Land-Tax I think, and this is short of the Revenue, that now may be raised by the Government, Six Hundred Thousand Pounds, because you see the present Government is One Million Nine Hundred Thousand Pounds, and the whole Sum which may now be raised, comes of the present Charge Five Hundred Forty-two Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty-nine Pounds, and although an End should be put to the *Spanish* War, yet there will be a Necessity of the Preservation of the Peace of the three Nations, to keep up the present established Army in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and also a considerable Fleet for some good Time, until it shall please God, to quiet, and compose Men's Minds, and bring the Nation to some better Consistency, so that considering the Pay of the Army, coming to upwards of One Million One Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Annum*, and the Government Three Hundred Thousand Pounds, it will be necessary, that for some convenient Time, seeing you find Things as you do, and it is not good to think a Wound healed before it be; that there should be raised over and above One Million Three Hundred Thousand Pounds, the Sum of Six Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Annum*, which makes up the Sum of One Million Nine Hundred Thousand Pounds; that likewise the Parliament declare how far they will carry on the *Spanish* War, and for what Time, and what farther Sum they will raise for the carrying on the same, and for what Time, and if these Things be not ascertained, as one saith, Money is the Cause certainly, whatever the Cause is, if Money be wanting, the Business will fall to the Ground, and all our Labour will be lost, and therefore I hope you will have a Care of our Undertakings.

And having received Expressions from you, that we may believe, we need not offer these Things to you, that these Things will be cared for, and these Things have all of them been made Overture of to you, and are before you,

and ſo have likewiſe the Conſideration of the Debts, which truly I think are apparent, and ſo I have done, that I have to offer you; I think I have truly for my Part, and when I ſhall underſtand where it own me to do further, and when I ſhall underſtand your Pleaſure in theſe Things a little further, we have anſwered the Order of Parliament, in conſidering and debating of theſe Things, that were the ſubject Matter of Debate and Conſideration, and when you will be pleaſed to let me here further of your Thoughts in theſe Things, then I ſuppoſe, I ſhall be in a Condition to diſcharge myſelf, as God ſhall put in my Mind, and I ſpeak not this to evade, but I ſpeak in the Fear and Reverence of God, and I ſhall plainly and clearly, I ſay, when you ſhall have been pleaſed among yourſelves to take Conſideration of theſe Things, that I may hear what your Thoughts are of theſe Things, I do not ſay that, as a Condition to any Thing, but I ſhall be free, and honeſt, and plain, to diſcharge myſelf, of what in the whole, and upon the whole, may reaſonably be expected from me, and God ſhall ſet me free to anſwer you in.

His Highneſs's SPEECH to the PARLIAMENT in the Banquetting-Houſe at *Whitehall*, 8th of *May*, 1657.

Mr. Speaker,

I *Came hither to anſwer that, that was in your laſt Paper to your Committee you ſent to me, which was in relation to the Deſires which were offered to me by the Houſe, in that they called their Petition; I confeſs that Buſineſs hath put the Houſe, the Parliament to a great deal of Trouble, and ſpent much Time, I am very ſorry that it hath coſt me ſome, and ſome Thoughts, and becauſe I have been the unhappy Occaſion of the Expence of ſo much Time, I ſhall ſpend little of it now, I have the beſt I can reſolve the whole Buſineſs in my Thoughts, and I have ſaid ſo much already in Teſtimony of the Whole, that I think I ſhall not need to repeat any Thing that I have ſaid. I think it is a Government that the Aims of it ſeeks much at ſettling the Nation on a good Foot in relation to civil Rights and Liberties, which are the Rights of the Nation, and I hope I ſhall never be found to be one of them that ſhall go about to rob the Nation of thoſe Rights, but to ſerve them what I can to the attaining of them. It hath alſo exceeding well provided for the Safety and Security of honeſt Men, in that great, natural and religious Liberty, which is Liberty of Conſcience; theſe are great Fundamentals, and I muſt bear my Teſtimony to them (as I have, and ſhall do ſtill, ſo long as God lets me live in this World) that the Intentions of the Things are very honourable and honeſt, and the Product worthy of a Parliament; I have only had the Unhappineſs, both in my Conferences with your Committees, and in the beſt Thoughts I could take to myſelf not to be convicted of the Neceſſity of that Thing that hath been ſo often inſiſted upon by you, to wit, the Title of* King, *as in itſelf, ſo neceſſary, as it ſeems to be apprehended by yourſelves; and I do with all Honour and Reſpect to the Judgment of the Parliament, teſtify that* (cæteris paribus) *no private Judgment is to lie in the Ballance with the Judgment of a Parliament; but in Things that reſpect particular Perſons: Every Man that is to give an Account to God of his Actions, he muſt in ſome meaſure be able to prove*

his

his own Work, that to have an Approbation in his own Conſcience of that he is to do, or forbear, and whilſt you are granting others Liberties, ſurely you will not deny me this, it being not only a Liberty, but a Duty (and ſuch a Duty as I cannot without ſinning forbear) to examine my own Heart, and Thoughts, and Judgment, in every Work which I am to ſet my Hand to, or to appear in or for.

I muſt confeſs therefore, that though I do acknowledge all the other, yet I muſt be a little confident in this, that what with the Circumſtances that accompany human Actions, whether they be Circumſtances of Time, or Perſons, whether Circumſtances that relate to the whole, or private, or particular Circumſtances, that compaſs any Perſon that is to render an Account of his own Actions; I have truly thought, and do ſtill think, that if I ſhould (at the beſt) do any thing on this Account to anſwer your Expectation, it would be at the beſt doubtingly: And certainly what is ſo is not of Faith, whatſoever is not of Faith, is Sin to him that doth it, whether it be with relation to the Subſtance of the Action, about which the Conſideration is converſant, or whether to Circumſtances about it which makes all think indifferent Actions good or evil to him that doth it. I lying under this Conſideration, think it my Duty, only I could have wiſhed I had done it ſooner, for the ſake of the Houſe, who had laid ſo infinite Obligations on it, I wiſh I had done it ſooner for your Sakes, for ſaving Time and Trouble; and indeed, for the Committee's ſake, for whom I muſt acknowledge publickly I have been unſeaſonably troubleſome, I ſay I could have wiſhed I had given it ſooner; but truly this is my Anſwer, that although I think the Government doth conſiſt of very excellent Parts in all, but in that one Thing the Title *as to me, I ſhould not be an honeſt Man, if I ſhould not tell you, that I cannot accept of the Government, nor undertake the Trouble or Charge of it, which I have a little more experienced than every Man, what Troubles and Difficulties do befall Men under ſuch Truſts, and in ſuch Undertakings. I ſay, I am perſuaded to return this Anſwer to you,* That I cannot undertake this Government with the Title of *King*, and that is mine Anſwer to this great and weighty Buſineſs.

The

The ANTIQUITY, LEGALITY, RIGHT, USE, and ANCIENT USAGE of FINES, paid in CHANCERY upon the ſuing out, or obtaining ſome Sorts of Original Writs returnable into the Court of COMMON-PLEAS at *Weſtminſter*. By FABIAN PHILIPPS, Eſq; one of the *Filacers* of the Court of *Common-Pleas* at *Weſtminſter*. Printed 1663.

Longævi temporis uſus & conſuetudinis non eſt vilis Authoritas.
BRACTON, Lib. I. Cap. 3.

To the Honourable Sir HARBOTLE GRIMSTON, Bart. Maſter of the Rolls.

SIR,

IF the Holy Scriptures had not told us, that *Rebellion* was the Sin of Witchcraft, we have had Cauſe enough to believe it; when in the evil Days of our laſt twenty Years unhappy Wars and Confuſions, we have ſeen ſo very much of the Folly and Madneſs of that *Soul*, as well as Kingdom *Deſtroying-Sin*, and perceived all that traded therein to have met with *Circes*, and the Fate of *Ulyſſes* his Companions, and to have been almoſt transformed into Swine, who muzling in the Earth, and looking for ſome Filth agreeable to their brutiſh Appetite and Diet, can without any Remorſe or Pity of better Things, turn and overturn, ſpoil and trample upon the faireſt Flowers; and are at the beſt no otherwiſe to be eſteemed then as Men bewitched, or hugely miſled by their own *Fancies*, and arrived to a Degree beyond Fanaticks, and as near unto Madneſs as the moſt outragious Inhabitant of *Bedlam*: When as in the beginning of the long and unhappy Parliament in the Year 1641, it was their common Out-cry, that the Laws of *England* were their Birth-right, they ſhould be moſt miſerable if they did not enjoy them; could after that, without any juſt Cauſe, take Arms to defend and preſerve them; and employ themſelves, their Wives and Children in a Proceſſion or Pageant, to dig and make Out-works and Fortifications about the City of *London*, to ſecure their Laws and Liberties, when in Effect they did but keep them out; and after that, engage themſelves, and as many as they could enforce unto it by an illegal League and Covenant to maintain them, and yet after the King's Murther, by that rebellious Contrivance, and the Conſequence of it, and a Declaration made and publiſhed by thoſe that calling themſelves a *Parliament*, that thoſe Laws were moſt ſuitable to the Good and Conſtitution of the Nation, could in the Hirecano of their pretended Reformation of the ſame Laws, agitated and driven on by a Mechanick Party that did not underſtand them, endeavour all they could to ſubvert and take away thoſe very Laws, as they

they had done the Lives of many, and the Eſtates of moſt of thoſe of the King's Party; who really and not hypocritically fought for them and their King, and adventured all they had in it; and in that furious, ignorant, and *ſelf-ſeeking* Humour of *Reformation*, could like nothing but what came out of their own groundleſs Imaginations: The Diſcipline and Orders of the Church were looked upon as *Antichriſtian*; the Laws were pretended to be Chargeable, Dilatory and *Antichriſtian*; the equitable Senſe of Laws and Scripture of their own framing and picking out, were more (as they ſaid) to be eſteemed, than the better or learned Interpretations of them: The inward Spirit and Intentions of Men were to be the Rule of all our Juſtice and Actions: Old Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions were to paſs away, and be laid by, and the new Inventions and Notions acted (as they fooliſhly imagined) by a more *Divine Light*, were to take Place, and rule in the ſtead of them. In order whereunto, the common People were taught in all their Diſcourſes, to make that which before they had taken ſo much Care of, to be as a By-word or Reproach; the Law itſelf muſt be called a *Cheat*; and the Lawyers, whom the Heathen could ſtile * *Sacerdotes Juſtitiæ*, and our Chriſtian Fore-fathers, *Laudabile genus hominum qui in Campo Juſtitiæ tanquam Athletæ militant*, ſo hated and threatened, (except at ſuch Times as they had need of them) as it was ſome Danger to wear a Gown; and one of their mighty Mechanick Commanders threatened to pull off their Gowns, and hang them up in *Weſtminſter-Hall* among the *Scotch* Colours. The Judges were many times threatened to be pulled out of the Courts, and from their Tribunals; the *Inns of Court*, the *Nurſeries* of the Law, deſigned to be turned into *Brew-houſes*, Tenements or Gariſons, and Places for quartering of their *Rabbi Red-coat Soldiers*. That which was in our Law-Books of *French* or *Latin*, muſt be tranſlated, and the Writs, Proceſs and Pleadings put into *Engliſh*; and they knew not right Reaſon, the Original and Foundation of all Laws, nor the Way or Method of it, would like no Law further than their vulgar and ſhallow Underſtandings could come up unto it: And where they might or could reach it, found it to be no Loſs unto themſelves to pull down old Laws and Conſtitutions, to the end they might be Gainers by the Invention of ſetting up new. Every Thing but themſelves were Grievances: The Moral and Judicial Laws of *Moſes*, were commended and deſired to be introduced by ſome, and thoſe of *Holland* and *Scotland* by others, that Parliament not long before as much adored by a factious and rebellious Part of the People, as the Rebel *Iſraelites* did their *Golden-Calf*; when nothing but the Parliament was to be the *Standard* of their Religion and Conſcience; now ſeemed unto them not to be well conſtituted, or in equal Frame or *Balance*, but would be much better, if the *Venetian Balloting-Box* were caſt in amongſt them, the Military Officers and Commanders, many of whom could not read *Engliſh*, and worſe write it, buſying themſelves in reading *Livy* and *Plutarch*, and other Heathen Authors tranſlated into *Engliſh*; and not well obſerving the many Mutinies, Seditions, dangerous and troubleſome Alterations and Changes, which the People of *Athens* and *Rome* had ſadly experimented and dearly paid for, and how thoſe levelling Humours by Neceſſity as well as Fate fell afterwards into the better State and Condition of Monarchy, thought nothing ſo good and profitable for the Good of the People and of themſelves

* Conſtitut. Othoboni in Lindwood.

ſelves (more eſpecially) then to advance and increaſe the *Changes* of Government, which was moſt commonly caſt into a Frame and Deſign of their own Intereſts. Every common Soldier thought himſelf as wiſe and as fit to frame a Commonwealth as *Lycurgus* or *Solon*; and pretended that their Buſineſs was not only to fight, but to be *Legiſlators* and *Superintendents* of our Parliaments as well as Laws; they were to bind and limit them to (their ſilly as well as *knaviſh*) Contrivances. The Lands of the Crown, Church and Loyal Party, were to be a Part of their Land of *Canaan*: And they were to make what further Progreſs they could in the altering of Laws and Cuſtoms, hitherto, and through many Ages, ſo very much approved: Put down the old Offices and Employments, and erect new; and the Citizens and Men of Trade finding Fault with all but the multiplied Deceits and *Knaveries* of their own Trades; which, with the adulterating and enhauncing of all Manufactures and Commodities, have not only loſt and ſpoiled our Trade in foreign Parts, but do by the Connivance of their Companies or Myſteries, and for want of a due Execution of Laws, and Regulations of Falſhoods, yearly cozen and cheat the People at Home, as much as amounts to ſome Millions of Sterling Money, or a great deal more than doubles our Taxes, and not underſtanding the right Reaſon, juſt Ends and Intentions of our Laws, nor diſtinguiſhing betwixt the right Uſe and Abuſe of Laws, of the which only the *cozening* Part of the People are guilty, neither contented to have gained ſo much as they had done by the Law and its Reſidence at *London*, could not be ſatisfied unleſs they could pull it all in Pieces, and make a Merchandize of it; and believed a Citizen in a *Committee* by the Study and Help of a *Diurnal*, being the *Tinder* to the greateſt of all Rebellions, to be as grand a *Stateſman* as the late Lord *Burleigh*, or as if he had been bound Apprentice to *Solomon*, and ſerved out his Time in the compiling of his *Proverbs*: And their multiplying coſtly Orders at Six Shillings and Eight Pence, or Ten Shillings a Piece for a few Lines, to be as great a Bleſſing and refreſhing to the People, as the Land of *Promiſe* was to thoſe that had endured a forty Years tedious Journey through the Wilderneſs; and when as too many of themſelves were, and are by their Tricks of Trade, the grand and ſuperlative Grievances of the Kingdom, could at the ſame time raiſe their falſe and groundleſs Clamours and Scandals againſt the King, the Church, and the Laws; becauſe he would not quit his Regalities, and ſuffer a rebellious and prevailing Part of the People to enſlave the Reſidue; tho' our Religion and Laws did forbid it. In the midſt of which Frenzies, whilſt the Tradeſmen did drive on the Soldiers, many of whom had been their run-a-gate, or caſt-off Apprentices; and the Soldiers were driven on and encouraged by ſome Lecturers, and Men of *extempore* Nonſenſe rather then Divinity; and the *Devil* leading them with his new Lights, and falſe Expoſitions of Scripture, and a gaining ungodly Part of the People, were buſy in plundering and oppreſſing the loyal, honeſt, ſmall and remaining Part of them, and uſed our excellent Laws and Cuſtoms as the *Bactrians* are ſaid to do by their Parents when they are ſick or aged, and ſet their *Canes Sepulchrales*, Dogs kept on purpoſe, to tear and devour them: It would have been a Wonder how any of the moſt refined *Right Reaſon* or Conſtitution of our Laws, could reſt in quiet, when the Graves of ſome of our *Britiſh* or *Saxon* Kings were in a moſt unchriſtian and barbarous manner opened and diſturbed,

and their Duſt and Bones caſt into the Air and High-ways, and the Book of God itſelf ſuffered a kind of Martyrdome, in their ſuſpecting the Original, and covering the Senſe and Meaning thereof with ridiculous Notions, and ignorant Interpretations.

Or that a very innocent and legal Part of the King's Revenue, ſo well employed in the Support and Adminiſtration of Juſtice, ſhould eſcape a Diſturbance: and therefore the Fines which were uſually, and through many paſt Centuries and Ages, paid in Chancery upon all Original Writs in perſonal Actions, wherein the Debt or Damages demanded exceeded *Forty Pounds*, muſt have its Share in the Suffering under thoſe grand and continued Perſecutions of *Truth*, *Loyalty* and *Right Reaſon*, and be forbidden by an Act of a factious Part of the People, ſuppoſing themſelves to be the Commons of *England*, aſſembled in Parliament, and ſacrificed but to the pretended Liberties of the People, to the Intent to leave them as little as they could of their Liberties in greater Matters: which being with other of our good Laws and Cuſtoms, worried and cryed down by the cauſleſs Outcries and Clamours of thoſe that better underſtood their own evil Purpoſes and Deſigns in it, than the original Inſtitution, Benefit, and right Uſe of them, could not riſe again, or be revived, until that happy Reſtoration of our King, Religion, Laws and Liberties: nor then neither without the *Cicatrices* and Scars of the Wounds under which they formerly languiſhed; and as the Imagination being once hurt is ſeldom ever after free from thoſe melancholick Impreſſions which it once harboured; ſo did thoſe of a Neceſſity of reforming our Laws, or of ſuppoſed Evils or Grievances in them, beget an ill Opinion in the Minds of the *People*, where yet it ſticks ſo much, as ſome well-meaning and good Men are not ſo willing as they ſhould be to abandon the cauſleſs Suſpicions and Prejudices which they had entertained of them: and thoſe Illuſions, and inconſiderately received Impreſſions, have as yet kept up in too many the Humour of endeavouring to overthrow thoſe and many other of our good Laws and Conſtitutions, which if Underſtanding or Knowledge may be the Judges or *Touchſtone* of them, will appear to deſerve a better Uſage.

The more than ordinary Miſapprehenſion whereof, by thoſe that build upon no better a Foundation than the Ignorance of its legal, original and right Uſe, hath ſummoned my Duty to our Sovereign and his Laws to hinder, what I may, the unjuſt Cenſures and Ill-Adviſedneſs of ſome People, who are as ready to caſt away their own Good, as thoſe who to avoid a little Cold, which their Delicacy and a Surfeit upon Peace and Plenty cannot perſwade them to indure, can think it to be no ſmall Part of Prudence to tear up and burn the Planks of the Ship, wherein they are ſailing at Sea, and far from the Shore, and run the inevitable Hazard of periſhing by the Fury of a cooler Element; and that I might ſatisfy ſuch as miſlike the Payment of Fines in Chancery upon ſome original Writs, and that it hath for many Ages paſt been a moſt legal and uſeful Part of the Crown-Revenue, without any the leaſt of Grievance to the People, or our ſo often reiterated *Magna Charta*, or any other our Laws or Liberties; and ſhew them that the Uſefulneſs and Legality of it is not taken away, or diminiſhed, becauſe a Part of it is paid, or goeth to the Support of the Lord *Chancellor* or Lord *Keeper* of the great Seal of *England*, for the Time being, in that great and as eminen

eminent as careful Place of Adminiſtration of Juſtice, in granting Writs *Remedial*, or abating by Moderation and Equity the Rigour and Juſtice of the Laws, many Times too unconſcionably made uſe of, or put in Execution by the People, one upon the other, who are to be enforced and kept from being over ſevere, or taking unjuſt Advantages one upon another, which hath taught the moſt of Nations to look upon that high and ſuperlative Officer of *State* as greatly neceſſary; and to give him Allowances, becoming ſo great and honourable a Charge and Employment: inſomuch as the very thrifty and prudent Commonwealth of *Venice*, well underſtanding the Uſe and Dignity of that great Officer in moſt of the Kingdoms and Nations of *Europe*, and the Neceſſity of of his honourable Support, do think it requiſite to allow their *gran Cancelliero* a great Revenue out of the Publick Stock.

And that it cannot be a Grievance that the *Maſter of the Rolls*, and Curſitors in *Chancery*, are allowed ſome Part of that ſmall Part of the King's Revenue for their Support and Encouragement, which would be more chargeable to the People, and be more unequal, and not conſiſt ſo well with the Rules of Juſtice, if it ſhould be raiſed by any other Way, or Contrivance, to give them a Recompence proportioned to their Cares and Labours.

Which my Endeavours, I have preſumed to offer unto your View; not that I can believe, that your known Integrity, Sincerity and Care of Juſtice in that honourable Office and Dignity, wherein his Majeſty hath worthily placed you, can by any *Biaſs* of Self-Intereſt lead you to a better Liking or Approbation of theſe my Labours, in the Vindication of a Legal Duty, which ſo many are ready to throw Stones at; and do diſlike it, not becauſe it is not a Friend to *Cæſar*, but becauſe it is. But that I can be ſure to be well weighed in the Balance of Judgment by you, who in the Times of our unhappy Wars and Turmoils of the Pen and Sword, when the Seas roared and ſwelled, the Winds and Waves cuft each other, and Mountains and ſhort-breaking Seas did only buſy themſelves to run over one another, would not like the Repreſentation of our old *Britannia*, ſit ſafely upon the Rocks, and contemplate the Fury of the Seas, but would with your Boat adventure to launch into the Deep, and help to reſcue as well as you could the Ship of the Commonwealth, which by the Inconſtancy of Winds and Weather, and the Rage of many Waters, had loſt her Anchors, Rudder, Maſts, and Cables, and was ready to daſh upon the next Rock ſhe met with, or founder or ſink into the Bottom of an unmerciful Heap of Waters: and when the Law was in *Extremis*, and at the laſt Gaſp, did like the undeſpairing *Roman*, that bought a Field, when *Hannibal* being at the Gates with a conquering and prevailing Army, had put *Rome* into more than an ordinary Fit of an Ague, publiſh thoſe excellent Reports of your learned Father-in-law *Juſtice Croke*, to tell, as well as inſtruct the Students of our Laws, that our Laws would notwithſtanding, like the triumphant Lawrel and peaceful Palm, be green again, and ever flouriſhing, and did together with ſome other good Patriots, and Well-wiſhers to your King and Country, adventure your Eſtate, and not without ſome Hazards and Dangers, did by all the Rocks, Shelves, and Quickſands, more perilous than thoſe of *Goodwin*, over the *Scylla* of a guilty Party on the one Hand, and by the *Charybdis* of a prevailing intereſted Party of the other Hand: and of as many

more Difficulties, as ſummed up all together made a Miracle, help to bring into the Port or Haven that weather-beaten and diſtreſſed Ship, fraught with the invaluable Riches of the Hopes of *England*, and Reſtorer of our Peace and Plenty; who hath built up and repaired our *Jeruſalem*, and brought our Religion, Laws and Liberties from its Captivity, and the Waters of *Babylon*: in Contemplation whereof, his Majeſty well underſtanding how much it would conduce to the Good and Welfare of himſelf and his People, did intruſt you with the keeping of his Records, being the Evidences of the People, as they were called in an Act of Parliament in 43 *E.* III. together with thoſe which have been ſince added thereunto, and do now remain in the Tower of *London*, and in the High Court of *Chancery*; and with the diſpenſing of Equity and Conſcience in Cauſes accuſtomed to come before you: in which great Office and Employments, and Care for the common Good, that you may long continue, is, as it ought to be, the hearty Well-wiſhes and Deſires of all that know you: Amongſt whom you cannot err, if you ſhall pleaſe to number

Your moſt humble Servant,

FABIAN PHILLIPPS.

The ANTIQUITY, LEGALITY, RIGHT USE, and ANCIENT USAGE of FINES, to be paid in *Chancery* upon the ſuing out, or obtaining ſome Sorts of Original Writs returnable into the Court of COMMON PLEAS, *Weſtminſter*.

THE Payment of Fines upon Original Writs in *England*, was anciently and originally, not as any Exaction, Purchaſe or Money given to defile or betray Juſtice; but as Retributions or Oblations to the Prince or ſupreme Magiſtrate for his Grace and Favour in granting Writs Remedial, and as ſome Recompence of his Charges and Care in cauſing Juſtice to be done to all that have need, or ſhould ſeek for it.

And ſome or ſuch like Payments to the Magiſtrates or Miniſters of Juſtice, were in uſe more than two thouſand Years ago *, amongſt the *Grecians*, the grand Pretenders to Morality and Juſtice, that greateſt of the Virtues, where beſides a certain Sum of Money depoſited by the Plaintiff for the making good of his Action or Complaint, he againſt whom Judgment was given did pay a Fine as a *Vectigal temerariè litigantis* †.

And when Judges were appointed for the Hearing of a Cauſe, who amongſt the *Athenians* were in many civil Cauſes but as *Arbitri* or Arbitrators, conſtituted by more ſupreme Judges or Magiſtrates, they were to meet at the Place for them ordained, there to expect both Parties until the Evening: at which Time if neither, or but one of the Parties appeared, it was in their Power to fine the Party neglecting, according to Law. And at the Time they entered the Suit, and wrote the Accuſation with the Fine, which was required for Damages, the Judges

* Sigonius lib. 3. de Repub. Athen. 525, 530.

† Rous Archæologia Attica 119, 135, & 136.

Judges received as a Fee from the Plaintiff one *Drachm*; which according to the *Attick* Valuation was in the loweſt Account Seven-pence Half-penny; and the *Œginean*, Twelve-pence Half-penny.

And are nothing like either a Burden or Oppreſſion, when it ſhall be, as it ought to be, conſidered, that amongſt the *Romans* ‖ who imitated them, and were ſo exact and curious in their Juſtice, as they would not a great while permit their Magiſtrates, Prætors or Lord Chief-Juſtices to take their Wives with them into their Provinces, *Ne feminæ in avaritiam ſuapte natura propenſæ, potentiæ ſubnixe provinciam expilarent* §. And that the Plaintiff could not *vetuſtiſſimo jure*, by a moſt ancient Law or Uſage go to Law, as *Varro* tells us, nor the Defendant be permitted to make his Defence without an equal or certain Sum of Money depoſited both by the Plaintiff and the Defendant; which the *Sponſionis*, *Sacramenta*, and *Stipulationes*, amongſt the ancient *Romans* do teſtify, and that of the Monies depoſited as well by the Defendants as the Plaintiffs. *Qui Judicio vicerat ſuum Sacramentum, id eſt, pecunia interpoſitum auferebat, victi ad ærarium redibat.* But that being found too troubleſome, was afterwards reduced only unto the Plaintiff's depoſiting of the tenth Part of the Money demanded, by undertaking that the Defendant ſhould have it, if the Plaintiff did not make good his Action.

Which *Juſtinian* * at the Time of his compiling the Civil Laws, finding almoſt grown out of uſe, and thinking it fit to aboliſh, did afterwards ſee Cauſe enough to reſtore and ſet up again.

And it did come to be ſo uſual and cuſtomary, as there were *Gratuitæ Oblationes* ‖, for Remedies in Matters of Right and Juſtice, or for lawful Favours, and they were ſometimes, and not unfrequently called, *Pennam Aueam quod tantum habeat Dominus de Aſſenſu & Subſcriptione quod poſſet fieri una Penna Aurea*, were frequently offered and paid.

And the *Primiſcrinius* †, or Lord Chancellor, or *Princeps Prætorii omnium ſportularum quæ à litigantibus ſolvebantur particeps erat, & majus ſtipendium quam ceteri Officii ſummates percipiebat.*

Which Neceſſity or Cuſtom of paying Fines for Suits or Controverſies, was ſo well liked by the *Goths*, and that Inundation of Northern Nations, which in the Unwieldineſs of the *Roman* Empire and Declenſion of it, had overrun a great Part of its *European* Territories, as though they hated the Civil Law, prohibited its Uſe, and did all they could to deſtroy, and burn the Books thereof, it obtained amongſt them as good an Entertainment as it had formerly in the Civil Law, by an Allowance of that manner of depoſiting of the *Decimam partem litis.* Notwithſtanding which, they did alſo after Judgment given *exigere*, and carefully collect their *Fredas* or Penalties impoſed upon the Vanquiſhed by the Judges; as the *Salique* and *Alman* Laws ‖ and Cuſtoms do frequently evidence.

From

‖ Roſinus de Antiquitat. Rom.

§ Hottoman in Parte Juris de Actionibus. Sigonius lib. 1. de Judiciis cap. 21. Varro de Lingua Latina. Bodin de Repub. lib. 6.

* Leg. ult. Antiq. Cod. Novel. 112.

‖ Math. de Afflictis in 4. cap. præterea Sect. & de Prohibit. Feud. alien. per Frederic. n. 6. & Frantzkius de Laudemiis.

† d. l. fi. C. de Princip. Agen. & Panciroll. 9 Comment. in Noticiam utriuſq; Imperii.

‖ LL. Salick & Alman.

From whence it came to be in Uſe amongſt the old *Franks*, (now metamorphoſed into the *French*) a People once eſteemed to be as free as their Name imported, and taken to be the *Cuſtodes Libertatis* of that Part of *Germany*; there being then and for many Ages after, no other *expenſæ litis*, or Charges given to him that prevailed in Law, but the tenth Part of the Money ſo depoſited, until that *Charles* IV. King of *France* *, who lived in the latter End of the Reign of our King *Edward* II. made a Law or Decree *ut victus victori in expenſis teneretur*, that the Party condemned ſhould pay the Charges of the other Party; yet ſo notwithſtanding, as the tenth Part continued to be paid to the Exchequer, *Sportularum & Judicii nomine*, or as *Mercedes Judicantium*, for the Rewards and Fees of the Judges, and their Maintenance.

In *Hungary* †, being an elective Kingdom, where the People kept a continual Guard upon their Liberties in the *Minori Cancellariæ Regis Taxa*, they did not think it in *anno* 1486. to be a Grievance to pay for certain Writs or Letters a certain Rate *per Cent.* and for many other, *Juxta quantitatem poſſeſſionis ſeu rei obtentæ, habita concordia inter Cauſantes & Protonotarium.*

And was in other Countries and Kingdoms by a Cuſtom of paying moderate Fees in Chancery upon the obtaining Writs or Proceſs Remedial from the Prince or ſupreme Magiſtrate, ſo allowable, as in that great Dominion of *Burgundy*, and its large Extent of *Provinces*, in *anno Domini* 1383. which was in the Reign of our King *Richard* II. the Fees or Rates of the Chancery were ſet and ordained: *Pour la lettre* ‖ (a Writ being no other than a ſhort Letter or Reſcript) *du petit ſeel pour le droit de Monſeigneur, Six Deniers, pour le droit du Tabellion, 3 Deniers & le coadjuteur, 11 Den. littera 3 Francorum uſq; ad 13 excluſive pro duobus Juribus 2 ſolidos ſex den. Turon. de quibus Dominus Dux capit 17. Denarios & Tabellio reliquum coadjutor 20. Denarios & ſic in totum duos ſolidos cum denario litera 120 Francorum*, (being but ſeven Pound *Engliſh*) *15 Solidos, 5 Den. Turon. debet de quibus Dominus Dux capit 10 ſolid. quinque Den. Turon. pro Regiſtro Tabellio capit reliquam & pro coadjutore 55 Den. in litera retentionis beſtiarum*, like our Writs of *Recordari* to remove Plaints upon Diſtreſſes) *non computatur fructus neque Domus*, &c.

Which the Princes of the *German* Empire, (a People ſuppoſing themſelves to be very free) in a Diet under their Emperor *Sigiſmond*, in *ann.* 1425. which was in the Reign of our King *Henry* VI. did hold to be ſo legal and reaſonable, as they ordained, That in *Cancellaria redemptiones literarum Judiciarum & Conſervatarum tenetur antiqua conſuetudo ejuſdem Cancellariæ*; and that for Fees of Writs in Chancery, *pro literis generalibus, 24 Denarii* ſhould be paid, *&c.*

And in a Diet holden in *Anno* 1546. and 1548. which was in the Beginning of the Reign of our King *Edward* VI. the Princes of *Germany* did ordain and limit the Taxes *Cancellariæ*, viz. amongſt many other Rates, § *Pro ſimplici citatione unus Florenus & quarta pars Floreni.* And when an Inhibition is inſerted,

* Bignonius in Marculſi Formulas, 496.

† In legibus Hungariæ Dercet. Mathie Regis anno 1486. Artic 76.

‖ Conſuetudines Burgundiæ, lib. de Gabels, 1787.

§ Goldaſtus Conſtitutiones Imperiales, 264. tit. 33. & 447. tit. 25.

ſerted, *duæ Floreni & duo partes Floreni, &c. Atqui tamen cum æquum ſit Cancellariæ ob laborem & operam in qualibet cauſa habere rationem & æquam mercedem accipiat victores cauſarum quibus expenſæ adjudicantur in omnibus cauſis in quibus nullæ ſententiarum literæ*, (which before that Time uſually paid great Fees; and being accounted unneceſſary, were left *arbitrio partis* whether he would ſue them out or no) *ſumuntur teneantur ſe cum adminiſtratore laborum & operum ergo ad ipſius taxationem (quam quovis tempore juxta magnitudinem & qualitatem, adeoque conditionem cauſæ ac partium mediocri & tolerabili modo faciat) priuſquam expenſæ ad taxandum producantur, aut Executoriales Cancellariæ partibus concedantur.* Notwithſtanding that there is beſides a *collecta Provincialis, quæ* LANDSTEUR † *vocatur, quæ non nudè in ſignum ſubjectionis, & vi abſolutæ ſuperioritatis, ſed pro fructibus & emolumentis Juriſdictionis; item procuris & laboribus, necnon ob recompenſationem Expenſarum quas Domini facere & pati debent pro pace & quiete tenenda inter ſubditos, pro ſua dignitate ſervanda, pro ſalariis Officialium ad juſtitiam adminiſtranda exigitur.* Which *Oblata's* or Pledges before-hand towards the Satisfaction of Coſts, and the Fine *pro falſo Clamore*, were in *France*, by a Law or Edict of *Charles* IX. made to be *vectigal Judiciarum ad cohibendam litigatorum hominum indomitam & effrænatam licentiam, Quo vix ullum* (ſaith ‡ *Bodin*) *afflictis ærarii opibus utilius & Galliæ Imperio litium innumerabili multitudine oppreſſos ſplendidius cogitari poterat:* a kind of Revenue out of the Law, to leſſen or take away thoſe great Multitudes of Law-ſuits, with which *France* then abounded; which brought a great Supply to the publick Treaſury, and produced the Effect intended.

And our Reforming Brothers of *Scotland* have found ſo little Fault with thoſe or the like Cuſtoms, as the Lords of Secret Council and Seſſion (as they there are called) did no longer ago then in *Anno* 1606 ‖, in the Reign of King *James* the Sixth, by his Commiſſion limit and ſet down the Prices or Fees to the *Director* of the Chancery, which varied according to the Qualities of the Perſons, and Values of the Matters or Things, as *Twenty Shillings Scots* Money for a ſecond or third *Precept*; and for a *Summons of Error* paſt the Quarter Seal, *Four Pounds Scottiſh* Money; and to the *Keepers of the Signet*, *Ten Shilling Scots* Money for a Summons: Which were ratified by Act of Parliament in that Kingdom, in *Anno Dom.* 1621. And do at this day keep their Chancery, and the Fees and Profits thereof, ſo high, as for a Deſcendant's entering into a Recognizance or Obligation in a Suit depending before the Lords of *Seſſion*, or Court of Juſtice ſo called, which with us without paſſing the Great Seal, would not have coſt Twenty Shillings; being to paſs the Seals in their Chancery, no leſs than Forty Pounds *Sterling* is demanded for the incident Charges thereof.

Long before which, and many of thoſe or the like Cuſtoms in other Nations, the Payment of * Fines in *England* upon original Writs iſſuing out of the Chancery, did by Imitation of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, or the Light and Law of Nature, and the ſame, or a like Reaſon, very early come unto us. As may be perceived by that Law of King *Ina*, in *Anno* 720. when the Defendant did *pignora*

† Beſoldus de Ærario Publico Queſt. 5. Simon de Prætis, lib. 3.

‡ Bodin de Repub. lib. 6.

‖ 23 Parl. Jacobi, Anno 1621.

* LL. Inæ 63. LL. Edwardi Regis, 4. Edgari Regis 2 Canuti 12. Edwardi Confeſſoris. Gulielmi Conqueſtoris, LL. H. 1. cap. 35 & 53.

nora deponere ante litem æstimatam. And by the *Wytas*, *Overseuenesses*, and *emendationes Pacis*, paid to the King in the Time of our *Saxon* Ancestors, and King *Henry* I. and the *Sachas*, which were in that Nature paid in those Days to the Lords of Manors, upon Suits or Actions in their petty Courts.

And it appears by the Fine-Rolls in the Reigns of King *John*, *Hen.* III. *Ed.* I. *Ed.* II. and until 25 *Ed.* III. that Fines were paid upon very many, if not all manner of Writs original issuing out of the *Chancery*, and even upon Actions of Trespass: And being since 25 *Ed.* III. by the Grace and Favour of the *Chancery* and Chancellors (notwithstanding diverse Petitions in Parliament in that King's Reign, to some of which he had given negative Answers, and to others, referred them to the *Chancellor* to deal favourably with them therein) reduced to that which they now are, *viz.* where the Debt or Damage demanded and expressed doth exceed the Sum of Forty Pounds, there is only paid *Six Shillings and Eight Pence*, from thence to *One Hundred Marks*, and thence to *One Hundred Pounds Ten Shillings*; and so proportionably, according to that Rate, as the Sum of Money demanded and expressed shall exceed the Sum of *One Hundred Pounds*.

Which probably might be so limited or restrained, by occasion of a Petition of the Commons in Parliament in the twenty-fifth Year of the Reign of King *Edward* III. where they did pray, That † *les graces de la Chancellarie pour briefs avoir, ne sont deformes si dures ne si Estreites come ore ont estre de novel quar home en prent ore en la Chancellerie Fins de chescun maner de briefs & ceux Fins seront paier maintenant en le Haneper que de ceo en arere ne estoit fait quel chose est si grand damage au peuble que gentz ne poient leur droit poursuier par reasone de le grand charge susdite & en grand arrerissement de profit le Roy.* To which the King answered, *Il plest au Roy que le Chaunceller soit si gracious come il purra bonement, sur le grant des briefs considerant l'estat des persones quiles pourchasent.*

And may with Probability and Warrant enough be well conjectured to have been, if not as those ancient *Depositа's* which the *Romans* and the Civil Laws might long before have introduced; or as the Customs in the Empire, or large Walk or Extent of the Civil or *Cæsarean* Law, have brought into a well-allowed *Praxis*; yet as *Honoraria's* or *Oblata's*, Retributions or free-will Offerings of the People for Favours received.

Of which some of the Fine-Rolls of King *John*'s Time ‡ do bear that Title.

Where it appeareth that *Abbas de Burgo dat. Domino Regi unum Palfridum pro habendo brevi de nova disseisina.*

Johannes le Tanner dat. dimid. marcam pro habendo Pone coram Justic. domini Regis apud Westemonasterium.

Magister Honorius Archidiaconus Richemund dat, unum Palfridum pro capiendo quosdam Excommunicatos.

And before the Custom of giving or assessing Costs, either to the Plaintiffs or Defendants, the Plaintiff could not, as appeareth by the Form of the original Writs mentioned by *Glanvil*, Lord Chief Justice of *England*, when he wrote his Book *de Consuetudinibus Angliæ*, in the Reign of King *Henry* II. prosecute his Action upon an original Writ; which was then, for aught appears to the contrary, long before used and accustomed, nor has any thing done by the

† Ro. Parl. 25 E. 3. m. 29. ‡ Fines 6. Johannis 10.

the Sheriff, to whom it was directed, or any Proceſs out of the Court of Common-Pleas, where it was made returnable, before he had put in to the Sheriff two real Sureties or Pledges *de clamore ſuo proſequend.* which for ſome Ages after continuing, it was in the 36 *Ed.* III. ordained by Act of Parliament, * that *Caſts ſhould be taken before the Juſtices in the Preſence of the Pledges, and that the Pledges know the Sum of their Fine before their departing.* But it being afterwards found to be an Obſtruction of Juſtice, and a Denial or Delay of it where poor Men, or of low and mean Condition were not able, or could not without great Trouble or Inconveniences before-hand procure Sureties in their Suits, in ſeeking for Juſtice, eſpecially againſt rich or potent Adverſaries, (although the Judges did by Diſcretion of Court not ſeldom, as the Records do witneſs, *propter paupertatem*, diſpenſe with the putting in of Sureties to proſecute) it did by reaſon of a more rational or ſpeedy way, and courſe of taxing or aſſeſſing Coſts, and putting in the ſame Execution for the principal Debt or Cauſe of Action, grow into a Deſuetude, and a meer Formality of returning Pledges or Sureties for the Payment of the Coſts to the Party vanquiſhing, and the Fines which were before carefully collected for the King, and together with the *Miſericordia's*, which upon *non Proſequendo's* and upon every Judgment are now only entered with a *Miſericordia* in the Margin, and made a conſiderable Revenue to the King, (as by the Eſtreat-Rolls of the *Iters* or Circuits in the Reign of King *Edward* I. may appear) being not now impoſed, the feigned and uſual Names of *John Doe* and *Richard Roe*, to avoid Alterations in the *Formula's* or Proceedings of the Law, and the evil Conſequences which do often happen by Innovations, do only yet remain, to tell us the former Reaſon and Deſign of the Law therein.

Which Payments of Fines upon the ſuing out of original Writs in Debt, for Sums of Money for which Fines are to be paid according to the Uſage and Courſe of *Chancery*, may be as warrantable as that which is not to this Day complained of, or denied upon Writs of *Formedon*, and other real Actions, but willingly paid in to the *Hanaper* in *Chancery*; or that Profit which heretofore came to the King upon the Writs of Aſſize of *Novel diſſeiſin*, where the Sheriffs did before the Statute of *Weſtmin.* 2. † take an Ox of the Diſſeiſee, or of him which purchaſed an Aſſize: And were by that Statute commanded that they ſhould not upon Writs of *Aſſize* (which were then the uſual Remedies in many real Actions, and ſometimes in Treſpaſs) *from thenceforth take an Ox of the Diſſeiſee, but of the Diſſeiſor only, nor receive any Ox but of five Shillings Price* or Value. Or the *half Mark* uſually paid by the Tenant (or Defendant) upon the *Miſe* joined in a *Writ of Right*, that the Grand Aſſize might enquire of the Time that the Demandant alledged he was ſeized of the Lands in Queſtion: for it ſeemeth, ſaith *Littleton* ‡, who was a Judge, and wrote his Book after the fourteenth Year of the Reign of King *Edward* IV. that the *Grand Aſſize ought otherwiſe to be charged only to enquire of the meer Right, and not of the Poſſeſſion*, &c.

And was no ſelling and bargaining for Juſtice, as ſome have groundleſly ſuppoſed; and may rectify their Errors by a due Conſideration that for our *Magna Charta* itſelf, which was confirmed in the ninth Year of the Reign of King *Hen-*

* 38 E. III. cap. 3.
† Weſtm. 2. cap. 25.
‡ Littleton, tit. Releaſes.

ry III. and wherein *nulli vendemus Juſtitiam* is provided and ordained, the People of *England* did give to the King the *fifteenth Part* of all their Moveables: That in the levying of Fines for common Aſſurance, there is and hath been anciently a *Dat. Domino Regi*, Money given or paid to the King, *pro licentia concordandi*, in the Court of Common-Pleas at *Weſtminſter*: That for private Acts of Parliament at this Day as well as heretofore, Fees to the Speaker of the Houſe of *Commons*, and the Clerks thereof, are uſually paid without any Sale of Juſtice, or Contradiction ſuppoſed of that Branch of *Magna Charta*: That in the Statute of 18 *E.* III. and the Oath thereupon given to the Judges, that they *ſhall take no Gift or Reward*, nor *any Fee of any Perſon*, there is an Exception, unleſs it be Meat, Drink, or of ſmall Value.

For by the ſame Reaſon that Fines upon ſome Original Writs, (for they are but upon ſome few) are ſuppoſed to be a ſelling of Juſtice, the *Curſitor*'s Fees ordained by the Statute of *Weſtminſter* the ſecond, in *Anno* 13 *E.* 1. to be but a Penny for every Writ, which the Price of Victuals and Way of Livelihood (which is now a great deal more than formerly) conſidered, amounts unto as much as *Ten Pence* for every Writ; and will not now buy as it would do then, the *ſixtieth* Part of an Ox, which was then valued but at *Five Shillings*: And the Fees of the Virgers, and the *Chyrographer* in the Court of Common Pleas, and all thoſe many other Fees ordained by Act of Parliament, would be (as they are not) a ſelling of Juſtice, and a Breach of *Magna Charta*, and unwarrantable.

And howſoever thoſe due and warrantable Fees which are paid to Clerks and Officers of Courts, and the Fines which are paid upon original Writs, (excuſing greater Fees to the *Curſitors*, who could not otherwiſe be contented with a pitiful Fee of Six Pence for the writing of every original Writ) cannot bear any Proportion or Reſemblance of a Bribe, or of the King's, or any of his Judges ſelling of Juſtice: And if it did (as it cannot) being always paid by the Plaintiff, muſt then conclude that all Plaintiffs muſt of Neceſſity never or ſeldom fail of their Deſigns or Recovery; which daily Experience manifeſtly contradicteth, nor can poſſibly be ſo underſtood, when as in every Action the Defendants do pay Fees as well as the Plaintiffs.

Neither can it be any Breach of *Magna Charta*, or Injury done to the Clauſe therein of *nulli vendemus Juſtitiam*; when as the Wiſdom of former as well as of later Parliaments, did always foreſee and allow of a Neceſſity of ſomething to be paid to the Judges, Officials or Miniſters of Juſtice in the obtaining or expediting of it, for a Proviſion and Maintenance to ſupport and encourage them in giving a Diſpatch to the People who came for Remedies to the Court of Juſtice, or the Chancery.

And the Statute of *Weſtminſter* the ſecond, which was not long after the making of *Magna Charta*, intended certainly juſt Recompences to the Clerks and Officers, when it ordered them to uſe ſo great a Diligence and Care in the Diſpatch of Juſtice to all that came for it, as *nè deficiat Juſtitia conquerentibus concordent Clerici*, &c. all good Ways and Means were ſo to be taking by framing and forming of Writs according to every Man's particular Caſe, *ut nullus recedat à Cancellaria ſine remedio.*

For

For which the King was at Charges to the Officers and Clerks of the *Chancery* * for Robes and Liveries to be yearly given them; and the Keepers of the Seal took Care for their Diet, and other Conveniences, as may appear by the Uſage and Courſe of that Court, in the † Reign of King *E.* III. when the King conceived himſelf to be ſo much concerned in it, as Writs were frequently ſent to the Sheriffs and Bailiffs, *tam infra libertates quam extra*, to be aiding and aſſiſting to the Purveyors for the Chancery, in *diverſis Providenciis*, or Purveyances, *de pane, vino, cerviſia, carnibus, puletria & aliis victualibus feno avenis litteris & cariagiis ad opus ipſius Cancellarii*, (the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* being then Chancellor) *pro denariis ſuis ſolvend.* When as alſo the Profits ariſing by the Fines in thoſe Times, and long after, were collected and accounted for in the Exchequer.

And that or the like Maintenance or Support is again to be given to them, or the Lord Chancellor for them, if the King ſhould not be pleaſed to allow the Profits ariſing by his Fines upon original Writs in perſonal Actions to the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper, and the Maſter of the Rolls, for the Support of thoſe high and honourable Offices and Places which they hold, and the Curſitors for their better Encouragement in the Service of the King and his People in Chancery in their ſeveral Orbs and Employments; or otherwiſe the People who will not do any Thing themſelves without Pay, or ſell their Victuals to them without Money, are to pay the Curſitors ſuch other Fees as their Attendance, Skill and Labour ſhall merit.

And therefore if the Statute of *Weſtminſter* the ſecond had not informed us, that beſides their Proviſions and Livelihood then provided for them, they had their *Sportula's*, Fees and Encouragements allowed them for making of every Writ, which, with their Victuals and neceſſary Proviſions made a greater Benefit, conſidering their then moſt commonly ſingle and unmarried Condition, than the *Curſitors* Fees and Parts of the Fines do now amount unto.

It will be no more improbable, that the Clerks and Officers of the Chancery, when they either lived in the Houſe with the Lord *Chancellor*, or had their Diet and neceſſary Maintenance elſewhere provided for them, had their *Sportula's* alſo and Fees for their Labour and Care in the making and Diſpatch of Writs Remedial, than that the Secretaries and Clerks attending upon a Lord *Chancellor*, or Keeper of the Great Seal, or the Judges, ſhould as they now have and ought to have, beſides their Diet, Lodging and other Neceſſaries, ſome Fees and Eſtabliſhments for their Rewards in their Care and Diſpatch of Buſineſſes.

All which that Parliament, which was almoſt in the Infancy of our then lately ſettled and conteſted for *Magna Charta*, well underſtood when they limited and ſettled Fees, and legal and juſt Rewards in the Courts of *Chancery*, *Common Pleas*, and *King's Bench*, and all our ſucceeding Parliaments did the like in their creating other Fees, or giving Allowance to thoſe which they found to be rationally introduced by Time and ancient Uſage, though no original Conſtitution, or creating of many of them by a Law can be found, but only by the Authority and Power of Courts, and Diſcretion of Judges, or the Light and Guidance of common Reaſon, which teacheth the Clients themſelves, or the moſt ordinary

* Clauſ. 24. E. III. † Rot. Pat. 7 E. III.

fort of Men, to know how to reward or value Benefits and Accommodations received, and to proportion Payments or Satisfactions for one another's Labours.

And King *Richard* II. was well informed of, when by Advice of his Council learned in the Law, and otherwise, he did in the fifth Year of his Reign to the Petitions of the Commons in Parliament, who prayed, That * *Come per le grand Chartre soit ordene & affirme Communement en touz autres Parlaments que la ley ne serra point denie ne venduz nullui à contraire de que le Chartre est use en la Chancellarie de prendre Fins pur diverses briefs avour à grant arrerisement de l'estat de touct le peuple & de la ley que plese ordener en ce present Parliament que chescun qui vendra purchaser brief en la dite Chancellarie eit le dit brief sans Fin faire*; answer, That *nostre Seignor le Roy nentende mye de soi desmetra de si grant Commodite quad este usez continualment en dit Chancellarie si bien avant come apres la confection del dit Chartre en temps de touz ses nobles progenitors qui dequis aient este Rois d'Engleterre.*

And is no more a buying of Justice then the Fees taken by the Stewards of the Lords of Manors in their Court Barons, wherein an inferior sort of Justice is administred when they take Fees upon Plaints and Actions, and largely enough for Admissions, Surrenders and Licenses; or the Fees which are taken by *Guilds*, Corporations and Companies of Trades for binding or making free Apprentices, or for Quartridges to their Halls, for the Maintenance of the Good and Credit of their Companies; or which is paid by the poor *Tankard* or Water-bearers at the Conduits in *London*, where every one payeth *Three Shillings and Six Pence* at his Admittance, and a *Penny a Quarter* for the Support of that poor and pitiful Society.

No more a buying of Justice than when every Ship trading to *Leghorn* or *Smyrna* pays a certain Rate of *Ten Shillings per Cent.* towards the Support of the *Consuls* there resident, to assist them in the Matters of Trade, and procuring Justice from the Superiors of the Territory.

Or the *Espices*, or Money in lieu of them, given to the Judges and Ministers of Justice in *France*, in the Parliament of *Paris*, or other Parliaments or Courts of Justice in that Kingdom.

But may be the more approved, when as our *Sportulæ* and Fees allowed in *England* are not without some Resemblance (if it extend not to a direct Pattern or Warrant) of the Courses held by God's own Appointment in his righteous *Theocracy* or Government, which he himself framed for his chosen People of *Israel*; where the Levites and Priests of the Jews, whose Officers were not meerly or altogether Ecclesiastical †, but having some Mixture of Civil Affairs and Judicature, as in the Cases of Leprosy and Jealousy, hard Matters and Controversies, and the like, had besides the *forty-eight* Cities, with their Suburbs belonging, given unto them for their Support and Maintenance, some Parts of the Sacrifices and Offerings, as not only to eat of the Flesh of the Sin and Trespass Offerings, but were to have the Shoulders and Heave-Offerings, the Wave-breast, and a Part or Oblation of every sort of Oblations, with the Redemption of the First-born of Men, as Casualties and Fees happening unto them in their several

* Pet. Parl. 5 R. II. pa. 1. nu. 88.

† Cunæus de Repub. Hebræorum, cap. 12. Grotius in Deut. 17. 19. 2 Chron. 19. 5, 6. Levit. 7. 8. Deut. 17. 8. Lev. 14. 29. Numb. 3. 47, 48. cap. 18. 11, 15, 16, 17, 18. Ezek. 46. 24.

veral Offices and Employments, by an eternal Law and Statute of God's own making, appropriate and allowed unto them. † *Qui quod pingue haberent otium, non tantum omnia legis, ſed & medicinæ aliarumque artium diligentur ediſcebant ut & Egyptii ſacerdotes*; who having Leiſure, did as the *Egyptian* Prieſts, not only diligently ſtudy the Law, but Phyſick, and other Arts and Sciences. *Ideoque* (ſaith the learned ‡ *Grotius*) *primis Sæculis ex illis ut eruditioribus Senatus LXX. virum legi maxime ſolebat.* And therefore in the firſt Ages the Senate of LXX. were for the moſt Part commonly choſen out of them.

Which the Light of Reaſon, that *Divini luminis radius*, did ſo well inform other Nations, as the *Athenians* would not think it fitting that their ſtanding and continual Senate or Court, and their Judges ſhould be without their competent Allowances and Rewards. And their famous and popular Orator *Demoſthenes* underſtood to be ſo neceſſary, as in his Oration againſt *Timocrates*; he ſaith, ‖ *Lex eſt vobis ſi qua alia præclara ut qui ſacras publicaſque pecunias poſſident in Curia pendant, ſin minus ut Senatus ab eis legibus uſus telonicis exigat hac igitur lege res communes adminiſtrantur, ſi quidem quæ in conciones, & ſacrificia, & ſenatum, & equites, & alias res pecuniæ impenduntur hujus beneficio legis abunde ſuppetunt, cum enim vectigalia non ſufficiunt quæ ad penſiones dicuntur metu legis hujus penduntur quomodo igitur non omnes Reipublicæ partes diſſolventur cum vectigalium penſiones non fuerint ſatis neque hac niſi in exitu anni capere liceat Senatus autem & Judices eos qui ad penſiones non ſolvant vinciendi poteſtatem non habeant quid agemus? non conveniemus? nec deliberabimus ſi opus erit & amplius popularem ſtatum retinebimus? non judicabunt fora & privata & publica? non inibit Senatus & tractabit ea quæ legibus continentur? at gratis ſcilicet hæc faciemus? quid vero iniquius eſt quam ſi ex lege quam tu mercede corruptus tuliſti populus & Senatus & Judices mercede ſua priventur.* And *Sigonius*, who had very learnedly and induſtriouſly ſearched and traced their Cuſtoms, adds hereunto his own Opinion, That * *hanc conſuetudinem Athenienſium intuens. Ariſtoteles qui ſuos de Reipublica commentarios diligenti omnium rerum publicarum obſervatione & maxime ſi quis attendat Athenienſis confeciſſe videtur ſcripſit populare maxime eſſe mercedem omnibus dare concionibus Senatui Judiciis & magiſtratibus & ex concionibus maxime ordinariis & magiſtratibus imprimis iis qui una eſſe & inter veſci quotidie cogerentur.*

For when the Scripture itſelf can tell us, that *Operarius mercede dignus*, the Workman is worthy of his Hire, or to be paid for his Labour; and Juſtice itſelf perſuades it, if the Client or Party immediately concerned, who is moſt properly to do it, ſhall not pay it, the King is to do it by a Stipend or Salary yearly, to be paid out of the common Treaſury: Which being to be furniſhed or ſupplied by the People, will return heavier again upon them, and lay a Burden upon thoſe which ſhould not bear it, or never in their Lives may have any Occaſion to ſue for Remedies at Law, or be Petitioners either as Plaintiffs or Defendants for Juſtice.

And the Defendants, and ſuch as are Innocent and Victors, muſt in thoſe publick Aſſeſſments or Contributions help to bear the Prince's Charges, and pay for

† Grotius Comment. in 17 Deut. 9.
‡ Ibidem.
‖ Demoſthenes adverſus Timocratem.
* Sigonius de Rep. Athen. lib. 2. cap. 3. 495, 496.

for the Plaintiff's unjuſt Vexations, if no Fees or *Sportula's* ſhould be taken, but a conſtant and yearly Salary ſhould be given to Officers and Clerks; which unleſs it be large, cannot probably be adequate to the Skill, Induſtry, Labours, and Fidelity of the Officers and Clerks, which in the Caſualties and Contingencies of Actions and Buſineſs, cannot well be foreſeen, or made to be proportionable thereunto by any juſt Meaſure to be taken before-hand, or any Proſpect which can poſſibly be made of it.

And therefore a yearly Stipend or Salary, being likely to be either too narrow or too large, will, if plentiful, or too much, violate the Rule or Purpoſe of Juſtice: or if too little, put a ſinful Neceſſity upon the Officers to do their Buſineſs lazily and careleſly, or ſtir up in them a greedy and craving Appetite, and Temptation of taking the Advantages of all Opportunities to ſatisfy thoſe Appetites, or that which they ſhall ſinfully conceive to be a Recompence for their Labours: The Wickedneſs and Inconveniences whereof, have been ſufficiently held forth unto us by what hath been ſeen, felt, heard and underſtood in the yearly Stipends or Salaries, with a Reſtraint of taking any other Fees heretofore given to Officers and Clerks, both in *England* and *Scotland*, in our late Times of Pretences, rather than *Reformations*; when thoſe *Publick Spirits*, as they thought themſelves, made up of the Outſides of Holineſs, did only gather in their Prey, and a greater than otherwiſe they could have done, under Colour of it.

And the Plaintiff by paying and depoſiting that moſt commonly ſmall Sum of Money before-hand, or giving of it, doth it but in the Confidence of the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and Hopes to recover it of him that did him Wrong.

And if his Action proves to be unjuſt, did but juſtly pay for his abuſing of the Ears of Juſtice by his unjuſt Complaint or Vexation put upon the Innocent, who having Coſts allowed him, and a Means to recover it, hath no Reaſon to claim any Share or Part in the Money paid for the Fine, if it were a *Depoſitum*, for that it would then be as a *Caducum*, or Thing which neither the Plaintiff nor Defendant, after it is paid, can have any Title unto; and is therefore, according to the ancient Cuſtom, if it were not an *Oblatum* (which it is rather conceived to be) to be paid to the King: Whoſe *Lord Chancellor* hath towards his Support in that high and eminent Place and Care of Juſtice under the Sovereign, one Part in four allowed him; the Maſter of the Rolls another Part; and the Curſitor or Clerk that makes the original Writ, the Moiety of the other two Parts. And in the higheſt Time of Suits in Law of that kind, when they were four times as much or more than now, amounted to no more then Five Thouſand Pounds *per Annum* amongſt them all; or little more then a third Part of that miſcalled Sum of Twelve Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, which ſome of the Members of the Long Parliament were (by the factious and giddy Calculations of thoſe little Foxes that could ſpoil any Vineyard they did but bark at) well contented to believe.

And muſt otherwiſe as to their Support and Employment have been ſatisfied either by the People or the King; which as the Head and well-being of the Body Politick, is, as in the Natural, to be ſupported by the Members. And with the greater Reaſon in this particular of the Fines upon original Writs iſſuing out of the Chancery, for that whether they be as *Depoſita's* or Oblations, or

Mulcts

Mulcts imposed *pro falso clamore*, if the Profit were greater, it will be but a small Part of the People's Retribution and Thankfulness for the great Charges of the King, amounting to near as much as *Twenty Thousand Pounds per Annum*, for the Salaries of his Judges and Ministerial Officers in the Administration and Execution of Justice, the safe-keeping of the Records thereof; and giving cheap and easily-to-be-obtained Remedies to his Subjects and People for all their Complaints and Grievances; who cannot without the Blemish of a great Ingratitude, take it to be any Thing less than right Reason, saith the excellently learned Sir *Francis Bacon*, that the benefited Subject should render some small Portion of his Gain, as well for the Maintenance of those Rivulets and Springs of Justice, and his own Ease and Commodity arising thereby; as for the Supportations of the King's Expences, and the Reward of the Labours of those who are wholly employed in the making of Writs remedial. And therefore it was well said by *Littleton*, 34 *H.* VI. fo. 38. That the Chancellor of *England* is not bound to make Writs, without the due Fees for the Writing and Seals of them.

And hath had so general an Allowance of Nations, as that the Custom of paying Fines, or some little Oblations at the Commencement of their Suits, is at this Day continued amongst many of our Neighbour-Nations.

For the Emperor or Great Duke of *Russia* * hath five *Alteenes*, or so many five *Pence* Sterling, for every Name containing in every Writ which passed out of his Courts of Justice, besides a Penalty or Mulct of twenty *Dingoes* or Pence upon every Ruble or Mark, which is to be paid by the Party convicted by Law.

In *Florence* and *Tuscany* †, *Litigantes omnes cum primum actionem suam instituunt certam summam Duci solvunt quam Sportulam vocant*. And by an Edict or Proclamation of King *Charles* IX. who reigned in *France* in the Time of our Queen *Elizabeth*, every Man is to deposit two Crowns upon the commencing of any Action, *eosdem ab eo quem Judicio superasset recuperaturus, aut suæ temeritatis si vinceretur Justam pœnam laturus* ‡, to be had again and recovered of him which is overcome, or otherwise, is to loose it as a just Punishment for bringing his Action for that which he had no Right unto.

And the *Dutch*, who pretend so much to Liberty, have taken it to be so little or no Prejudice at all unto their Freedom, as they do in this our present Age or Century, besides Two *Stivers* taken upon every Order or Petition in any Court of Justice, for the lesser Seal with which the Paper upon which it is written is marked, and Four *Stivers* or our Four Pence Half-penny for a greater Seal imposed, and do take at the beginning of every Action or Suit to be paid to the *States*, Thirty *Stivers*, or Three Shillings *English*, for every Fifty *Florins*, or Five Pounds *English* of the Sum demanded, as a ‖ *Vectigal temerariè litigantium*, a Fine or Punishment for those which do not maintain or make good their Actions: Which far exceeds the Rate and Manner of our Fines paid upon the beginning of every Action.

And by laying some Charge upon the Fertility of Contentions, and in punishing such as without just Cause of Action do molest and trouble one another, have but done therein as the *Hebrews* or Children of *Israel* did, upon whom the

* Fletcher's Hist. of Russia.
† Segethus de Principalibus Italiæ.
‡ Bodin lib. 6. de Repub.
‖ Philippus Cæsius à Zesen in Leone Belgico.

the Light of the Wiſdom of the moſt High did firſt ſhine, when finding that Nation, as *Rabbi Maimon* ſaith, to be *litigioſum genus hominum duplum rependere coegerunt qui debitum ſcienter denegarent, & non incongruum ſacræ paginæ videtur*; and is not repugnant to the Reaſon and Equity of God's own Law, wherein he ordained, that the * Treſpaſſer ſhould pay double Damages: which the paying of Coſts with us, either ſingle or double, in finable or not finable Actions, did never arrive unto.

And is much better than, when as anciently, until a better Courſe and Way of bringing Men to Juſtice was found out, by eſtabliſhing of fixed and certain Courts, Times and Place of Juſtice with leſs Trouble to the People.

They did, where they did not foully contend or fight it out by the bloody and direful Chance of Might or Power of Parties, make choice of Arbitrators, and bear their Charges, (which when the Law was in *in Cunabulis*, every one which hath travelled but eaſy Journies in the Civil Law, and the Law of Nations, knows to be frequent) to meet at an equal Diſtance, or other convenient Place, or at their Houſes.

Or when as it appeareth by *Marculfus*, who living near the Time of *Charlemain* the Emperor †, wrote about eight hundred Years ago; and *Bignonius's* Notes or Comment upon him; it was the Cuſtom in the Reign of *Charlemain*, that Judges being made itinerant by Commiſſion to hear and determine Cauſes at the Houſes of thoſe that complained for Want of Juſtice, did not only *Freda exigere*, take a third Part of the Fine or Penalty for themſelves, and enforced their Entertainments to be defrayed; but *redhibitiones*, ſome other Fees and Rewards to be given to them.

Inſomuch as ſome Abbies and Monaſteries beyond the Seas, and our largely privileged Abby of *St. Albans* in *England*, who were well enough fitted for publick Entertainments and Hoſpitality, and much uſed unto it; and diverſe great Cities and Towns, did ſo little like of that Trouble which thoſe kind of Judges ‡, and their then neceſſary and greater Trains and Retinues brought upon them, as they made ſhift to obtain Immunities and Privileges from their Kings to be freed from thoſe kinds of Troubles.

Which may the more perſuade the right Uſage and Reaſonableneſs of Fees in Courts of Juſtice or *Chancery*, where the Reaſon and Difference of Fees in and through all Ages and Times, in the Cuſtom and Uſage of Courts in this and all Places of *Chriſtendom*, have been grounded and made to be, 1. According to the Labour in Writing. 2. A more ſpecial Care and Skill to be taken and uſed, as in a Real Action more than in a Perſonal. 3. The Quality of the Judge, and the Superiority or Eminency of the Court which granteth it. As more in Parliament, where the Houſe of Commons takes for the leaſt Order that is made Six Shillings and Eight Pence, and the Houſe of Peers Fourteen Shillings and Six Pence, or more, according to the length; more in the Chancery for an Order than in the King's Bench or Common Pleas; and leſſer Fees in the inferior or Pipowder Courts than in the ſuperior: And therefore when a Juſtice of Peace ſhall take Two Shillings and Four Pence for his Warrant or Writ, a Writ

* Exod. 22. 9.

† Marculfus Formulas & Bignonii notæ in eundem.

‡ Mat. Paris.

Writ iſſuing out of the High Court of *Chancery* may juſtly claim to be as much, that of Six-pence which they have now for every Writ beſides the Fine; or where it is not finable, being far too little, and ſo below Encouragement of their Labours, Fidelity and Well-being, as may put them either into a Careleſneſs of doing their Buſineſs as they ſhould do, (which, when the Fines were put down, were ſufficiently experimented) or a Temptation to do Things which they ſhould not do.

Or if the Fee but of Six-pence more ſhould be added to their Fee for common Writs, if the Fines ſhould be taken away, and a Recompence of Seven Hundred Pounds or One Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, granted by the King to the Lord *Chancellor*, and as much to the *Maſter of the Rolls*, and their Succeſſors, for what they ſhall be Looſers by the taking away of the Fines, it would altogether amount to a greater Charge upon the People than it was twenty Years ago, when the Accompt of the Fines was a great deal more than in the laſt Year.

And if they ſhould have ſo much for every common Writ, whereupon no Fine is paid, which in *London*, where moſt Fines are paid, are not one in every twenty; and in the Country where few finable Writs happen, are not one in every two hundred; the Charge thereof making many to bear the Burthen of a few, would be unequal and unjuſt, and more to the Subject in general, than that which upon ſeldom or particular Caſes are now paid.

Which may pleaſe the People's Fancies, but will in the End or Conſequence of it but delude their Imaginations; and they will really find no more Eaſe thereby, than he that is to carry a Buſhel of Wheat ſhall do, when he ſhall put ſome in his large Pockets, ſome in his Boots or Stockings, or ſome in a Hawking-Bag at his Girdle, and carry the reſt upon his Shoulders; or one that ſhall be ſo wiſe as to think a Pound of Feathers to be leſs in Weight than a Pound of Lead.

Wherefore all Things being as they ought to be duly conſidered, and the great Benefit which all the People of *England* do receive by having a Court of Chancery, and *Officina Juſtitiæ*, and the ſeveral Offices therein open, as well in the Vacations, as Terms to reſort unto for their Writs Remedial, and of courſe, being as a Balm of *Gilead*, never denied to any that want it; and not being put to petition for them to the King or his Lord Chancellor, as anciently and originally all Men did for their Writs, or to be at much Expence of Money and Time to obtain Orders thereupon; and that Men of no ordinary Judgments, and Experience in the Courts of *Common Pleas*, did find themſelves deceived in their Opinions, when they did verily believe that when the Fines in *Chancery* ſhould be taken away, as they were for ſix or ſeven Years in the Time of the late Confuſion and Uſurpation, by an Act of Parliament, as it was then ſo called, a great Encreaſe of Buſineſs would have followed in that Court, but could never perceive any: or if any, it was ſo very ſmall as it was not diſcernable.

When it is well known, that Fines (when the Buſineſs was by many Times or Parts a great deal more than now it is) were chearfully and willingly paid.

That the Unwillingneſs of ſome of the People to pay them, is by Reaſon of an illegal Track or beaten Road of ſuing Actions in the *King's Bench*, which do by Law belong to the Court of *Common Pleas*, and the Attorneys of the Court

of *Common Pleas*, do more then needs, for their own Eaſe and Advantage, and to trouble themſelves as little as they can with the learning of the Law, or the Knowledge how to frame an Action, ſue almoſt as many Actions out of that Court as their own, the Cheapneſs of the *Latitat* and other Fees in that Court being more than is or can be in the Court of *Common Pleas*, if the Fines were taken away.

That the Cheapneſs of Proceſs, and Contention, doth not ſeldom breed, encourage and heighten, the Humour of Suits and Controverſies, as is daily experimented in ten or twelve thouſand Bills of *Middleſex*, taken forth to arreſt Men in every Year in that ſmall County and Juriſdiction, becauſe they are eaſily and quickly had for Eighteen Pence a Piece.

And by the *Broom*-Men (ſince the Extravagancies of the *Marſhalſea* Court, by their taking Cognizance of all manner of perſonal Actions within the Verge, or twelve Miles of the King's Courts, where neither Plaintiffs or Defendants are of the King's Houſhold) who whilſt they are crying Brooms in the Streets and in *Clifford's-Inn*, can aſk at the ſame time for the Office of the *Marſhalſea*, and for a Writ of Eighteen Pence, and go to Law with one another for many times leſs than the Writs coſt them.

And that ſuch a Cheapneſs may be as prejudicial to the People, as that old Law was amongſt the *Romans*; which when Money was more ſcarce than it was afterwards, did enact, That whoſoever did ſtrike a Man upon the Mouth or Face, ſhould pay to the Party beaten twenty and five *Aſſes*, which were a certain ſmall Coin, about the Value of our *Engliſh* Half-penny.

But the Wealth of *Rome* encreaſing, and that Penalty coming to be very little, one *Neratius* a rich *Hector*, or debauched *Gentleman* of thoſe Times, finding how cheap it was to beat Men, did frequently, as he went along the Streets, ſtrike on the Mouth or Face ſuch as he thought fitting, and preſently command his Servant attending him with a Bag of Money, to pay the Money, or Recompence which the Law awarded him; which gave the * Senate of *Rome* the Occaſion to repeal that Law, and put the Power in the *Prætor*, or *Lord Chief Juſtice*, to puniſh ſuch Offenders arbitrarily.

And it will not once only, but always be more for the Good of the People, that the very ancient, rational and legal Uſage now held of paying Fines in *Chancery*, be continued; which cannot in a more eaſy and juſt way be charged upon the Subjects who receive a Benefit by them. And that for a Supply of the King's now languiſhing and too ſmall a Revenue.

The Courts of the *King's-Bench* and *Marſhalſea*, and Office of *Pleas* in the *Exchequer*, upon their Writs of *Quo Minus*, which of all the King's Courts ſhould moſt advance, and leaſt hinder his Majeſty's juſt Rights and Revenues, if they will (as they ſhould not) ſtretch their Juriſdiction further than they ought to do, and hold Pleas, or take a Cognizance where they ſhould not, may be ordered, as is uſually done in Chancery upon Writs returnable in the Court of *Common Pleas*, to pay Fines upon ſuch Writs, and that upon every of ſuch Writs taken forth, and before they ſhall be ſealed, the Plaintiff's Attorney do endorſe the Sum of Money which he demands Bail for, or intends to declare for, and pay to the King's Receiver to be appointed for that purpoſe, ſuch Fines as ſhall be due and payable, according to the Rates now uſed in *Chancery*.

Which

* Bidin lib. 6. Repub. 1196.

Which will the more conduce to the Good of the People, than their not paying of Fines upon ſome few original Writs, when as thoſe troubleſome and vexatious Writs of *Latitat*, *Quo Minus*, and Bills of *Middleſex*, ſhall be thereby ſomewhat kept within their legal Bounds and Limits, and not be made uſe of upon meer Fictions and Pretences, to promote the malicious Ends and Deſigns of ill-diſpoſed People, and the Proceſs of thoſe Courts abuſed, and made the Inſtruments of Men's oppreſſing one another. Not to be ſuffered by thoſe whoſe Oaths are not to permit any Thing to be done in Diſheriſon of the Crown. Nor to be practiſed by the People, whoſe Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy ſhould diſſuade them from diminiſhing or taking away any of the King's Regalities or Juriſdiction, when as their Fore-fathers, and the Days of old may tell them and their Poſterities, and After-generations will find it, that their Welfare and Happineſs is included in the King's; that the leſſening of his legal Revenues will but leſſen and inconvenience their own; that his Good is more to be taken Care of than any Man's Particular, by how much every Man's Particular is comprehended in the Univerſal; and that the King cannot well protect and defend them and their particular Eſtates, if his own ſhall be daily diminiſhed, purloined, or kept from him.

The IMPEACHMENT of the Duke and Dutcheſs of LAUDERDALE, with their Brother my Lord HATTON. Preſented to his MAJESTY by the City of *Edinburgh*.

The Matters of Fact particularly relating to the Town of *Edinburgh*, humbly offered for your Majeſty's Information.

Before the Matter of Fact be ſpoke to, it is neceſſary that your Majeſty be informed of one Thing upon which this whole Affair hath moved.

THE City of *Edinburgh* had at ſeveral Times given conſiderable Sums of Money to the Duke of *Lauderdale*, amounting to upward of Twelve Thouſand Pounds Sterling, and the Lord *Hatton*, Brother to the ſaid Duke, being inraged by that their former Practice, and being arrived to great Height and Influence in the Adminiſtration of your Majeſty's Affairs in *Scotland*, did thereupon reſolve on a Deſign of getting Money for himſelf alſo from them, as will appear to your Majeſty by the following Narration; but the Magiſtrates at that Time, and others as had then the principal Influence in the Adminiſtration of Affairs in that Town, being honeſt Men of good Fortunes, and not to be brought to comply with his Deſign, he bethought himſelf of all ways to vex them; and knowing they did much value the Proſperity of the Town, he thought that the firſt Means for promoting that his Deſign, was to have them threatned with removing your Majeſty's Publick Judicatures from that City to *Stirling*, and perſuaded his Brother the Duke of *Lauderdale* to move your Ma-

jeſty to that purpoſe; but being diſappointed of that Project by your Majeſty's Royal Wiſdom, your Majeſty looking upon it as if it were to declare to the World that you were jealous of ſo great a Part of that your ancient Kingdom, he bethought himſelf of new ways to accompliſh his Deſign, for which he judged nothing ſo proper and effectual, as to diſturb them in the Choice of their Magiſtrates and Town Council; and by all means poſſible to get ſome of his own chuſing, fit for his own Ends, brought into the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of that City. In order to which, being impatient of any longer Delay, he laid hold of what follows, being the firſt Occaſion that offered, though a very frivolous one.

At *Michaelmas* 1674, the ſaid City of *Edinburgh* being to go about the Election of their Magiſtrates for the enſuing Year, there was procured a Letter from your Majeſty to your Privy Council, commanding them to forbid the Magiſtrates and Town Council to proceed in their Elections, but to continue the Magiſtrates that then were, till your Majeſty's further Pleaſure ſhould be known; the Reaſon ſuggeſted to your Majeſty for it, was taken from this Circumſtance, that the Election ought to be made upon the *Tueſday* after *Michaelmas*, and (it happening this Year that *Michaelmas* fell to be on a *Tueſday*) they were reſolved to proceed to their Elections upon *Michaelmas* Day.

Though this was a very ſmall Matter, and upon very good and prudent Conſiderations, reſolved, as will afterward appear, yet was it repreſented to your Majeſty as a factious Deſign, and an Innovation of dangerous Conſequence, tending to create and maintain Faction in that City, contrary to your Majeſty's Service. Your Majeſty's aforeſaid Letter being intimated to the Magiſtrates and Town Council, they did immediately give an exact Obedience to the ſame.

They did alſo repreſent to your Majeſty's Privy Council, the Rights that they had for chuſing their own Magiſtrates, which had been granted to them by many of your Majeſty's Royal Anceſtors, and confirmed by many Parliaments; by Virtue of which they humbly conceived they ought to be ſuffered to proceed in their Elections.

They did alſo repreſent to your Majeſty's Privy Council, the Reaſons which had moved them to reſolve of making their Elections on the ſaid *Tueſday*, being *Michaelmas* Day, which in ſhort were, that by their Conſtitution they were obliged upon the *Friday* before *Michaelmas* to make the Liſt out of which the Magiſtrates are to be choſen; after the doing of which there is a Surceaſe and Vacation of all ordinary Courts of Judicature within the Town, and the whole Time is ſpent by the common People and Tradeſmen of the Town, in Rioting and Drinking, until the Elections be finiſhed, which in this Caſe would have been twelve Days; which they did in Prudence think they ought to ſhorten, not conceiving it contrary in the leaſt to the eſtabliſhed Rules of their Election.

2. On theſe Things they did humbly crave your Majeſty's Privy Council would be pleaſed to repreſent to your Majeſty, that thereby they might be freed from the Suſpicion of any factious Deſign, with which they were charged by the ſaid Letter.

This being, through the Influence of the Lord *Hatton*, refuſed by the Privy Council, they diſpatched a Gentleman to the Duke of *Lauderdale*, with Letters and Inſtructions full of Reſpect and Submiſſion to his Grace.

The

The Gentleman, at his first Arrival, found Duke *Lauderdale* very kind, and was made believe he should be quickly dispatched with Answers according to his Desire; but some Delays having fallen in, the Duke of *Lauderdale* fell likewise upon Thoughts of getting Money from the Town upon this Occasion, and therefore pretending still more and more Kindness to the said Gentleman, he did first by some Insinuations let fall to him his Expectation, and at last flatly asked him if he had not brought a heavy Purse with him; which when he understood he was not to expect, he changed his Method and grew harsher; and having detained him five or six Weeks, he the said Duke entered into Consultation with his old Friend Sir *Andrew Ramsey*, how to order the Affair. By his Advice he did write a Letter, and sent Proposals to the said Town, that they should give Bond and Security, that the Townsmen should live regularly as to all Matters Ecclesiastical in the largest Extent, as the same is determined by the late Acts of Parliament; and to keep the Town free of all Sorts of Tumults, either of Man or Woman; judging that this was impossible for them to perform, and unfavourable to attempt, and that therefore it would oblige them to make offers of Money.

This Letter was all the Gentleman could obtain, and having gone back to *Scotland*, and delivered it to the Magistrates, they were so far from being carried in the Design, that they were glad of that Opportunity to witness their Zeal to serve your Majesty; for they did very heartily comply with what was proposed concerning the Bonds and Securities demanded; and immediately urged that your Majesty's Officers and Lawyers would cause to be drawn such Bonds and Securities as were fit for the Purpose; offering good Security for great Sums of Money for the Performance. But this not being the thing truly intended, their ready Compliance with it set them yet farther off from their desired Settlement, and served for no other Intent than to cause the Lord *Hatton* to double his Diligence to find out new means to molest them; to which End it was alledged by him, that they had of old forfeited their Privileges and Liberties by some great Misdemeanour, and that therefore they had not Right to chuse their own Magistrates, for which he would needs have their Records searched; and accordingly they themselves, with their Books and Records, were in a most unusual manner brought often before him and his Friends, though they had not Authority for it, to the great Disturbance and Annoyance of the Citizens, who by being abundantly jealous of their Liberties, were with no small Care kept within the due Bounds of Moderation, by the Loyalty and Vigilancy of their Magistrates.

They the said Magistrates, finding how they were used at Home by the Lord *Hatton*, did again apply themselves to the Duke of *Lauderdale*, both by private Letters to the Duke of *Lauderdale* and his Dutchess, from some of the most eminent of them, full of Assurances of particular Respect to their Graces, and by a public Letter to him from the whole Town Council, offering Bond and Security to him in the Terms proposed by his forementioned Letter. But this could not prevail; it being objected to them, from some frivolous Things the Lord *Hatton* had scraped together out of their old Records, that they had lost their Liberties, and that the Right of chusing their Magistrates did no more belong to them.

Then

Then did they produce their Charters, and did convincingly clear all Miſtakes, and evidently make appear that the Right of chuſing their own Magiſtrates did remain to them undoubtedly and intirely.

All theſe Things being cleared and open, they expected to be reſtored to the free Exerciſe of their Election in their accuſtomed Manner. They were ſtill kept off with Delays, until the Lord *Hatton*, in Purſuance of his Deſign, fell a practiſing with ſome few of themſelves, who did undertake with his Aſſiſtance, to get ſuch elected as were fit for his Ends; whereupon he writes to his Brother the Duke of *Lauderdale*, to move your Majeſty for a Letter, and accordingly the Letter was procured from your Majeſty the 7th of *Auguſt* 1675; wherein your Majeſty, after reciting your former Orders in that Affair, did declare, that you were well informed of their Obedience to your Commands, and of their dutiful Carriage in your Concerns; and therefore ordained them, the next Day after the Receipt of the Letter, to convene their whole Council, after their accuſtomed manner, and out of the Liſts already made, to elect the Lord Provoſt, Bailiffs, and other Officers.

According to which Letter, they did the next Day proceed to their Elections, but inſtead of thoſe whom the Lord *Hatton* expected they would have choſen, they did elect ſome Men of good Fortunes and Integrity, not at all fit for his Purpoſe (thoſe who had engaged to him not being Men of that Eſteem or Influence as to be able to carry his Deſign as they had undertaken.)

The new Magiſtrates and Council did immediately after their Election, acquaint your Majeſty with their Procedure, and gave your Majeſty great Acknowledgements and Aſſurances of their Care of the Peace of the Town, and of your Majeſty's Service in all Matters, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil.

The ſaid Lord *Hatton*, being exceedingly enraged at this Act of theirs, did by Advice of Sir *George Mackynge*, now your Majeſty's Advocate, ſend a Letter to the Duke of *Lauderdale*, to which he procured your Majeſty's Hand upon the 25th of the ſame Month of *Auguſt*, by which your Majeſty ordered your Privy Council to intimate to the Magiſtrates and Town Council, that it was your Royal Pleaſure, that there ſhould be turned out of the Town Council, and declared incapable of any Public Truſt in the ſaid Town, twelve of the moſt eminent of the ſame Men with whom your Majeſty had expreſſed yourſelf ſo well pleaſed, and whoſe Actings your Majeſty had approved, by your Letter of the 7th of the ſaid Month.

This was accordingly executed by the Privy Council, without ever ſo much as calling before them the ſaid Perſons, though great Crimes were laid to their Charge, as being factious Perſons, and miſrepreſenting your Majeſty's Proceedings, without mentioning any particular Fact of theirs which could import any ſuch Crime. And though they be threatened by the ſaid Letter to be purſued for theſe great Crimes, and that your Majeſty's Advocate is commanded in the ſame to inſiſt againſt them, yet could they never obtain from your Majeſty's Privy Council that they ſhould be tryed for theſe Things, though by a Petition, ſigned by the whole Twelve, they did repreſent the great Prejudice they ſuſtained both in their Reputation and Trade, by being kept under ſuch Threatnings; and therefore did humbly offer themſelves to the ſtricteſt and ſevereſt Tryal. To which Petition they never received any Anſwer.

To make appear to your Majesty, that these Things were done for private and sinister Designs, and not upon account of the ill Affectedness or factious Dispositions of the Men, as was pretended; your Majesty is humbly prayed to take Notice of these Particulars following:

First, There are three of the most considerable of these very Persons who had been charged with so great Crimes, admitted since that Time, by bribing the Dutchess of *Lauderdale*, into a Trust in your Majesty's Affairs in *Scotland*, more eminent and considerable than any Trust the Town of *Edinburgh* can confer, *(viz.)* The paying of your Majesty's Forces, and bringing in your Majesty's Excise.

Secondly, No sooner were these twelve Men turned out of the Town Council, but after many great and essential Informalities (with the Recital of which it is needless to trouble your Majesty) they elected for Magistrates Men of no Reputation, either for Parts, Estate, or Honesty: And though these Bonds and Securities, which had been demanded from the others, and consented to by them, were formerly pretended to be of great Importance for your Majesty's Service, yet they were not so much as once demanded, either by the Duke of *Lauderdale*, or the Lord *Hatton*, from these Men who were now chosen.

Thirdly, These new Magistrates were not long in their Seats, when off comes the Mask, and the true Design of getting Money appears. For by an Act of the Town Council, there is about Five Thousand Pounds Sterling disposed on amongst their nameless Friends, which were the Duke of *Lauderdale*, the Lord *Hatton*, and some other of their Friends. A great Sum to be got from that City, considering that the Duke of *Lauderdale* had got before that about Twelve Thousand Pounds Sterling from them.

The Dutchess of *Lauderdale* did also since that Time endeavour to get more Money from them, and did with great Wrath threaten the Magistrates in plain Terms, for not giving her a Present, notwithstanding all the Good she said she had done for them; reckoning the Favours your Majesty hath at any Time been pleased to bestow upon them, as done by herself.

Thus hath that poor Town been abused, and doth now lie, having Magistrates without either Conduct or Courage, in a Time when the Disorders of that Nation, do require Persons to be employed there of eminent Fidelity and Capacity to serve your Majesty.

Some

Some farther Matter of Fact relating to the Adminiſtration of Affairs in *SCOTLAND*, under the Duke of LAUDERDALE. Humbly offered to his MAJESTY's Conſideration in Obedience to his Royal Commands. That the Duke of LAUDERDALE was concerned in the Deſign of bringing in of POPERY and ARBITRATY GOVERNMENT, may appear by theſe following Particulars, &c.

I.

FIRST, in *Anno* 1669, when he knew that the Duke had changed his Religion, he procured an Act in *Scotland* for aſſerting the King's Supremacy; which he made the Preſbyterian-Party believe was to empower the King to put down Epiſcopacy, and ſet up Preſbytery, (the very Words of it.) The Diſpoſal of the External Government of the Church, is put abſolutely in the King's Power; as alſo all Eccleſiaſtical Meetings and Meeters are to be ordered by the King.

Now the Acknowledgment of the Pope is a great Part of the Eccleſiaſtical Government; beſides, the other Words are ſo comprehenſive, that all Popery may be brought in at that Door. Soon after this, he entered into a firm Friendſhip with the Head of the Popiſh Party.

II.

At his next Seſſion of Parliament, which was after Madam's being at *Dover*, in 1670, to ſhew his farther Kindneſs to that Religion, he put in Words in the Seventh Act of that Seſſion, againſt Withdrawers from publick Worſhip; which ſecured Papiſts from all Troubles: For the Act runs only againſt his Majeſty's Subjects of the Reformed Religion; for that Papiſts are expreſsly excepted, and the Words he put in with his own Hand in the Draught of that Act.

III.

Whereas he firſt procured the Act that was paſt *Anno* 1667, that offered the King an Army of Twenty-two Thouſand Men to be brought into *England* for any Cauſe in which his Majeſty's Honour, Power, and Greatneſs was concerned; which was generally paſſed as a Compliment, and continued ſo till the Year 1669, that other Deſign being projected in *England* by the Papiſts.

He to be ready to ſecond that, raiſed this Army, and procured another Act, which is the ſecond in the firſt Seſſion of the Parliament held by him; by which the former Act was not only confirmed, but it was ordered that this Army ſhould obey the Order of the Council, without naming the King at all, which, as he has managed it, is upon the Matter himſelf. And of late, before the Diſcovery of the Plot, he deſigned to convert the Twenty-two Thouſand Men to a Standing Army, as an Addition to the new Forces raiſed laſt Summer, to be conſtantly maintained by all Subjects; contrary to the true Meaning of the firſt or ſecond Acts of Parliament relating to that Purpoſe, and directly againſt the fundamental

damental Constitutions of the Nation, to impose Burthens upon it without Consent of Parliament.

IV.

When he went down *Anno* 1673, to see if he could draw down this Army to *England* (finding he could not effect it, that Nation not being able to support this Tyranny longer) he first wearied the Members of Parliament with often Adjournments, and finding in the End that Artifice and other Tricks would not do, he dissolved the Parliament, that he might proceed there, consonant to the Counsel he gave here; and set up a bare-faced arbitrary Power there, which he has so much advised and pressed here; and has ever since taken all the ways he could fall on to force the Nation to a Rebellion, by illegal Imprisonments, unjust Accusations, false Reports made to the King, taking away from the Subjects the Right of Propriety, their limitable Jurisdictions by the Council's Order, grounded upon Letters procured by him from the King, and put in Execution by his Brother *Hatton*, by wrongful turning out Bishops, Ministers of State, Magistrates, and others, by cruel and illegal Sentences, Banishments, and Fines; some whereof he disposed to Pensioners, Relations of his own, by Grants obtained from the King here, which bear Date before the Fines were judicially imposed in *Scotland*.

And likewise by bringing a Man to die, whom he had persuaded to confess upon Hopes of Life; and afterwards forswore that he had promised, though it stands yet registered upon the Council's Book. By sending Shipfuls to be Slaves in *English* Plantations, which he justified here at Council-board in *Whitehall*. By imposing Bonds against Law. And above all, by sending an Army of Nine or Ten Thousand Men, most of them Highlanders, to lie upon Free-quarter, and rob and spoil a Country that was in no Rebellion, nor could any Colour of saying they intended any, be ever found now or since. This he did last Year, thinking that would certainly make them rebel, and so have given a just Cause for keeping up a Standing Army both there and here. And that being at the Time when the Papists thought the Plot so near Perfection, was certainly in Conjunction with them, having prepared above Eight Thousand Horse and Foot, with Officers of his own Stamp, to execute his Design. It is more than probable that it was for the Intelligence his Lady gave of this, that the Cardinal of *Norfolk* sent his Thanks to her.

V.

Whereas there are but few Papists in *Scotland*, he hath given these all the Encouragements he could. The Earl of *Aboins*, who was oft complained of to the Council by the Bishops for keeping many Priests in his House, and being a main Stickler for Popery, he made a Privy-Counsellor, and gave him a Pension, though he has never since gone to Church, nor received the Sacrament. The Earl of *Northdale*, another furious Papist, in Command of the new Forces he raised (and so is *Lord* and *King*) and both those two were last Year employed by him in the plundering of the West of *Scotland*, *&c.* And there being in *Scotland* but five Noblemen that are Papists, four of them have been supported and maintained by him, *&c.*

VI.

He was a principal Inſtrument in procuring the Toleration of Popery, and courted them into ſworn Friendſhip with the Lord *Clifford*; and preferred the Declaration and other the King's Edicts at the Council-Board, to Law, *&c.* He preſſed the King to break with his Parliament, and maintain the Declaration, and to take the Great Seal from the Earl of *Shafteſbury*, for giving him better Counſel; of which he has often boaſted. He became alſo an Enemy to the Earl of *Arlington*, upon the ſame Account, and has ever ſince had an entire Friendſhip with the Lord Treaſurer, for promoting thoſe Ends he ſupported the laſt Year Year againſt the juſt Complaints the *Scotch* Lords made for Free Quarter, and other barbarous Uſages which they met with, *&c.*

VII.

He became a Penſioner to *France*, from whom he received rich Preſents, and great Sums: Out of one of the Jewels which Monſieur *Colbert* gave him, he made his rich *George*. He always helped on the *French* Levies in *Scotland*, againſt the Treaties the King had made, and gave the *French* Officers the publick Priſons; yea, and the King's own Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, of which he is Governor, to keep their Levies in, till the Ships are ready for their Tranſportation: He gave Order to his Brother to ſet the Levies forward, and to preſs Men by Force into their Service; which being informed to the Houſe of Commons, he corrupted one of the Witneſſes by Money to forſwear it; and this he did, after the Houſe of Commons had voted that any who aſſiſted thoſe Levies, ſhould be looked upon as publick Enemies to the Nation. So much did he contribute to ſerve the *French* King's Deſigns; and particularly in the Year 1667. when Complaints were made to the King by *Spaniſh* Miniſters, that *Scotland* Levies for *France* were a Breach of Treaty, his Majeſty's Commiſſioners ordered a Proclamation to be ſent down immediately for the diſcharging of them; but the Duke of *Lauderdale* diſpatched an Expreſs to his Brother *Hatton* ſecretly, to acquaint him that the Proclamation was coming, and that it ſhould be kept up, until the levied Soldiers ſhould be ſhipped and ſent away, and then publiſhed; which was accordingly performed. But for all the Haſte they made to ſail, the Wind detained ſome of their Veſſels in the Road after the Proclamation, and did drive others back, which had been a good way gone, yet none durſt ſtop or trouble them, for fear of *Hatton*, who had always promoted thoſe Levies, and had ſigned particular Warrants to ſeveral Priſon-keepers, for delivering their Priſons to the *French* Officers. He lived at that Time in ſuch Intimacy with the *French* Embaſſador, that they were never aſunder. He ſent his Nephew to make Campaign in the *French* Army, and wrote to the *Engliſh* Embaſſador to preſent him to the King; and tell him, *That he had ſent the deareſt Thing he had to his Service, and if he had any Thing dearer he would have ſent it.*

VIII.

He hath upon all Occaſions ſpoken of the Houſe of Commons with the greateſt Contempt and Scorn poſſible, calling it commonly, *Bellua multorum Capitum*; and uſually ſaid, if they would addreſs againſt him, *he would fart againſt them, and that he would put a Dog in his Arſe and bark at them.* And after boaſted among his Creatures, *That he had riſen by his Addreſſes.* For after one, he got himſelf made an Earl of *England*; after the other, he had a Penſion of

of Three Thouſand Pounds *per Annum* in *England*, though he had above Nine Thouſand Pounds *per Annum* in *Scotland*, of the King; and his uſual Word about the Commons it, *Let them Bark, and he will Bite.*

IX.

Not long ago he carried a Perſon, known to be of a very mercenary Quality, before the King, and its like ſuborned him to accuſe ſome of the Nobility of *Scotland*, and ſay, *They had inticed him to complain upon his Grace to the Commons in Parliament*; thereby thinking not only to put thoſe Noblemen out of the King's Favour, but alſo to beget in his Majeſty an ill Opinion of the Houſe; but the Parties being convened before the King, his Majeſty diſcovered the Forgery, and ordered the cheating Rogue to Cuſtody, where he yet lies under Reſtraint.

X.

At his laſt being in *Scotland*, he forced all the Officers of State, and others, in both Civil and Military Employments, to hold their Commiſſions of the King *durante beneplacito*, which was never practiſed in that Nation before; the Conſequence thereof tends ſo much to Arbitrary Power, that they need not be particularized; he put in and put out Members of the King's Council, according as they ſuited his ſecret Deſigns. In a Word, he ſo packed all the Judicatures, that Juſtice and Equity have been adminiſtered according to his Pleaſure, under Colour of the Good of the Kingdom.

XI.

When the Treaty for the Union of both Kingdoms was ſet on Foot, which had been a great Happineſs to both Nations, perceiving he ſhould thereby looſe that abſolute Power he had in *Scotland*, and not be able to proſecute his Arbitrary Deſigns, ſet himſelf to a Breach; for which, this was his Argument, *That it was rather the King's Intereſt to keep the Kingdoms diſtant, and to hold* England *under the Fear of the* Scotch *Army, which then he was raiſing and modelling.*

XII.

He has lived in that Correſpondence with the Papiſts and Prieſts, that the Cardinal of *Norfolk* before he left *England* was perpetually at his Houſe; he has kept conſtant Correſpondence with *Conyers* and ſome Jeſuits; and at *Rome* he was called by one of the Pope's Bed-chamber, a great Friend of the Catholicks; and in all his Concerns, the Papiſts were ſtill on his Side. So that his late Proclamation againſt Papiſts in *Scotland* hath been only a Mockery. Now ſince the Plot is diſcovered, to diſguiſe his traiterous Conſpiracies, which then, though upon Mr. *Oates*'s Diſcovery, he talked at the Board like one that believed it; yet he went ſtrait to the Duke, and ſpoke of it with all poſſible Scorn, and called it a *Ridiculous Contrivance.*

XIII.

Firſt, That *Colman*'s Letters were diſcharged to be made publick in *Scotland.* And next, his Trial being reprinted at *Edinburgh*, the Books were by a peremptory Order in Council ſtopt at the Preſs, when finiſhed almoſt to the laſt Sheet, not only to the Printer's great Damage, but to a manifeſt Suppreſſion of the Diſcovery of that horrid Plot from the good People of this Nation, who were longing for the Particulars thereof. For is it not known, that *Charles Milford* of

Hatton, Treaſurer, Deputy of *Scotland*, managed all the Affairs and Councils there, exactly as he received Inſtructions from his Brother the Duke of *Lauderdale* here: According to which, thoſe in that Country, which theſe Creatures talk now of the diſcovered Plot, to be only a malicious Forgery of two Rogues, *Oates* and *Bedlow*.

Two SPEECHES made in the Houſe of PEERS. The one *November* 20, 1675; the other in *November*, 1678. By the Earl of SHAFTSBURY.

The Earl of SHAFTSBURY's SPEECH to the Houſe of LORDS, upon the Debate of appointing a Day for hearing Dr. SHIRLEY's Cauſe, 20 *November*, 1675.

My Lords,

OUR All is at Stake, therefore you muſt give me leave to ſpeak freely before we part with it: My Lord Biſhop of *Saliſbury* is of Opinion, that we ſhould rather appoint a Day to conſider what to do upon the Petition, than to appoint a Day of Hearing; and, my Lord Keeper (for I may name them at a Committee of the whole Houſe) tells us in very eloquent and ſtudied Language, that he will propoſe us a way, far leſs liable to Exception, and much leſs offenſive and injurious to our own Privilege, than that of appointing a Day of Hearing; and I beſeech your Lordſhips, did you not after all theſe fine Words expect ſome admirable Propoſal? But it ended in this, that your Lordſhips ſhould appoint a Day, (nay, a very long Day) to conſider what you would do in it. And my Lord hath undertaken to convince you, that this is your only Courſe by ſeveral undeniable Reaſons, the firſt of which is, that it is againſt our Judicature to hear this Cauſe (which is not proper before us) nor ought to be relieved by us.

To this, my Lords, give me leave to anſwer, that I did not expect from a Man profeſſing the Law, that after an anſwer by Order of the Court was put in, and a Day hath been appointed for Hearing (which by ſome Accident was ſet aſide) and the Plaintiff moving for a ſecond Day to be aſſigned, that ever without hearing the Counſel on both Sides, the Court did enter into the Merits of the Cauſe, and if your Lordſhips ſhould do it here, in a Cauſe attended with the Circumſtances this is, it would not only be an apparent Injuſtice, but a plain Subterfuge to accord a Point you durſt not maintain. But, my Lords, ſecond Reaſon ſpeaks the Matter more clearly, for that is, becauſe it is a doubtful Caſe, whether the Commons have not Privilege? And therefore, my Lord would have you to appoint a further Day to conſider of it, which in plain *Engliſh* is, that your Lordſhips ſhould confeſs upon your Books, that you conceive upon ſecond Thoughts, a doubtful Caſe, for ſo your appointing a ſecond Day will do,

and

and that for no other Reaſon, but becauſe my Lord Keeper thinks it ſo, I hope will not be a Reaſon to prevail with your Lordſhips, ſince we cannot yet by Experience tell, that his Lordſhip is capable of thinking your Lordſhips in the right in any Matter againſt the Judgment of the Houſe of Commons; it is too hard a Thing for the ableſt of Men to change ill Habits: But, my Lords, the Reaſon is the moſt admirable of all, which he ſtiles unanſwerable, *viz.* That your Lordſhips are all convinced in your own Conſciences, that this if proſecuted will cauſe a Breach: I beſeech your Lordſhips conſider whither this Argument thus applied would not overthrow the Law of Nature, and all the Laws of Right and Property in the World; for it is an Argument, and a very good one, that you ſhould not ſtand or inſiſt upon Claims, where you have not a clear Right, or where the Queſtion is not of Conſequence, and of Moment in a Matter that may produce a dangerous and pernicious Breach between Relations, Perſons or Bodies Politick joined in Intereſt in high Concerns together. So on the other hand, if the Obſtinacy of the Party in the Wrong ſhall be made an unanſwerable Argument, for the other Party to recede and give up his juſt Rights; how long ſhall the People keep their Liberties, or the Princes the Governors of the World their Prerogative? How long the Huſband maintain his Dominion, or any Man his Property, from his Friends or Neighbours Obſtinacy? But, my Lords, when I hear my Lord Keeper open ſo eloquently the fatal Conſequences of a Breach, I cannot forbear to fall into ſome Admiration how it comes to paſs, that if the Conſequences be ſo fatal, the King's Miniſters in the Houſe of Commons (of which there are ſeveral that are of the Cabinet, and have daily reſort to his Majeſty) and have the Direction and Truſt of his Affairs; I ſay, that none of thoſe ſhould preſs the Conſequences there, or give the leaſt ſtop to the Career of that Houſe in this Buſineſs, but all the Votes concerning this Affair, nay, even that Vote that no Appeals from any Court of Equity is cognizable by the Houſe of Lords, ſhould paſs *Nemine Contradicente*, and yet all the great Miniſters with us here, the Biſhops and other Lords of greateſt Dependance upon the Court, contend this Point, as if it was *pro aris & focis*. I hear his Majeſty in *Scotland* hath been pleaſed to declare againſt Appeals in Parliament, and I cannot much blame the Court, if they think (the Lord Keeper and the Judges being of his Majeſty's making, and of his Power to change) that the Juſtice of the Nation is ſafe enough, and I, my Lords, may think ſo too (during this King's Time) though I hear *Scotland* (not without Reaſon) complain already; yet how future Princes may uſe this Power, and how Judges may be made (not Men of Ability and Integrity) but Men of Relation and Dependance, and who will do what they are commanded, and all Men's Cauſes come to be judged, and Eſtates diſpoſed of as great Men of the Court pleaſe. My Lords, the Conſtitution of our Government hath provided better for us, and I can never believe ſo wiſe a Body as the Houſe of Commons will prove that fooliſh Woman, which pulls down her Houſe with her own Hands.

My Lords, I muſt preſume in the next Place, to ſay ſomething to what was offered by my Lord Biſhop of *Saliſbury* (a Man of great Learning and Ability) and always verſed in a cloſer and ſtronger way of Reaſoning, than the Buſineſs of that noble Lord I anſwered before, did accuſtom him to, and the reverend Prelate hath ſtated the Matter very fair on two Heads.

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The firſt is, whether hearing of Cauſes and Appeals, and eſpecially in this Point where the Members have Privilege, be ſo material to us, that it ought not to give way to the Reaſon of State, and greater Affairs that preſs us at this Time.

The ſecond was, if this Buſineſs be of that Moment, yet whether the appointing a Day to conſider of this Petition, would prove of that Conſequence and Prejudice to our Cauſe. My Lords, to this give me leave in the firſt Place to ſay, that your Matter is no leſs than your whole Judicature, and your Judicature is the Life and Soul of your Dignity and Peer Right of *England*; you will quickly grow burdenſome, if you grow uſeleſs; you have now the greateſt and moſt uſeful Ends of Parliament principally in you, which is not to make new Laws, but to redreſs Grievances, and to maintain the old Land-Mark. The Houſe of Commons Buſineſs is to complain, your Lordſhips to redreſs, not only them that are the Eyes of the Nation, but all other particular Perſons that addreſs to you. A Land may groan under a Multitude of Laws (and I believe ours doth) and when Laws grow ſo multiplied, they prove oftener Snares than Directions and Security of the People; I look upon it as Ignorance and Weakneſs of the latter Age (if not worſe, the Effect of the Deſign of ill Men) that it is grown a general Opinion, that where there is not particular Direction in ſome Acts of Parliament, the Law is defective, as if the common Law had not provided much better, ſhorter and plainer for the Peace and Quiet of the Nation, than intricate long and perplexed Statutes do, which hath made Work for the Lawyers, given Power to the Judges, leſſened your Lordſhip's Power, and in a Meaſure unhinged the Security of the People. My Lord Biſhop tells you, that your whole Judicature is not in queſtion, but only the Privilege of the Houſe of Commons, of their Members not appearing at your Bar: My Lords, were it no more yet for Juſtice and the People's ſake, you ought not to part with it, how far a Privilege of the Houſe of Commons, their Servants and thoſe they own doth extend, *Weſtminſter-Hall* may with Grief tell your Lordſhips, and the ſame Privilege of their Members being not ſued, muſt be allowed to your Lordſhips as well, and what a Salver of Juſtice you would prove whilſt they are Lords for Life, and you for Inheritance, let the World judge, for my Part I am willing to come to a Conference, whenever the Diſpute ſhall begin again, and dare undertake to your Lordſhips, that they have neither Precedent, Reaſon, nor any juſtifiable Pretence to ſhew againſt us; and therefore, my Lords, if you part with this your undoubted Right, meerly for aſking, where will this ſtop? And, my Lords, we are ſure it doth not ſtop here, for they have already (*Nemine Contradicente*) voted againſt your Lordſhips Power of Appeals from any Court of Equity, ſo that you may plainly ſee where this Caution and Reaſon of State means to ſtop, not one jot ſhort of laying your Judicature aſide for the ſame Reaſon of paſſing the King Money, of not interrupting good Laws (or what ever elſe) muſt of Neceſſity avoid a Breach upon what Score ſoever, and your Lordſhips plainly ſee the Breach will be made upon your Judicature, as upon thoſe; ſo that when your Lordſhips have appointed a Day (a very long Day) to conſider whether Dr. *Shirley*'s Caſe be not too hot to handle, and when you have done the ſame for Sir *Nicholas Staughton* (whoſe Petition I hear is coming in) your Lordſhips muſt proceed to a Vote to lay all private Buſineſs aſide for ſix Weeks; for that Phraſe ſprivate Buſineſs hath obtained upon this laſt Age, upon that which is your moſt

publick Duty and Buſineſs, namely the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; and I can tell your Lordſhips beſides, the Reaſon that leads to it, that I have ſome Intelligence of denying ſuch a Vote; for upon the ſecond Day of our Sitting, at the riſing of the Lord's Houſe, there came a Gentleman into the Lobby, belonging to a very great Perſon, and aſked in great Haſte, are the Lords up, have they paſſed the Vote; and being aſked what Vote, he anſwered of no private Buſineſs for ſix Weeks. My Lords, if this be your Buſineſs, ſee where you are, if we are to poſt from our Judicature for fear of offending the Houſe of Commons for ſix Weeks; that they in the interim may paſs the Monies, and other acceptable Bills, that his Majeſty thinks of Importment. There are two many wiſe Men of the Houſe of Commons to be laid aſleep, and to paſs all thoſe acceptable Things; and when they have done, to let us be let looſe upon them, will they not remember this next Time there is Want of Money, or may they not rather be aſſured by thoſe Miniſters that are among them, (and go on ſo unanimouſly with them) that the King is on their ſide in this Controverſy, and when the publick Buſineſs is over, our Time ſhall be too ſhort to make a Breach, or vindicate ourſelves in the Matter; And then I beg your Lordſhips, where are you after you have aſſented? but the laſt Seſſion your Right of the Judicature ſo highly, even in this Point, and after the Houſe of Commons had gone ſo highly againſt you on the other hand, as to poſt up their Declarations and Remonſtrances upon *Weſtminſter-Hall* Door, the very next Seſſion after you poſt down the very ſame Cauſes, and not only thoſe but all Judicature whatſoever. I beſeech your Lordſhips, will not this prove a fatal Precedent and Confeſſion againſt yourſelves? It is a Maxim and a rational one among the Lawyers, that one Precedent where the Caſe has been conteſted, is worth a thouſand where there hath been no Conteſt. My Lords, in ſaying this, I humbly ſuppoſe I have given a ſufficient Anſwer to my Lord Biſhop's two Queſtions, whether the appointing of a Day to conſider what you will do with the Petition, which is of that Conſequence to your Rights, that it is a doubtful Caſe, and infinitely ſtronger than if it were a new Thing to you never heard of before; for it is that very ſame Caſe, and very ſame Thing deſired in that Caſe that you formerly ordered, and ſo ſtrangely affected; ſo that upon Time all the Deliberations imaginable, you declare yourſelves to become doubtful, and you put yourſelves out of your own Hands into that Power you have no Reaſon to believe on your Side in this Queſtion. My Lords, I have all the Duty imaginable to his Majeſty, and ſhould with all Submiſſion give way to any Thing that he ſhould think of Importance to his Affairs; But in this Point, it is to alter the Conſtitution of the Government. If you are aſked to lay this aſide, and there is no Reaſon of State can be an Argument to your Lordſhips to turn yourſelves out of that Intereſt, you having the Conſtitution of the Government. It is not only your Concern that you maintain your ſelves in it, but it is the Concern of the pooreſt Men in *England*, that you keep your Station. It is your Lordſhips Concern, and that ſo highly, that I will be bold to ſay, that the King can give none of Requital or Recompence for it. What are empty Titles, what is preſent Power or Riches, or a great Eſtate, wherein I have no fixed or firm Property? It is the Conſtitution of the Government, and maintaining that ſecures your Lordſhips, and every Man elſe in what he hath. The pooreſt Lord, if the Birth-right of Peerage be maintained,

tained, hath a fair Proſpect before him for himſelf and his Poſterity. But the greateſt Title, with the greateſt preſent Power and Riches, is a mean Creature, and maintains this an abſolute Monarchy, no otherwiſe than by ſervile and low Flatteries upon uncertain Terms. My Lords, it is not only your Intereſt by the Intereſt of the Nation, that you maintain your Rights. For let the Houſe of Commons and Gentry think what they pleaſe, there is no Prince that ever governs without a Nobility or Army, if he will, if you will not have one, you muſt have another, for the Monarchy cannot long ſupport, or keep itſelf from tumbling into a Democratical Republick: Your Lordſhips and the People have the ſame Cauſe, and the ſame Enemies. My Lords, would you be in Favour with your King, it is a very ill way to it, to put yourſelves out of a future Capacity, to be conſiderable in his Service. I do not find in Story, or in modern Experience, but that it is better, and a Man is much regarded that is ſtill in a Capacity and Opportunity to ſerve, than he that hath wholly deprived himſelf of all for his Prince's Service; and therefore declare that I will ſerve my Prince as a Peer, but I will not deſtroy the Peerage to ſerve him. My Lords, I have heard of twenty fooliſh Models and Expedients to ſecure the Juſtice of the Nation, and yet to take this Right f om your Lordſhips, as the King by his Commiſſion appointing Commoners to hear Appeals, or that the Twelve Judges ſhould be the Perſons, or the Perſons ſhould be appointed by Act of Parliament, which are all not only to take away your Lordſhips firſt Rights, that ought not to be altered any more than any other Part of his Government, but are in themſelves (when well weighed) ridiculous. I muſt deal freely with your Lordſhips, theſe Things could never have riſen in Men's Minds, but that there hath been ſome kind of Provocation that hath given the firſt riſe to it. I pray, my Lords, forgive me, if upon this Occaſion I put you in mind of committing diverſe, and the Scandal of it. Thoſe Droves of Ladies that attend all Cauſes; it was come to that paſs, that Men even hired or borrowed of their Friends handſome Siſters, or Daughters to deliver their Petitions. And yet for all this, I muſt ſay, that your Judgments have been ſacred, unleſs in one or two Cauſes, and thoſe are moſt to that Bench from whence I apprehend moſt Danger. There is one Thing I had almoſt forgot, which is the Conjuncture of Time, the Thing upon which our Reaſon of State turns. And ſo, my Lords, give me leave to ſay, if this be not a Time of Leiſure for you to vindicate your Privileges, you muſt never expect one; I could almoſt ſay, that the Harmony, good Agreement, and Concord, that is to be prayed for at moſt other Times, may be fatal to us now. We owe the Peace of theſe two laſt Years, and the Diſingagement from the *French* Intereſt, to the Houſe differing from the Senſe and Opinion of *Whitehall*. So at this time, of all Things in the World this Nation hath moſt Reaſon to apprehend dangerous is a general Peace, which cannot now happen without very advantageous Terms to the *French*, and diſadvantagious to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. We are the King's Counſellors; and if ſo, have right to differ and give contrary Counſels to thoſe that are neareſt about him: I fear the Words advance a general Peace, I am ſure I would adviſe againſt it, and hinder it at this time by all the ways imaginable. I heartily wiſh, nothing from you may add Weight and Reputation to thoſe Councils that would aſſiſt the *French*. No Money for Ships, nor Preparations you can make, perſonal Aſſurance, our Prince

can

can have, can ſecure us from the *French*, if they are at leiſure: He is grown the moſt potent of us all at Sea, he hath built Twenty-four Ships the laſt Year, and hath Thirty more in Number than we, beſides the Advantage that all our Ships are out of order, and his exquiſitely provided for, that every Ship hath its particular Store-houſe. It is incredible the Money that he hath beſtowed in making Harbours; he makes Nature itſelf give way to the Vaſtneſs of his Expences. And after all this, ſhall a Prince ſo wiſe, ſo intent in his Affairs, be thought to make all this Preparation to ſail over Land to fall upon the Back of *Hungaria*, and to batter the Walls of *Camaurkie*; or is it poſſible he ſhould overſee his Intereſt in ſeizing of *Ireland*, a Thing ſo feizable to him? If he be Maſter of the Seas, as he certainly now is, and which when attained, gives all the *Mediterranean*, *Eaſt* and *Weſt India* Trade, and renders him (both by Situation and exact Harbours perpetual) Maſter of the Seas without Diſpute. My Lords, to conclude this Point, I fear the Court of *England* is verily miſtaken in it; and I do not wiſh them the Reputation of the Concurrence of the Kingdom, and this out of ſincere Loyalty to his Majeſty, and Love to my Nation.

My Lords, I have one Thing more to trouble you with, and peradventure it is a Conſideration of the greateſt Weight and Concern, both to your Lordſhips, and the whole Nation: I have often ſeen in this Houſe, that the Arguments with ſtrongeſt Reaſons, and moſt convincing to the Lay-Lords in general, have not had the ſame Effect in the Biſhop's Bench, but that they have unanimouſly gone againſt us in Matters, that many of us have thought eſſential and undoubted Rights. And I conſider that it is not poſſible, that Men of great Learning, Piety and Reaſon, as their Lordſhips, ſhould not have the ſame Care of doing right, and the ſame Conviction what is right upon clear Reaſon offered, that other your Lordſhips have. My Lords, I muſt neceſſarily think we differ in Principles, and then it is very eaſy to apprehend what is the cleareſt Senſe to Men of my Principle, may not at all perſuade, or affect the Conſciences of the beſt Men of a different one. I put your Lordſhips Caſe, as it is now plainly before us; my Principle is, that the King is King by the Law, by the ſame Law that the poor Man enjoys his Cottage; and ſo it becomes the Concern of every Man in *England* that hath his Liberty to maintain, and to defend to his utmoſt, the King in all his lawful Rights and Prerogatives. And my Principle is alſo, that the Houſe of Lords, and the Judicature, and Rights belonging to it, are an eſſential Part of the Government eſtabliſhed by the ſame Law the King governing and adminiſtering Juſtice by his Houſe of Lords, and adviſing with both his Houſes of Parliament in all important Matters, is the Government I own, am born under, am obliged to: If ever there ſhould happen in future Ages (which God forbid) a King governing by an Army without a Parliament, it is a Government I own not, am not obliged to, nor was born under. According to this Principle every honeſt Man, that holds it, muſt endeavour equally to preſerve the Frame of the Government in all Parts of it, and cannot ſatisfy his Conſcience to give up the Lords Houſe for the Service of the Crown, or to take away the juſt Rights or Privileges of the Houſe of Commons to pleaſe the Lords.

But there is another Principle got into the World, my Lords, that hath not been long there, for Archbiſhop *Laud* was the firſt Author that I remember of it, and I cannot find that the Jeſuits or any Clergy have owned it, but ſome of

the Epiſcopal Clergy of our *Britiſh* Iſles; it is with us, as it is new; ſo the moſt dangerous deſtructive Doctrine to any Government and Law that ever was: It is the firſt of the Canons publiſhed by the Convocation 1640, that Monarchy is of Divine Right; this Doctrine was then preached up and maintained by *Sibthorp*, *Manwering*, and others, and of late Years, by a Book publiſhed by Dr. *Sanderſon*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, under the Name of Archbiſhop *Uſher*; and how much it ſpread among our dignified Clergy is very eaſily known. We all agree, that the King and his Government is to be obeyed for Conſcience Sake; and that the Divine Precepts require not only here but in all Parts of the World Obedience to lawful Governors: But this Family are our Kings, and this particular Frame of Government is our lawful Conſtitution, and obligeth us, as belonging only to the particular Laws of our Country. This *Laudean* Doctrine was that Root that produced the Bill of Teſt the laſt Seſſion; and ſome very perplexed Oaths, that are of the ſame Nature with that, and yet impoſed by ſeveral Acts of this Parliament. In a Word, if this Doctrine be true, our *Magna Charta* is of no Force, our Laws are but Rules among ourſelves, during the King's Pleaſure. Monarchy of Divine Right cannot be bounded nor limited by human Laws; nay, what is more, cannot found itſelf, and all our Claim of Right by the Law, or the Conſtitution of the Government, all the Juriſdiction and Privileges of this Houſe, all the Rights and Privileges of the Houſe of Commons, all the Properties and Liberties of the People, are to give away not only the Intereſt, but the Will and Pleaſure of the Crown. And that the beſt and worthieſt of Men (holding this Principle) muſt vote to deliver up all we have, not only when Reaſon of State, and the ſeparate Intereſt of the Crown requires it; but when the Will and Pleaſure (if known) would have it ſo; for thus muſt be a Man of that Principle, as the only Rule and Means of Right and Juſtice: Therefore, my Lords, you ſee how neceſſary it is, that our Principles be known; and how fatal it is to us all, that this Principle ſhould be ſuffered to ſpread any further.

My Lords, to conclude, your Lordſhips have ſeen of what Conſequence this Matter is to you, and that the appointing a Day to conſider, is no leſs than declaring yourſelves doubtful upon ſecond and deliberate Thoughts, that you put yourſelves out of your own Hands, no more than moral Probability of having this Seſſion made a Precedent againſt you. You ſee your Duty to yourſelves and the People, and that it is really the Intereſt of the Houſe of Commons (but may be the Inclination of the Court) that you loſe the Power of Appeals: But I beg our Houſe may not be *Felo de ſe*, but your Lordſhips would take in this Affair, a due Courſe to preſerve yourſelves, and appoint a Day, this Day three Weeks, for hearing Dr. *Shirley*'s Cauſe, which is my humble Motion.

A SPEECH made in the Houſe of PEERS, by the EARL of *SHAFTSBURY*, *November* 1678, upon Conſideration of the State and Condition of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

My Lords,

YOU are appointing of the Conſideration of the State of *England*, to be taken upon a Committee of the whole Houſe ſome Day the next Week; I do not know how well what I have to ſay may be received; for I never ſtudied, either to make my Court well, or to be popular; I always ſpeak what I am commanded by the Dictates of the Spirit within me.

There are ſome other Conſiderations that concern *England* ſo nearly, that without them you will come far ſhort of Safety and Quiet at Home.

We have a little Siſter, and ſhe has no Breaſt; what ſhall we do for our Siſter in the Day when ſhe ſhall be ſpoken for? if ſhe be a Wall, we will build upon her a Palace of Silver, and if ſhe be a Door, we will incloſe her with Boards of Cedar; we have ſeveral little Siſters without Breaſts, the *French* Proteſtant Church, the two Kingdoms of *Ireland* and *Scotland*. The foreign Proteſtants are a Wall, the only Wall and Defence to *England*; upon it you may build Palaces of Silver, glorious Palaces. The Protection of the Proteſtants abroad is the greateſt Power and Security the Crown of *England* can attain unto, and which can only help to give a Check to the growing Greatneſs of *France*: *Scotland* and *Ireland* are two Doors that let in either Good or Miſchief upon us. They are much weakened by the Artifice of our cunning Enemy; and we ought to incloſe them with Boards of Cedar: Popery and Slavery, like two Siſters, go Hand in Hand, ſometimes one goes firſt, and ſometimes the other in a Door; but the other is always following cloſe at Hand. In *England*, Popery was to have brought in Slavery; in *Scotland* Slavery went before, and Popery to follow. I do not think your Lordſhips, or the preſent Parliament have Juriſdiction there; it is a noble and antient Kingdom, they have an illuſtrious Nobility, a gallant Gentry, a learned Clergy, and an induſtrious worthy People; but yet we cannot think of *England*, as we ought, without reflecting on the Condition they are in, they are under the ſame Prince and Influence of the ſame Favourites and Council, they are hardly dealt with; and can we that are the richer expect better Uſage? for it is certain, that in all abſolute Government, the pooreſt Countries are always moſt favourably dealt with, when the ancient Nobility and Gentry there cannot enjoy their Royalties, their Shrevedoms, and their Stewarties, which they, and their Anceſtors have poſſeſſed for ſeveral Hundred Years, but that they are now enjoyned by the Lords of the Council, to make Deputations of their Authority, to ſuch as are their known Enemies; can we expect to enjoy our *Magna Charta* long, under the ſame Perſons and Adminiſtrations of Affairs, if the Council there can impriſon any Nobleman for ſeveral Years, without bringing him to Tryal, or giving the leaſt Reaſon for what they do? Can we expect the ſame Men will preſerve the Liberty of the Subject here? I will acknowledge that I am not well verſed in the particular Laws of *Scotland*.

But this I do know, that all the Northern Countries have, by their Laws, an undoubted and inviolable Right to their Liberties and Properties; yet *Scotland* has outdone all the *Eaſtern* and *Southern* Countries, in having their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates ſequeſtered to the Will and Pleaſure of thoſe that govern. They have lately plundered and haraſſed the richeſt and wealthieſt Counties of that Kingdom, and brought down the barbarous Highlanders to devour them, and this without almoſt a tolerable Pretence to do it, but thoſe which deſign to procure a Rebellion at any Rate, which as they managed it, was only prevented by the miraculous Hand of God, or otherwiſe all the Papiſts of *England* would have been armed, and the faireſt Opportunity given in the juſt Time, for the Execution of that bloody and wicked Deſign the Papiſts had; and it is not poſſible for any Man that duly conſiders it to think other, but that thoſe Miniſters that acted there, were as guilty in the Plot, as any of the Lords that are in Queſtion for it.

My Lords, I am forced to ſpeak this and plainer, becauſe until the Preſſure be fully taken off from *Scotland*, it is not poſſible for me or any thinking Man to believe that Good is meant; it is here we muſt ſtill be upon our Guard, apprehending, that the Principle is not changed at Court, and that thoſe Men that are ſtill in Place and Authority have their Influence upon the Mind of our excellent Prince, that he is not, nor ever can be, that to us which his Nature and Goodneſs would incline him to: I know your Lordſhips can order nothing in this, but there are thoſe that hear me, can put a perfect Cure to it, and until that be done, this *Scotch* Weed is like Death in the Pot *Mors in Olla*; but there is ſomething which now I conſider moſt immediately concerns us, their Act of Two and Twenty Thouſand Men to be ready to invade us upon all Occaſions; this I hear the Lords of the Council there have treated (as they do all other Laws) expounded it unto a ſtanding Army of Sixty Thouſand Men. I am ſure we have Reaſon and Right to beſeech the King, that that Act may be conſidered in the next Parliament there. I ſhall ſay no more of *Scotland* at this Time; I am afraid your Lordſhips will think I have ſaid too much, having no Concern there; but if a *French* Nobleman ſhould come to dwell in my Houſe and Family, I think it concerns me, what he did in *France*; for if he was there a Felon, a Rogue, a Plunderer, I ſhould deſire him to live elſewhere, and I hope your Lordſhips will think fit to do the ſame Thing for your Nation, if you find the ſame Cauſe.

My Lords, give me leave to ſpeak two or three Words concerning our other Siſter *Ireland*; thither I hear is ſent *Douglas*'s Regiment to ſerve us againſt the *French*; beſides, I am credibly informed, the Papiſts have their Arms reſtored, and the Proteſtants are not many of them received to Favour, being the ſuſpected Party, the Sea-Towns as well as the Inlands are full of Papiſts: That Kingdom cannot long continue in *Engliſh* Hands, if ſome better Care be not taken of it.

This is in your Power, and there is nothing there but is under your Laws; therefore I beg that this Kingdom at leaſt may be taken into your Conſideration, together with the State of *England*; for I am ſure there can be no Safety here, if thoſe Doors are not ſhut up and made ſafe.

DELENDA CARTHAGO, or the true Intereſt of *England*, in Relation to *France* and *Holland*. By the EARL of *SHAFTSBURY*.

AS the Happineſs of our Situation ſecures us from the Invaſion of any, who are not our Maſters at Sea; the ſame Reaſon makes it altogether againſt the Intereſt of *England*, to ſeek to enlarge her Dominions by Conqueſt, upon the Continent: For the Charge of tranſporting, beſides the Accidents of the Sea, is ſuch Odds, as ſhe can never wage an equal War.

The Truth of this will appear to any who ſhall read the Wars of *England* in *France*, the vaſt Expence of Blood and Treaſure, the many Hindrances and Diſappointments in ſending our Reliefs by Sea; and, after the moſt proſperous Succeſſes, the little Effect, and final Loſs of all.

Which indeed proved our greateſt Benefit, by ſending us to live at Home. And I think it very plain, that the Loſs of *Calais*, and ridding our Hands of all the Seeds of War, the Garriſons we had in *France*, was exceedingly for the Advantage of *England*. We called them Bridles upon *France*, but they proved Sponges to us, and drained more Money from us, (and ſometimes Men) than, if employed upon the Fleet, would have enabled us to bridle *France*, and the Seas, and to have extended the Privilege of the Flag to both Worlds.

The Fleet are the Walls of *England*. To command at Sea, not to make Conqueſts by Land, is the true Intereſt of *England*.

And the ſame Reaſon makes it the Intereſt of *France*, not to meddle with us. He can extend his Conqueſts with fifty Times leſs Expence and Hazard upon the Continent. Nor does he deſire more of *England*, than not to hurt him.

Accordingly we find that *France* has always endeavoured to live well with *England*; and indeed they have courted us, and always ſhewed a more particular Kindneſs to the *Engliſh Gentry*, than to any other Nations, who travelled thither for their Education.

And when we were lately obliged to declare War againſt them (for we began with them) yet it was not for any Injury they had done to us, nor had we one to inſtance.

And by the Iſſue of all the Wars that *England* ever yet had againſt *France*, it plainly appears, to be the Intereſt of *England* to have no War with *France*; at leaſt never to carry our Arms into *France*.

For ſuppoſe the beſt, the utmoſt you can propoſe, even to conquer *France*, as we did once before: How ſhall we keep it? What Armies of *Engliſh* muſt we always have there to prevent their rebelling? Would tranſplanting of all *England* ſerve the Turn? Sure ſuch a Conqueſt would drain and ruin *England*, as the *Indies* have *Spain*.

But ſuppoſe we had it, and could keep it: Our King would make his Reſidence in *France*, and *England* would become a *Province* like *Flanders*, when their Earls came to be Kings of *Spain*; or as *Scotland* is now to *England*;

which was wiſely foreſeen by *Henry* VII. when he, for that very Reaſon, married his eldeſt Daughter to *Scotland*, and his younger to *France*; thinking it much more the Advantage of *England*, to have the Acceſſion to *Scotland*, than of *France*; the greater always ſwallowing up the leſs, as Rivers are loſt in the Sea.

What then is the Intereſt of *England* as to *France?* Surely, to grow great at Sea, and command the Trade, which is our Greatneſs; but, by all means, to let alone their Continent; where a Conqueſt would prove our own *Deſtruction.*

Let us now look how our Intereſt ſtands as to *Holland.*

It is Intereſt that governs Kingdoms. Nations do not fall in Love with one another, as particular Perſons do for their Beauty. The Public ſtill moves by Intereſt, and that will never lie.

The Intereſt and Life of *Holland*, all the World knows, is Trade. It is advantageous to others; but it is neceſſary to them. Their Continent cannot make them live; therefore whoever rivals their Trade muſt be irreconcileable to them; nor can they ever be true and hearty to ſuch.

England has been their only mighty Rival for the Trade of the World: whence that wiſe Chancellor of *England*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, in his Speech to the Parliament, *Feb.* 5. 1672. lays it down as a Maxim never to be forgot in *England. Let this be remembred*, (ſaith he) *The States of* Holland *are* England's *eternal Enemy, both by Intereſt and Inclination*: And he gives the Reaſon, becauſe we are *their only Competitors for* Trade *and* Power *at* Sea, *and who only ſtand in their Way to an* univerſal Empire, *as great as* Rome.

Then he ſhews how true they have been to their Intereſts, in working all the Miſchief they could to *England*, not only by violent but falſe and treacherous Ways: And he inſtances in their Breach of Treaties, both in the *Surinam* and *Eaſt-India* Buſineſs; and their Height of Inſolence, to deny us the Honour and Right of the Flag; and that, though it had been owned by them in the Treaty of *Breda*, yet they diſputed the King's Title to it in all the Courts of *Chriſtendom*, and made great Offers to the *French* King, if he would ſtand by them againſt us.

Laſtly, He compares them to *Carthage*, and us to *Rome*, that is, that it was impoſſible both ſhould ſtand upon a Ballance; that if we do not maſter their Trade, they will ours. They or we muſt truckle. One muſt and will give the Law to the other. There is no compounding, where the Conteſt is for the Trade of the whole World.

No Treaties, no Alliances will, or ever did bind them to us, longer than until they could make an Advantage by us. After a firm Treaty in 1619, enſued the Murder of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna* in *November* 1624, and other Depredations in the *Eaſt-Indies.* You may ſee a whole Hiſtory of their Breach of Treaties, and moſt barbarous and perfidious Cruelties upon the *Engliſh*, by Dr. *Stubb*, printed in 1673. "Since King *James* I. (ſays he) reigned in "*Great-Britain*, they have neither kept any League in Reference to Trade "and Commerce: That rich Trade we had into the *Eaſt-Indies*, at *Japan*, "*Amboyna*, *Banda* and the *Moluccoes* is totally ruined: Our Iſlands of *Poleran*, "*Palaway*, *Lantere* unjuſtly ſeized into their Hands; and the Damages we ſuf-"fered there, are computed in 1653, at One Million Six Hundred Fifty-Six "Thouſand

" Thouſand Two Hundred Thirty-three Pounds, Fifteen Shillings, and we are " now totally excluded thoſe Seas by theſe *Hollanders*. —— Their Uſurpations " there have been accompanied with Barbarities and Outrages —— Beſides the " Cruelties of *Amboyna*, they exerciſed innumerable others, as appears by the " Depoſitions from 1616 to 1620: Printed at *London*, *A. D.* 1622.

" The *Engliſh* Ships being taken and their Goods confiſcated, the Captains, " Soldiers, Factors and Mariners were made Priſoners, clogged with Irons, " kept in Stocks, bound Hand and Foot, tied to Stakes, haling and pulling " them with Ropes about their Necks, ſpurning them like Dogs, throwing " them headlong down Rocks and Clifts, murthering ſome, and ſtarving " others to Death: Some were landed among the *Indians*, where they found " better Uſage among the *Paynims*, than the Proteſtants of *Holland*: Some " were ſo lodged, that they were forced to tumble in their own *Excrements*, " not being permitted to go forth to eaſe themſelves. *Lawrence Ryall*, the " *Dutch* General, cauſed Grates and Cages to be made, and carried the *Engliſh* " therein fettered, and ſhewed them triumphantly to the *Indians* at every Port, " ſaying, *Behold and ſee, here is the People of that Nation, whoſe King you* " *Care ſo much for; now you may ſee how kindly we uſe his Subjects.* They " have robbed the *Indians* under *Engliſh* Colours, thereby to incenſe them " againſt us, and to deſtroy our Trade there. They have counterfeited the " Coin of other Nations, and then defamed the *Engliſh* for it. The Traffick " of *China* and *Perſia*, *&c.* was ruined by their ſeizing and deſtroying the " Ships of Sir *William Courteen* and his Partners. We did, by our Ambaſſa- " dor *St. John*, demand Satisfaction for all theſe Damages, and charged them " with the Blood of the *Engliſh* that had been ſlaughtered by them in the *Ka-* " *therine* and *Dragon*, in theſe Words. * *Though we cannot poſitively prove,* " *yet by good Circumſtances, we can make it appear, that you did deſtroy the* " *Ships* Dragon *and* Katherine, *though the Ships and Men were never heard-of,* " *yet the Guns and Goods of thoſe Ships have been found in your Country, which* " *does give us ſome Confidence to believe you did deſtroy the Men and Ships.*"

" *And we are informed,*† *that ſome of your own Countrymen, when they lay on* " *their Death Beds, did make Confeſſion of the cruel Murthers and Seizures:* " *How that they met them going to the* Cape of Good Hope, *and after a friend-* " *ly Salutation, the* Dutch *invited the* Engliſh *Commanders aboard; and after* " *they had been feaſted, they told them, that it was fitting*, they ſhould drink " Luſtick, as well as eat Luſtick, *and cauſing them to be tied Back to Back,* " *they were caſt into the Sea. And in the Evening, when the* Engliſh *expected* " *the Return of their Commanders and their Crews, the* Dutch *with their own* " *and* Engliſh *Boats, went aboard the* Engliſh *Ships, and ſerved every Man in* " *the ſame manner; and having taken out what Goods and Guns they thought fit,* " *the Ships were ſunk by them*; the which were worth, according to the In- " voice, had they come to the Port of *London*, One Hundred Seventy Thou- " ſand Pounds. In *Guinea* and *Braſil*, we have been treated with the ſame " Uſage: And the *Dutch* have been always either acting open Hoſtilities, or,

" which

* M. S. Speech of Mr. *St. John*. See alſo the Printed Account of *John Davell*, *A. D.* 1665.

† The Remonſtrance of *G. Carew*, Eſq; Printed 1662.

" which is worſe, deſtroying the Honour and Renown of our Nation in *Spain*, " *Italy*, *Ruſſia*, and all Places whither a *Dutchman* trades. Therefore we " were then convinced, that the *true way to advance the* Engliſh *Trade*, *was to* " *reduce the* Hollanders *to greater Moderation.*"

Much more to the ſame Purpoſe you will find in the aboveſaid Author, and in many others of the *Engliſh* Nation.

But above all Things the moſt aſtoniſhing and down-right diabolical, exceeding even the treacherous and bloody Maſſacre of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*, being done in Time of Peace, and the chief Actors thereof juſtified and preferred by the States, when Complaint was made againſt them, and Juſtice demanded: But it exceeds all this, and all that ever was heard of in any Nation which bore the Name of *Chriſtian*; the Wickedneſs of all Nations is exceeded by what the *Dutch* did, and ſtill continue to do at *Japan*.

They incenſed the Government there againſt the *Chriſtians* who traded thither, repreſenting them as People of dangerous Principles, as to Government, and plotting of Inſurrections: Whereby they procured the miſerable Slaughter, with horrible Tortures and Torments, of above Four Hundred Thouſand Chriſtians in that Kingdom, and denying themſelves to be Chriſtians (wherein ſome think they told no Lye) they, by that means, ingroſs the Trade of that wealthy Iſland to themſelves.

And if they can diſpenſe even with their Chriſtianity, to promote their Trade; what Obligations can we put upon them that will make them falſe to their ſupreme God, Intereſt?

But we need not go ſo far as the *Indies* to find Inſtances of the Deſigns of *Holland* to ruin *England*. There is a ſurpriſing Paſſage in the *London-Gazette*, 30th of *April* 1666, which is *verbatim*, as follows:

At the Seſſions in the *Old Baily*. " *John Rathbone*, an old Army Colonel, " *William Saunders*, *Henry Youcker*, *Thomas Flint*, *Thomas Evans*, *John Myls*, " *William Waſcot*, and *John Cole*, formerly Officers and Soldiers in the late " Rebellion, were indicted for conſpiring the Death of his Majeſty, and the " Overthrow of the Government; having laid their Plot and Contrivance, for " the Surpriſal of the *Tower*, the killing of his Grace the Lord General, Sir " *John Robinſon*, Lieutenant of his Majeſty's *Tower* of *London*, and Sir *Ri-* " *chard Brown*, and then to have declared for an equal Diviſion of Lands, *&c.* " The better to effect this Helliſh Deſign, the City was to have been fired, and " the Portcullis to have been let down, to keep out all the Aſſiſtance, the Horſe- " Guards to have been ſurprized in the Inns where they were quartered; ſeve- " ral others having been gained for that purpoſe. The *Tower* was accordingly " viewed, and its Surprize ordered by Boats over the Moat, and from thence to " ſcale the Wall; one *Alexander*, who is not yet taken, had likewiſe diſtri- " buted Sums of Money to theſe Conſpirators, and for the carrying on of the " Deſign more effectually, they were told of a Council of the Great Ones, that " ſat frequently in *London*, from whom iſſued all Orders; which Council re- " ceived their Directions from another in *Holland*, who ſate with the States; " and that the Third of *September* was pitched on for the Attempt, as being " found by *Lilly*'s Almanack, and a Scheme erected for that purpoſe, to be a " Lucky-Day, a Planet then ruling which prognoſticated the Downfal of Mo-

" narchy.

" narchy. The Evidence againſt theſe Perſons was very full and clear, and " they according found Guilty of High Treaſon." Theſe are the Words of that *Gazette*; and let me only mind the Reader, that the City was fired the very Day which was there mentioned; that is, the Fire began about Twelve at Night, the Second of *September*, 66, or early on the Third, which was the firſt Day of the Fire.

This makes it a Demonſtration, that the *Dutch* Plot, mentioned in that *Gazettee*, could be no Contrivance of the Government, in Odium to the *Dutch*; if that could be ſo much as ſuggeſted, or ſo baſe an Imputation laid, not only upon the Court but the City itſelf, which, in her Seſſions, ſhould take away the Lives of Men for any ſuch *Sham-Plot*; I ſay nothing of this can be poſſible, unleſs you will ſuppoſe, that the Government and the City both deſigned the burning of the City of that Day (and if ſo they would not have told it;) or otherwiſe that they had the Spirit of *Prophecy*, to foretel the burning of the City five Months before it came to paſs.

But theſe Conſpirators had laid their Deſign, and would not ſlip that Lucky-Day, the Third of *September*, on which *Oliver* conquered firſt *Scotland*, at the Battle of *Dunbar*, and after the Loyal Party in *England* at *Worceſter* Fight; both which happened to be upon the Third of *September*, which *Oliver* reckoned to be his *Lucky Day*; and it held ſo to him to the end: For on that Day he brought the greateſt Bleſſing to *England* that ever Subject did: On that Day only he verified what he had ſo often promiſed, to relieve *England* from Tyranny and Arbitrary Power, and to open the way to a glorious Reformation, all this he performed; for on that Day, on his own *Lucky Day* he died, or, as his *Enthuſiaſt Banditi* boaſted, was carried like *Elijah* into Heaven in a *Whirlwind*; whither that carried him, or whence it was ſent, we will not examine; only we may take Notice, that he who raiſed Rebellion to cure Superſtition, obſerved his *Lucky Days*; and the Conſpirators of whom we are ſpeaking, were ſome of his godly Army. Theſe gained with the *Dutch* Reformers, not only *obſerve Days*, but caſt *Schemes* and go to *Fortune-Tellers*, any Thing —— go to the *Devil* himſelf, for the *Good old Cauſe!* The End ſanctifies the Means.

How far the Devil's Chain may reach, I cannot tell. But if there be ſuch a Thing as *Spells*, to cauſe Men *Love* or *Hate*, moſt certainly the *Dutch* have made us drunk with it: Not only to love and doat upon them, who, at this very Day, uſe all our Men like Dogs, who go over thither to fight for their Country (which they will not do themſelves) and clip our Money publickly, which when they have done, they pay to the *Engliſh* only (for no other Nation will take it from them) by the Coin, and will receive it from them only by the Weight; which is proclaiming us for Fools to our Faces: And as ſuch, they have begged us. To fall in love with theſe *Dutch*, who uſe us ten times worſe, when we fight for them, and take leſs care of our Sick and Wounded, than the *French* againſt whom we fight! And yet to hate and abhor the *French*, the more they court us! As if it were the Nature, as it is the Character ſome-where given of an *Engliſhman*, to be won by Injuries, and provoked by Civilities, comparing them to their own Country Maſtiffs.

What is it elſe can make us have ſuch an unaccountable Hatred to the *French*, for which we can give no Reaſon, they having never done us any hurt, but

when we began, and forced them to it, as at preſent? And yet, to doat as unaccountably upon the *Dutch*, who never yet did us any Good, or neglected doing us all the Miſchief they could when it was in their Power?

If the like Evidence could be produced againſt the *French* for the Burning of *London*, as what is here brought againſt the *Dutch?* ——

But whether it were *French* or *Dutch*, *London* is now filled with them both, and there have been more Fires of late in *London* than uſually has been known. There were no leſs than five Fires in it upon *Sunday*, 18 *Feb.* 94. And if there be falſe Play, it muſt be *Engliſh*, *French*, or *Dutch*. But the *Dutch* will never do us Hurt, as ſurely as they never did; we muſt not ſuſpect them: There is ſome Witchcraft in this!

Is it for their Religion that we love the *Dutch?* I wiſh Religion, of any ſort, had ſo much Power in *England!* But can they be true to Religion, who are content, as in *Japan*, to renounce their Chriſtianity to promote their Trade! Or, which is near the ſame, to licenſe all Religions, for the ſame Reaſon, as in *Holland!* To give Mammon the upper hand of God!

It is their Mammon, their Intereſt (and they have ever been true to it) to ruin *England*.

It is neither the Intereſt of *England* or *France*, to invade or conquer one another; and they are not the Aggreſſors.

Yet we are irreconcileable to *France*, and unalterable from *Holland!* As Men blind to their Intereſt, and bent upon their Ruin! Like the *Jews* againſt the *Romans*, obſtinate, though unequal to the War! It proved their Deſtruction; and, if we will not open our Eyes, it muſt, without a Miracle, be ours too.

We are trying the Experiment how many Loſſes will ruin us. And extol the Super-abundance of our Riches, but not of our Wiſdom, in bearing up againſt a continued Series of ill Succeſs, without any other rational Proſpect, but of its growing worſe and worſe, till there be no Remedy.

I think I have been a true Reaſoner: I wiſh, in this, I may be a falſe Prophet.

LOUP SKELLUM.

RE-

REMARKS on the LIFE and DEATH of the famed Mr. BLOOD; giving an Account of the Plot in *Ireland*, to ſurprize *Dublin* Caſtle; ſeveral Tranſactions in his Head-Quarters in the City; Reſcue of Captain MASON at *Doncaſter*; Attempt on the Perſon of his Grace the Duke of ORMOND; Seizing on the Crown and Scepter in the *Tower*; coming into Favour with his Prince; Concern about his Grace the Duke of BUCKINGHAM; Sickneſs, Death, and twice Interment. Publiſhed for publick Information, 1680.

SIR,

I Have endeavoured as far as in me lies, to ſatisfy your Curioſity, in reference to that Account, which you were pleaſed to require of me, concerning the moſt memorable Actions of Colonel *Blood*'s Life; a Perſon who has given the World no ſmall Occaſion of Diſcourſe: Wherein, if I have not had the Happineſs punctually to anſwer your Expectations, you muſt impute it to my Juſtice, that would take nothing upon Report and Rumours, but only what was dictated to me from the Mouths of one or two of his moſt intimate Friends.

His Birth was ſuch as gave him thoſe Advantages that uſually diſtinguiſh a Man from the Vulgar. For though Wit, and Parts, Courage, and Strength are not hereditary to the Gentility, yet is it a great Felicity to be born of ſuch Parents, as are above thoſe Wants that deprive them of beſtowing the Benefits of Education upon their Children; and ſo far from the Reproaches of Poverty, that they are never ſpoken of by the World, but with a decent and becoming Character. Such were Mr. *Blood*'s Parentage, ſerious, honeſt, and of no inferior Credit, and Poſſeſſions in the Country where they lived. Which made them take that Care, that their Offspring ſhould not degenerate from the Virtues and Repute of his Anceſtors, by forming and ſhaping his Conditions according to the Rules of a ſtrict and ſober Education, which had that Influence upon him, as to preſerve him from thoſe Extravagancies that uſually attend upon metalled and active Spirits. Inſomuch that the great People of *Ireland*, who at that Time ſat at the Helm of Affairs, thought fit to put him into the Commiſſion of the Peace before he was two and twenty Years of Age. A Sign they had a good Opinion of his early Conduct of himſelf, who made him the Judge and Puniſher of the Vices and Miſcarriages of others. Nor did he fail their Expectations; for all the while he was in that Station, he won both Eſteem and Favour of them who at that Time were the chief Rulers of the *Iriſh* Nation, eſpecially from *Henry Cromwel*, by whom he was looked upon, as a Perſon fit for Employment and Promotion. For indeed the main uſe which he made of his Authority was to

aſſert and uphold, as much as lay in his Power, the Proteſtant and *Engliſh* Intereſt in that Kingdom; in order whereunto he managed his Zeal with that Prudence, which was then looked upon as a kind of Wonder conſidering his Years.

He married in *England* a young *Lancaſhire* Gentlewoman, the Daughter of one Mr. *Holcraft*, by whom he had ſeveral Children.

During his Abode in *England*, then the Stage of a bloody and rebellious War, he gave his Prince all the Aſſiſtance his perſonal Valour was capable to afford him; wherein he performed ſeveral Pieces of good Service.

Much about that Time Colonel *Rainſborough* was ſlain at *Doncaſter* by a Party of Royaliſts that had made a Sally out of *Pontefract*, then beſieged by Sir *Edward Rhodes* and the County Forces. This was done as the ſaid Colonel was in his Inn, with all his Myrmidons about him, upon the Pretence of delivering him a Letter from *Cromwel*. Their Intention was only to have taken him Priſoner, and have carried him through his own Leaguer, which he refuſing, they piſtolled him in his Chamber and ſo departed. This being a bold and deſperate Adventure, Mr. *Blood* was by moſt People adjudged the Contriver and Aſſociate in the Enterprize; but he having ſo frequently diſowned the Fact himſelf, it would be a Crime to impute the Honours of other Men, to a Valour that has no need of thoſe ſhifts.

Upon the King's Reſtoration, Mr. *Blood* returns again for *Ireland*; But being diſguſted by ſome hard Uſage, which he thought done him by the Court of Claims, who made no haſte to reſtore him his Land that had been taken from him; whereby he ſaw himſelf ſtripped of all, his Wife and Children ſent a begging, and himſelf outlawed; He went to the *Iriſh*, *Scots*, and diſcontented *Engliſh*, who being juſt ready to brake looſe, and wanting a Head, were not a little glad of his Appearance; ſo that they not only very highly careſſed him, but having a more than ordinary Confidence in his Conduct and Prudence, they made him their General, and ſurrendered their Obedience to him in all Things. So that now become a petty Prince, he began to put his Complaints into Form and Method, publickly to throw his Declarations abroad, and to make his Demands of Redreſs; Which not being anſwered according to their Expectations, they puſhed forward, believing there was no better way, than to render themſelves formidable, and by that means to draw their Enemy to a good Compoſition. In Proſecution of which Deſign they ran themſelves into a Plot for the Surprize of *Dublin* Caſtle; For which his Brother-in-Law, Mr. *Leckey*, who was deep in the Confederacy, being at length taken, was ſentenced, and accordingly executed.

In this Tragedy happened ſomething of a comical Diſturbance. There was at that Time to ſee the Execution, which is common, a Confluence of above two thouſand People. At what time a Rumour was ſpread among the People, that Mr. *Blood* was coming with a Party to the reſcue of his Brother. The People no ſooner heard this, but, as there is oft times a vain and idle Terror that poſſeſſes the Mind of the ſilly Multitude, conſternated with ſome ſtrange Fury that threatened them, they all ran and diſperſed themſelves from the Gibbet. Nay the Executioner himſelf left his Station, and took his Flight, believing that he ſhould be firſt aimed at, leaving the Perſon that was to ſuffer, in the dreadful Poſture of a Perſon preparing for his untimely Death, the Rope about his Neck,

and

and nobody to do the Office; ſo that had any thing of Reſiſtance been made, the unfortunate Gentleman's Delivery had been eaſy.

This Deſign was to have been put in Execution the one and twentieth of *May*, the Duke of *Ormond* being firſt to have been ſeized. To which Purpoſe diverſe Perſons with Petitions in their Hands were to have waited in the Caſtle, while about fourſcore Foot, in the Diſguiſe of Handicraftmen waited without, whoſe Buſineſs it was to trifle about in Expectation of an Opportunity to ſurprize the Guards. The Plot being diſcovered, Five Hundred Pounds a Head were profered for the Apprehenſion of the Ringleaders.

Mr. *Blood* being thereupon forced to fly for theſe Things, made his Eſcape into *Holland*, where upon his Continuance in thoſe Parts for ſome Time, he became at length well known to that great and famous Admiral *De Ruyter*, who, though the greateſt Enemy the *Engliſh* had, in reſpect of his Conduct and Succeſs, which many Times put a Stop to the Current of their Victories, yet had that generous Kindneſs and Love for a Nation ſo long in a bloody Competition with his Country, that he could not chuſe but frequently declare it to ſeveral, but more particularly to Mr. *Blood*, whom he was pleaſed to admit often into his Society, and honoured with an Entertainment anſwerable to that Reſpect and Affection, which he bore the Nation of *England*,

To whom that great Admiral was ſo kind, as to give him an Account of his own miraculous Deliverance, which a Friend of mine had from Mr. *Blood*'s own Mouth. Which was thus.

That renowned Perſon *De Ruyter*, being born of mean Parentage, the greateſt Part of his Father's Subſtance being two Horſes, with which he ſupplied the Wants of his Family by the uſual Labour of that Country, which was about two Miles Diſtance from *Bergenopzoom*: It happened that both his Father's Horſes were taken from him by certain Troops of the *Dutch* Army, and carried to their Camp in *Flanders*. This Loſs being ſo conſiderable to *De Ruyter*'s Father, who thereby ſaw himſelf and his Family totally ruined, he made haſte after them to the Camp, but finding his Addreſſes fruitleſs by the Delays and Neglect of the Officers, he reſolved upon a more ſpeedy way of Reparation, which was privately to regain his own from thoſe that had robbed him, by a more juſtifiable Stealth. And having diſcovered where his Horſes were, he watched his Opportunity, ſecretly conveyed them away, and carried them to a Place ſomewhat remote from his own Houſe.

The Soldiers miſſing their Booty, and concluding the Owner had them again, returned in the Night with an Intention to have taken them away a ſecond Time. But being diſappointed, in revenge they ſet on Fire the poor thatched Cottage about the Ears of the ſleeping Inhabitants.

In the Horror of this Surprize, while the awakened Father, Mother, and Servant, endeavoured to ſave themſelves by breaking through the Flames, with that Care of Self-Preſervation, which is common to all Creatures, and which at the ſame Time puts all the Faculties of the Memory and Underſtanding into a ſtrange Confuſion, the poor helpleſs Infant, afterwards the Glory and Preſerver of his Country, lay void of Succour in his ſwadling Bands faſt aſleep in an up-Room. But the Mother, now free herſelf, remembring the Danger of her only Darling, with a maſculine Contempt of the threatning Peril of the Enterprize,

and

and assisted by that high Protection, which saved the Children in the fiery Furnace, she threw herself through the compassionless Flames into the House again, resolved to live or die with the only Hopes and Comfort of her Life.

And so having broken through the Smoak and Flames into the upper Room, she first threw the Child out at Window into a Sheet, held by the Father and the Servant to receive his tender Bones, and afterwards jumped out herself.

Thus saving from the Flames the Person, that was designed, *Salamander*-like, to spend the chiefest Part of his Days in Fire and Smoak. A remarkable Story concerning that great Person, for which we are beholding only to Mr. *Blood*'s Converse with him, as being quite omitted, or else unknown to the Author that published his Life in *Holland*.

Returning out of *Holland* into *England*, he fell in with the *Fifty-Monarchy-Men*, resolving to venture all in the Bottom of their Interest. He found them to be a bold and daring Sort of People like himself, and their Principles so suiting with his Discontents, that he judged them very proper for his Mannagement. For it was his Maxim, never to put his Confidence in any that were not engaged either by Principle or Interest to his Designs.

These People it is well known had laid a Design, not confined to one Quarter, but almost general all over *England*; it was said to be first contrived in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, from whence the Contagion spread itself into *Yorkshire*, *Suffolk*, and several other Counties in the West of *England*; between all which Places several Correspondencies were held, and Agents employed under the binding Obligations of Oaths of Secrecy. Their Pretences were the Opposal of Excise, Subsidies, *&c.* to re-establish a Gospel Magistracy and Ministry, to restore the Long Parliament, and lastly to curb the Gentry, Clergy, and Lawyers.

Sometime before this at *London* sat a secret Committee, of which Mr. *Blood* was chief, to carry on some great Design, which he then had in his Head (for I cannot learn that he was ever concerned in the Plot more than for his Friend, as you shall hear anon.) This Committee, for their Security, had always a private Court of Guard abroad, seldom less than thirty out a Day. At this Committee all Orders were given out, all manner of Intelligence was brought, examined, and all things sifted and debated in reference to their grand Design.

But as there seldom happens any Confederacy wherein there are not some false Brethren, two of their Gang, whether out of Remorse, or for Hopes of Reward, had begun to make some Discovery of this Project at Court. But it happened that Mr. *Blood*, who was always vigilant and active in his Affairs had got the Wind of these two Deserters, and was therefore resolved to prevent them if he could.

To which Purpose, he appoints to meet the two Persons, whom he had more than reason to suspect, at a certain Tavern in the City, who were no sooner come according to their Summons, but he took them both Prisoners, and from thence carried them to a certain Place of Darkness, which they had found out and hired for their Conveniency.

In this Place Mr. *Blood* very formally calls a Court-Martial of his own, and tries the two Men for their Lives; who being before such Judges, were soon found guilty, and sentenced to be shot to Death, within two Days in the same

Place. When the Time for Execution came, they were both brought to the Stake, and being without any other Hopes, were forced to prepare for Death. But then at the very Point of Deſpair, Mr. *Blood* was ſo kind as to produce them a Pardon, and ſo releaſing and giving them their Freedom, bid them go to their Maſter, and tell him what they had done; and withal, that they ſhould requeſt him in the Name of the Confederates, to be as favourable to his Soldiers, when they fell under his Mercy.

But it being impoſſible to hold out long in theſe mutinous Courſes of Life, where nothing was acted, but by the Dictates of Diſcontent, he betakes himſelf to a more ſafe and quiet way to get a Livelyhood. To which Purpoſe he ſettled his Wife and his eldeſt Son in an Apothecary's Shop, where they lived by the Names of *Weſton*; while he himſelf turns Doctor, by the Name of *Ayliff*, and retiring to *Rumford* practiſed Phyſick there for a long Time.

By this Time the Northern Plot came to be fully diſcovered, wherein as I ſaid before, I cannot learn Mr. *Blood* to have been any way concerned, but only in the Reſcue of his Friend.

Upon the Diſcovery of this Conſpiracy, ſeveral of the Confederates were apprehended, tried, and executed. Among thoſe that were apprehended, was one Capt. *Maſon*, a Perſon for whom Mr. *Blood* had a particular Affection and Friendſhip. This Perſon was to be removed from *London*, to one of the Northern Countries, in order to his Trial at the Aſſizes; and to that Intent was ſent down with eight of the Duke's Troop to guard him, being reckoned to be a Perſon bold and couragious. Mr. *Blood* having Notice of this Journey, reſolves by the way to reſcue his Friend. The Priſoner and his Guard went away in the Morning, and Mr. *Blood* having made Choice of three more of his Acquaintance, ſet forward the ſame Day at Night without Boots, upon ſmall Horſes, and their Piſtols in their Trouſers, to prevent Suſpicion. But Opportunities are not ſo eaſily had, neither were all Places convenient. So that the Convoy and their Priſoner were gone a good way beyond *Newark*, before Mr. *Blood* and his Friends had any Scent of the Priſoner. At one Place they ſet a Centinel to watch his coming by; but whether it was out of Fear, or that the Perſon was tired with a tedious Expectation, the Centinel brought them no Tidings either of the Priſoner or his Guard. Inſomuch that Mr. *Blood* and his Companions began to think their Friend ſo far before them upon the Road, that it would be in vain to follow him.

And yet not willing to give over an Enterprize ſo generouſly undertaken, upon Mr. *Blood*'s Encouragement they rode on, though deſpairing of Succeſs, until finding it grow toward Evening, and meeting a convenient Inn upon the Road, in a ſmall Village not far from *Doncaſter*, they reſolved to lie there all Night, and return for *London* the next Morning. In that Inn they had not ſat long in a Room next the Street, condoling among themſelves the ill Succeſs of a tedious Journey, and the Misfortune of their Friend, before the Convoy came thundering up to the Door of the ſame Inn with their Priſoner; in regard that Capt. *Maſon* had made Choice of that Inn, as being beſt known to him, to give his Guardians the Refreſhment of a Dozen of Drink. There Mr. *Blood*, unſeen, had a full View of his Friend and the Perſons he had to deal with. He had beſpoke a ſmall Supper, which was at the Fire, ſo that he had but very little

Time

Time for Conſultation, finding that Capt. *Maſon*'s Party did not intend to alight; ſo that he only gave general Directions to his Aſſociates to follow his Example in whatever they ſaw him do. In haſte therefore they called for their Horſes, and threw down their Money for the Reckoning, telling the Woman of the Houſe, that ſince they had met with ſuch good Company, they were reſolved to go forward.

Capt. *Maſon* went off firſt upon a ſorry Beaſt, and with him the Commander of the Party and four more; the reſt ſtaid behind to make an End of their Liquor; then away marched one more ſingle; and in a very ſmall Time after, the laſt two. By this Time Mr. *Blood* and one of his Friends being horſed, followed the two that were hindmoſt and ſoon overtook them. Theſe four rode ſome little Time together, Mr. *Blood* on the right Hand of the two Soldiers, and his Friend on the left. But upon a ſudden, Mr. *Blood* laid hold of the Reins of the Horſe next him, while his Friend, in Obſervation of his Directions, did the ſame on the other Hand, and having preſently by Surprize diſmounted the Soldiers, pulled of the Bridles, and ſent the Horſes to pick their Graſs where they pleaſed. Theſe two being thus made ſure off, Mr. *Blood* purſues his Game, intending to have reached the ſingle Trooper. But he being got to the reſt of his Fellows, now reduced to ſix and a Barber of *York* that travelled in their Company, Mr. *Blood* made up, heads the whole Party, and ſtops them. Of which ſome of the foremoſt looking upon him to be either drunk or mad, thought the Rebuke of a Switch to be a ſufficient Chaſtiſement of ſuch a raſh Preſumption, which they exerciſed with more Contempt than Fury, until by the Rudeneſs of his Compliments, he gave them to underſtand, that he was not in Jeſt, but in very good Earneſt. He was ſoon ſeconded by his Friend that was with him in the firſt Exploit. But there had been ſeveral rough Blows dealt between the unequal Number of ſix to two, before Mr. *Blood*'s two other Friends came in to Aſſiſtance. Nay, I may ſafely ſay, ſeven to two. For the Barber of *York*, whether out of his natural Propenſity to the Sport, or that his Pot-valiantneſs had made him ſo generous to help his Fellow-travellers, would needs ſhew his Valour at the Beginning of the Fray; But better he had been at the latter End of a Feaſt; for though he ſhewed his Prudence to take the ſtronger Side, as gueſſed by the Number; yet becauſe he would take no Warning which was often given him, not to put himſelf to the Hazard of loſing a Ghittar Finger, by medling in a Buſineſs that nothing concerned him, he loſt his Life, in regard they were forced to diſpatch him in the firſt Place, for giving them a needleſs Trouble.

The Barber being thus become a uſeleſs Inſtrument, and the other of Mr. *Blood*'s Friends being come up, the Skirmiſh began to be very ſmart; the four Aſſailants having ſingled out their Champions as fairly and equally as they could. All this while Captain *Maſon* being rode before upon his Thirty Shilling Steed, wondering his Guard came not with him, looked back, and obſerving a Combuſtion, and that they were altogether by the Ears, knew not what to think. He conjectured it at firſt to have been ſome Intrigue upon him, as if the Troopers had a Deſign to tempt him to an Eſcape, which might afterwards prove more to his Prejudice; juſt like Cats, that with a regardleſs Scorn ſeem to give the diſtreſſed Mouſe all the Liberty in the World to get away out of their

Paws, but ſoon recover their Prey again at one Jump. Thereupon unwilling to undergo the Hazard of ſuch a Tryal, he comes back, at what Time Mr. *Blood* cried out to him, *Horſe, Horſe quickly.* An Alarm ſo amazing at firſt, that he could not believe it to be his Friend's Voice, when he heard it; but as the Thoughts of Military Men are ſoon ſummoned together, and never hold *Spaniſh* Councils, the Captain preſently ſettled his Reſolution, mounts the next Horſe that wanted a Rider, and puts in for a Share of his own Self-Preſervation. In this bloody Conflict Mr. *Blood* was three Times unhorſed, occaſioned by his Forgetfulneſs, as having omitted to new girt his Saddle, which the Oſtler had unlooſened upon the wadeing his Horſe, at his firſt coming into the Inn. Being then ſo often diſmounted, and not knowing the Reaſon, which the Occaſion would not give him leave to conſider, he reſolved to fight it out on Foot. Of which two of the Soldiers taking the Advantage, ſingled him out and drove him into a Court-Yard, where he made a Stand with a full Body, his Sword in one Hand, and his Piſtol in the other. One of the Soldiers taking that Advantage of his open Body, ſhot him near the Shoulder-Blade of his Piſtol-Arm, at what Time he had four other Bullets in his Body that he had received before. Which the Soldier obſerving, flung his diſcharged Piſtol at him, with that good Aim and Violence, that he hit him a ſtunning Blow juſt under the Forehead, upon the upper Part of the Noſe between the Eyes; which for the preſent ſo amazed him, that he gave himſelf over for a dead Man. Yet reſolving, like a true Cock of the Game, to give one ſparring Blow before he expired, ſuch is the ſtrange Provocation and Succeſs of Deſpair, with one vigorous Stroke of his Sword, he brought his Adverſary with a Vengeance from his Horſe, and laid in a far worſe Condition than himſelf at his Horſe's Feet.

At what Time, full of Anger and Revenge, he was juſt going to make an End of his Conqueſt, by giving him the fatal Stab; but in that very Nick of Time Capt. *Maſon*, having, with the Help of his Friends, done his Buſineſs, where they had fought, by the Death of ſome, and the diſabling others that oppoſed them, came in and bid him hold, and ſpare the Life of one that had been the civileſt Perſon to him upon the Road, a fortunate Piece of Kindneſs in the one, and of Gratitude in the other. Which Mr. *Blood* eaſily condeſcending to, by the joint Aſſiſtance of the Captain, the other Soldier was ſoon maſtered, and the Victory, after a ſharp Fight that laſted about two Hours, was at length compleated.

You may be ſure the Fight was well maintained on both Sides, while two of the Soldiers, beſides the Barber, were ſlain upon the Place, three unhorſed, and the reſt wounded. And it was obſervable, that though the Encounter happened in a Village, where a great Number of People were Spectators of the Combat, yet none would adventure the Reſcue of either Party, as not knowing which was in the wrong, or which in the right, and were therefore wary of being Arbitrators in ſuch a deſperate Conteſt, where they ſaw the Reward of Aſſiſtance, to be nothing but preſent Death. After the Combat was over, Mr. *Blood* and his Friends divided themſelves and parted ſeveral Ways.

And it was Mr. *Blood*'s Misfortune to ride all that Night and loſe his Way, nothing but Blood and Gore all over from Top to Toe, before he could get to his Friend's Houſe, whither he deſigned, and have the Aſſiſtance of a Surgeon,

which he there obtained. The reſt got ſafe in ſome few Days to their ſeveral Sanctuaries.

However, ſuch was the Occaſion of their Departure, and the Neceſſity of their parting without Compliments, that ſeveral Weeks were paſt before they united again, or knew what became of one another. Such a Coherence there is between the Departures of Death itſelf, and thoſe occaſioned by the Fear of Death.

So ſoon as this remarkable Skirmiſh was over, Mr. *Blood* lay cloſe for a while, there being no leſs than Three Hundred Pounds ſet upon his Head, for a Reward to any Perſon that ſhould apprehend him. To which Purpoſe, believing he could be no where ſo ſafe, as under the Diſguiſe of a Doctor, he returned again to his old Sanctuary at *Rumford*, and there fell again to his former Practice of Phyſick.

But whether his active Spirit were impatient of this Quiet, or that the Temptations of Opportunities engaged him to new Enterprizes, he ſeemed now deſirous to repair the Damage of his loſt Eſtate, believing that they who either detained, or had diſpoſed of his Right (and certain it is, he aſſumed to himſelf both Right and Title) ought to make him Satisfaction.

To this Purpoſe, after ſeveral Conſultations and Deliberations with himſelf, Mr. *Blood* comes to Town, and having muſtered to his Aſſiſtance about five or ſix Perſons more, in whoſe Reſolution and Secrecy he could confide, it was reſolved at length that the Perſon of the Duke of *Ormond*, then living at *Clarendon-Houſe*, at the upper End of the Street leading from *St. James's* Palace, ſhould be ſeized, deſigning to make thoſe Advantages of his Perſon, which they had before concluded upon.

This Enterprize being reſolved, Mr. *Blood*, with five more of his truſty Gang, being well armed and mounted, having ſet the Duke's Coach, upon the Sixth of *December*, in the Year 1670, at Night, and finding he was to paſs from *St. James's* through the long Street to *Clarendon-Houſe* with a very ſmall Attendance, they ſoon ſecured the Flambeaux and Lackies that carried them, and having ſtopped the Coach, and made ſure of the Driver, they forced the Duke out of his Coach, and ſet him behind one of the Company, who was not then to enquire what he was to do with a Purchaſe of that Value, having received his Orders before, to ride through thick and thin with him, till he got to the Place appointed, where they would not be long abſent from him to have made better and more ſecure Proviſion for his Father, and more private Conveyance.

An Attempt which might perhaps have ſucceeded, had it been made upon a Perſon whoſe Courage and Valour were not ſo eaſy to be quelled. But thoſe Virtues meeting in the Duke with a Strength proportionable; the ſtout Reſiſtance which he made, and the ſtruggling with his Aſſaulters, gave them no ſmall Trouble, and the Duke the Leiſure to have the News of the Attempt carried to his Houſe, which ſoon brought the Porter at the Gate to his Aſſiſtance. The Aſſailants made away for *Fulham-Ferry*, where they got over and conveyed themſelves to their Places of Refuge where they lay concealed, though great Rewards were proffered for their Apprehenſion, and a Thouſand Pound particularly ſet upon Mr. *Blood*'s Head, which took no Effect, till his next Attempt diſcovered him.

Thus

Thus had Mr. *Blood* attempted ſeveral ways to repair the Loſſes, which he ſuppoſed himſelf to have ſuſtained, either from the Neglect or Permiſſion of that Authority, which he thought was concerned to make him Satisfaction. One Project yet remained, which he was certain would either make or marr him; if he eſcaped, he thought himſelf made; if he failed in the Attempt, he knew the Enterprize would make ſuch a Noiſe in the World, that he was ſure to be another *Heroſtratus*, and to live in Story for the Strangeneſs, if not the Succeſs of his Attempts, and to make himſelf whole by the Spoils of the *Engliſh* Crown, which though it lay in a ſafe Place, the Tower, he was reſolved to fetch from its Sanctuary.

Having therefore reſolved upon the Fact, the ways of accompliſhing the Deſign were duly conſulted. And becauſe ſuch Enterprizes are not to be carried on without Accomplices, he made choice of three or four more, who he knew would not flinch from him.

As for his own Part, he put himſelf into the Habit of a Doctor of Divinity, with a little Band, a long falſe Beard, a Cap with Ears, and all thoſe other Formalities of Garb belonging to that Degree, except the Gown, rather chooſing to make uſe of a Cloak as being moſt proper for his Purpoſe.

Under this Diſguiſe he made it his Buſineſs to get acquainted with the Keeper of the *Regalia*, an old Man; he brought ſeveral Perſons to ſee the *Regalia*, who were no unprofitable Gueſts.

He treated and careſſed the Keeper at a rate not ſo much expenſive, as kind and obliging, by which Means he had created ſuch a Familiarity, and Intimacy with the old Man, that he took the Doctor to be no Wolf in Sheep's Clothing, but one of his greateſt Friends; inſomuch that the old Man having a Son, and the Doctor pretending to have a Daughter, the two Parents were upon concluding a Match between the young People, which had proceeded ſo far, that the Doctor and Keeper gave each other the Appellation of Brother.

The Day before the Fact was to be done, the Doctor came and informed the old Man, that he had ſome Friends to go out of Town the next Morning, to whom he had promiſed a Sight of the *Regalia* that were in his Cuſtody, and deſired he might have the Kindneſs to gratify their Curioſity, though perhaps the Time might be not ſo ſeaſonable, as being a little too early.

The next Morning the Doctor and two more, having prepared their Conveniences of a Wallet and a wooden Mallet, went directly to the old Man's Houſe where the *Regalia* lay, leaving one of their Companions to hold their Horſes that ſtaid for them at the Iron Gate.

The old Man no ſooner ſaw his new Brother the Doctor, and his Friends, but he was ready to ſhew them the Civility which the Doctor had requeſted the Day before; and accordingly opened the Doors where the Treaſure lay.

It ſeems, it is the Cuſtom of the Keeper of the *Regalia*, when he expoſes them to publick View, to lock himſelf within a kind of Grate or Door with open Bars, to the end thoſe Things of high Value may be ſeen but not ſoiled, by the Touch of ſo many People, as daily came to ſee thoſe precious Ornaments.

But the Doctor and his Companions were too quick for the old Man, and followed him ſo cloſe at the Heels, that he had no ſooner opened the Door, but they were likewiſe in with him. Preſently they ſeized the old Man, for whom,

though he ſtruggled much to preſerve his Reputation and the Charge he had, it was in vain to make a long Reſiſtance, for they had ſoon put him beyond making a Noiſe, as having received ſeveral unkind Knocks with the wooden Mallet.

One of the Company was for killing the old Man outright, but his Brother the Doctor would not permit ſo great a Piece of Barbariſm, as being under a Diſguiſe that would have rendered the Fact doubly heinous, had he added Murther to Robbery under the Notion of an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon.

Having thus got Poſſeſſion of their Purchaſe, they made flat the Bows of the Crown to make it more portable, and ſo having conveyed it into their Wallet, together with the Scepter, and Dove, they began to ſet forward.

But juſt in the nick of their Departure, a Son of the old Man's, who had not been in *England* in ten Years before (ſo ſtrange a Providence attends the Diſcovery of great Crimes) coming to the Houſe to ſee his Father, and making Enquiry where he was, was told he was in the Treaſury ſhewing the *Regalia* to ſome Friends.

Thereupon out of a zealous Impatience of filial Duty to caſt himſelf at his Father's Knees he flew to the Place, where he was ſoon ſurprized with a Sight, not more unexpected and amazing, than ſad and dreadful to behold, his Father weltering in his Blood, and the Royal Treaſury robbed.

It was no time then to make unneceſſary Lamentations, which would have given the Criminals Liberty to have eſcaped, and therefore with a prompt and ready Courage, knowing the Perſons again by their Habits as they went out, he preſently purſued them, put the Centinels and other Soldiers upon their Duty, by his Outcries, ſo that although the Doctor and his Friends made all the Reſiſtance they could, as it behoved them; yet all the Reſiſtance they could make was in vain in ſuch a Place as that, for both the Doctor and his Accomplices were all taken; but he that held the Horſes, who fled upon the Rumour, and the *Regalia* were all recovered again, all bruiſed and battered, yet without the loſs of one Stone, unleſs it were one which was afterwards found by a poor Cinder-woman, and reſtored to the Keeper, or thoſe appointed in his ſtead.

This Fact being made known among the People, and aggravated with the Murther of the Keeper, as it was then reported, made a great Noiſe about the Town, ſo that Mr. *Blood* had received ſeveral Sentences before the Particulars of the Crime were fully examined.

But the People not being the proper Judges of the Crime, Mr. *Blood* upon his Apprehenſion, was carried before his Majeſty himſelf, by whom he was examined with a Lenity and Moderation not to be parallelled.

It was in vain to deny a Fact ſo eaſy to be proved upon him; and therefore he thought it more convenient, and more ſuitable with his Condition, to appear with a Reſolution, which perhaps would much better have become a nobler Act.

As the Paſſages of his Examination were know but to few, ſo they have been but to as few communicated.

But it is to be preſumed that a Man of his daring and adventurous Courage was not wanting to himſelf in the Juſtification, as far as lay in his Power, of the Offence which he had committed. No queſtion but that he made a full Declaration of the Wrongs, Injuries, and Loſſes which he had ſuſtained (and Men

in

in ſuch Caſes will pretend to be the moſt proper Judges of their own Cauſes) and the Diſgraces and Diſappointments he had met with in *Ireland*.

However it were, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to make him a Propoſition, that could not chooſe but be welcome to a Perſon under his Circumſtances, by aſking him this ſingle Queſtion, *What if he ſhould grant him his Life?* To which Mr. *Blood* is ſaid to have replied, *That he would endeavour to deſerve it.*

How or which way that could be, is a Secret, which it cannot be expected ſhould be here diſcuſſed, but the Conſequences of the whole Proceeding, which were his Pardon, not only for himſelf, and his Followers, or rather Aſſiſtants and Accomplices, together with his Re-admiſſion into his Majeſty's Favour, were aſſured Signs that he had given that Satisfaction, which if they that received it were willing to accept, no Perſon elſe had Reaſon to miſdoubt.

This is evident, that ſoon after *Deſborough*, *Kelſey*, and others appeared publickly about the Town, coming over from *Holland*, and ſurrendering themſelves to his Majeſty. Which, by whom ever procured, might be thought a good Piece of Service at that time, when the two Nations of *England* and *Holland* being embroiled in open Wars, the Conduct and Advice of ſuch Perſons might have been of no ſmall Prejudice to us, and Advantage to the Enemy.

However it was publickly taken Notice of that Mr. *Blood* was daily with the ſaid Perſons at the ſame Time, at Mr. *White's Coffee-Houſe* behind the *Royal Exchange*, where they met in a Room by themſelves. So well and ſmoothly did Mr. *Blood*, both then, and ſince, behave himſelf among thoſe, that are called the Diſſenting Party.

But as Ingratitude is a Vice that reigns among all ſorts of Religions, and all the Varieties of Opinions; it is not without good Preſumptions thought, that thoſe very People, that in ſome meaſure may be ſaid to have owed their Lives to his painful Endeavours, have ſince been ſo unkind as to prove altogether off their duly merited Acknowledgments.

What is to be ſaid as to his late Troubles there is little, but what is already in Print or the common Town-talk.

He ſays, or elſe it is ſaid for him, that he was deſired by the Woman that keeps the *St. John's-Head*, or *Heaven Tavern*, to come and ſpeak with her at ſuch a Time.

That upon his coming to her, ſhe told him, that two ſhabby Fellows had been with her ſometime before, to tell her, that they had ſomething of great Conſequence, in reference to the Welfare of the Publick to reveal, but that they wanted a diſcreet Perſon to manage it.

That thereupon Mr. *Blood* made anſwer, that if there were any Thing fit to be taken Notice of, he would bring them to thoſe that had ſufficient Authority to take Notice of it, and thereupon promiſed to meet the Perſons.

That upon his ſecond coming to ſpeak with the Diſcoverers, they refuſed to ſpeak with him, for that underſtanding he was the Perſon with whom they were to diſcourſe, they averred they would have nothing to do with him, for that he was the Duke of *Buckingham's* Friend.

That

That thereupon, the Woman of the Houſe, that Mr. *Blood* might ſee ſhe had not told him a Lye, perſuaded one of the Perſons to ſhew himſelf to Mr. *Blood*.

Who to that purpoſe, as he paſſed by ſtepped into the Room where Mr. *Blood* was, and going in, told, that he and his Fellows had Buſineſs of great Concernment to diſcover, but could not then by Reaſon of another Appointment, and ſo concluded upon another Day.

That Mrs. *Bradley* upon this came to him to his Houſe, and told him ſhe believed the Fellows were Rogues and Trapans, and adviſed him to ſeize them and carry them before a Magiſtrate.

That Mr. *Blood*, weighing the Conſequence of the Woman's Advice, and being informed by her of their Lodgings according to the Directions of one Mr. *Curtis*, went to Dr. *Chamberlain*, one of the Juſtices of the Peace for the County of *Middleſex*, and told him the Story; who thereupon not only gave Mr. *Blood* his Warrant, but accompanied him till the Execution of his Warrant.

That two Perſons were by him apprehended by the Names of *Philemon Codan*, and *Samuel Ryther*.

That upon their Apprehenſion, and firſt Examination ſeverally, before Dr. *Chamberlain*, they ſeem to wonder what he meant when he told them, he heard they knew of a Plot, and wanted a Magiſtrate to reveal it to.

That thereupon the Juſtice of the Peace told them all that Mr. *Blood* had told him concerning their Diſcourſe with Mrs. *Bradley*, and their Appointment of meeting Mr. *Blood*.

That to this, one of them, *viz* *Codan* replied, that it was about the Duke of *Buckingham*, who he ſaid, owed them ſeveral Hundreds of Pounds upon an Accompt of Wages, and that they wanted ſome Body that was able to cope with him. To whom one *Curtis* ſtanding by, replied in theſe Words,

How! did not I hear you ſay at ſuch a Place that you knew of a greater Plot yet undiſcovered than either Mr. *Oates*, or Mr. *Bedloe* had hitherto made out? To which the ſaid *Codan* gave no ſatisfactory Anſwer; and *Ryther* proteſted he knew nothing of a Plot, or any thing like it.

That to all this the Doctor urged, that it was not to be that any diſcreet Perſon ſhould be ſo overſeen as to interpoſe between Maſter and Servant about Wages, eſpecially ſo great a Perſon as the Duke was, and therefore that could not be the Reaſon of their meeting at *Heaven*.

That thereupon one of them ſtarting up in a violent Paſſion before the Juſtice of the Peace ſwore, that he would be revenged upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, and that he would ſwear any Thing that could tend to the doing him a Prejudice, and that he himſelf would ſwear Sodomy againſt him.

That upon this the Juſtice of the Peace having told them that he neither did believe nor would hear any Thing relating to the Duke, aſked them jointly, what was the Reaſon they ran away at the Sight of Mr. *Blood* at Mrs. *Bradley*'s? To which they replied, that they were miſtruſtful of him, becauſe they had heard he was the Duke's Friend.

That thereupon Dr. *Chamberlain* taking them for impertinent Fellows, diſmiſſed them, with Directions to conſider what they had ſaid, and to attend him

at

at ſuch a time at his Houſe, where he would be ready to hear whatever they had to diſcover concerning any Plot.

That accordingly they came with one *Whitaker* and *Jenks*, where Mr. *Blood* likewiſe attended. At what time Dr. *Chamberlain*, aſking them the meaning of their former ſhuffling Stories, they replied they had a farther Deſign to carry on for the Good of the Publick, but would come to no Particulars. Whereupon Dr. *Chamberlain* diſmiſſed them.

That ſoon after Sir. *W. W.* ſent for Mr. *Blood* to a Tavern in *Weſtminſter*, whither when he came, he found *Ryther*, *Codan*, *Whitaker*, and *Jenks* in Sir *William*'s Company: And what more ſurprized him, he found *Ryther* and *Codan*, in a genteel Equipage, and alamode Accoutrements, whom he looked upon before as very mean Fellows.

That preſently then, Sir *William* told him he was very much troubled for the Premunire he had brought himſelf into; for that *Ryther* and *Codan* were come to to depoſe upon Oath, that he had attempted ſeveral times to corrupt them with Money, and other Rewards, to ſwear Sodomy againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*.

That upon Mr. *Blood*'s making ſtrange of it, *Codan* ſtarted up and confirmed the ſame.

That thereupon Mr. *Blood* aſked them how they could be ſo impudent, as to invent ſuch a thing againſt him, whom they had never ſeen but once at *Heaven*, and another time with Dr. *Chamberlain*?

That thereupon Mr. *Whitaker* and Mr. *Jenks* ſtood up, and bid Mr. *Blood* be honeſt, and juſt, and confeſs. To whom Mr. *Blood* replied, you that have been theſe two Years laſt employed to aſperſe me, Could you find no better Invention than this?

That after this, Mr. *Blood* directing his Diſcourſe to Sir *William Waller*, deſired of him to know the meaning of the whole Story, which was a Thing ſo unknown to himſelf. Upon which Mr. *Whitaker* and Mr. *Jenks*, jointly affirmed *Codan* and *Ryther* to be honeſt Men, and preſſed Sir *William* for Juſtice.

That thereupon Sir *William* deſired Mr. *Blood* very civilly to put in Bail; to which Mr. *Blood* replied, that he would conſider of it, and ſo for that time went about his Occaſions.

That the next Morning he went to Sir *William*'s Houſe, for a Copy of his *Mittimus*, which at length was granted him.

That the next Day he was met by a Conſtable, who told him he had a Warrant againſt him from Sir *William Waller*, miſtaking a *Mittimus* for a Warrant, and thereupon he went away with the Conſtable to a Tavern, where he continued under Reſtraint of the Conſtable ſeveral Hours.

That while he was under Cuſtody, Sir *William*, apprehenſive of ſome Miſtake, as is pretended, ſent one of the Witneſſes to the Conſtable, to know how he had diſpoſed of Mr. *Blood*, and whether he had carried him to Priſon; who made Anſwer, that he had not ſufficient Authority for ſo doing, and that Mr. *Blood* might bring him into Trouble for ſo doing, as not having been carried before a Juſtice of Peace, as he ought to have been firſt of all.

That thereupon the Witneſs went back to Sir *William*, and not long after returned to the Conſtable, and brought him a Warrant to ſeize Mr. *Blood*, and for want of Bail to carry him to the *Gatehouſe*.

That upon that Warrant Mr. *Blood* gave in Bail before Sir *William Poultney* to anſwer the Accuſation.

Upon which Accuſation Mr. *Blood* with the reſt were found Guilty.

The Verdict being given in againſt them, his Grace the Duke of *Buckingham* lays a great Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* againſt Mr. *Blood*, whereby he was forced for Refuge to the *King's Bench*; where I will leave him until the next Term, at which time I ſhall be farther capacitated to enlarge upon this Subject; and whereas at this Time I have acquainted you of Things concerning this Buſineſs only by Report, I ſhall endeavour to become a more near Inſpector myſelf as to what may enſue upon the whole, that in all Things I may approve myſelf,

SIR,

Yours ready to be commanded,

R. H.

POSTSCRIPT.

SIR,

I MAKE no doubt, but as the foregoing Account of the moſt remarkable Paſſages of the Life of Mr. *Blood*, did in ſome meaſure ſatisfy your Curioſity; ſo likewiſe by what I promiſed in the Concluſion, it left you in Expectation of more: And indeed, I reſolved to have made what uſe I could both of my own Friends Acquaintance with him, to have procured a true Information of many other material, though minuter Occurrences of ſo ſingular a Life; which no Man but the Perſon himſelf was able to give, with the true Light of thoſe Circumſtances that made them, as to him, obſervable, who ſeldom or never ſet about any Thing which was not inſpired by ſomewhat above the common Principles of Conduct: But the laſt Term of human Life has prevented the Term wherein (as I told you) I hoped to have been capacitated to give you a larger Account of that Subject; and the Death of that noted Man confines now my Relation to what preceded, and was ſubſequent to his End.

I left him in the *King's Bench*, into which he had turned himſelf over by a *Habeas Corpus* from the *Gatehouſe*; but his Stay was not long there, for having given Security for his Impriſonment, he returned to his own Houſe in the *Bowling-Alley* in *Weſtminſter*, not far from the Houſe of Sir *William Waller*. When he was thus retired unto the quiet Receſs of his own private Habitation, he began with more than ordinary Concern to reflect upon his Condition, both as to his perſonal Reputation, and the Intereſt of his Family; the one he ſaw extremely blaſted, not through any Injuſtice of the Court, but (as he ſtill affirmed) the Malice of Enemies; and the other in a probable way of Ruin, partly by Diſappointments from Debtors, eſpecially when he ſtood moſt in need of his own; and

and partly by that heavy and cruſhing Action of Ten Thouſand Pounds which his Grace the Duke of *Buckingham* thought fit to lay upon him, for his having laid a Scandal on a Peer of his Grace's Quality.

Theſe diſmal Thoughts aſſaulting a Man of his high Spirit, (that by the Circumſtances he was in then, found no probability of getting out of the Mire by his former Methods of contriving and daring, but perceiving himſelf in a manner manacled at this Time, whereas in all the other Exigencies of his Life, he had conſtantly truſted to his Hands and Action) brought upon him a penſive Paſſion of Melancholly, the uſual Rock on which great and aſpiring Spirits at laſt ſplit: And the ſickly Seaſon of the Year having fitted his Body for the Impreſſions of a diſcontented Mind, he fell ſick of a fatal, though no violent Diſtemper.

His Sickneſs laſted fourteen Days; during which, he was often viſited by ſome of my Acquaintance, and particularly by a Miniſter that went to adminiſter to him what ſpiritual Aſſiſtance he found him capable of: This Perſon acquainted me, that he found him apparently in a ſedate Temper of Mind as to the Concerns of his Soul, nothing ſtartled at the Apprehenſions of approaching Death; that he told him, he had ſet his Thoughts in order, and was ready and willing to obey, when it pleaſed God to give him the laſt Call; but that he deſired not to ſpend much Time in Diſcourſe, as being neither ſuitable to his Condition nor Humour: And indeed, for the remaining Time of his Sickneſs (except in ordering his domeſtick Affairs) he ſeemed unwilling to be engaged in any Conference; but continued in Bed, like one who ſuffered more under the Diſcipline of a diſcontented Heart, than the Violence of any bodily Diſtemper, which many Times appeared by thoſe unvoluntary Sighs, that in the Intervals, betwixt his frequent Slumbers, he was obſerved to fetch. On *Monday* before his Death he was taken ſpeechleſs, and continued ſo, in a kind of Lethargy, without much Motion or Action, unleſs a drowſy heaving and fetching for Breath, until *Wedneſday* the 24th of *Auguſt*, about Three o'Clock in the Afternoon, at which Time he expired.

It hath been given out by ſome (according to the manner of this cenſorious Age) that he made uſe of ſome narcotick and ſtupifying Medicines, either to haſten or facilitate his Death; and they would ground their Preſumptions (for Evidence have they none) upon his Drowſineſs and Inſenſibility during the laſt Days of his Sickneſs: From what Cauſe that Torpor proceeded is the Province of Phyſicians to determine; but that every one who dies in that manner muſt have had Recourſe to Art, I think none dare affirm; and therefore no Man ought, on partial Conjectures, to judge raſhly of one, who had the Courage not to deſpair in the worſt Circumſtances of Life, and far leſs ſhould be thought to do it, on a Death-bed of no painful Sickneſs.

An Arrow out of the ſame Quiver is another malicious Report, that he died a Papiſt; but it would be needleſs to produce the Teſtimonies of Perſons beyond Exception, who were conſtantly with him in his Sickneſs to refute this Aſperſion, ſince the Education, paſt Life, and Intereſt of Colonel *Blood* at this Time, may be ſufficient to convince all candid and unprejudiced Men, that this Surmiſe is but a Calumny raiſed by thoſe Enemies of his, who would willingly have had him worſe than they could make him.

On *Friday* after his Death he was decently interred in the new Chapel by *Tothill-Fields*, near the Place where his Wife lies buried, in Hopes of a more joyful Reſurrection than his Body ſoon after met with; for a Rumour that came abroad, that ſome Perſons had ſeen Mr. *Blood* alive, and that the Report of his Sickneſs, Death, and Ceremony of his Burial, was but a Farce and Piece of Pageantry to carry on ſome Deſign, his Body was on *Thurſday* after diſinterred, and the Coroner with his Jury appointed to ſit upon, and take Cognizance of the ſame. The Coroner accordingly, with his Jury, who were all, or moſt of them ſuppoſed to have known the Colonel, met and viewed the Body; but found his Face ſo altered and ſwollen in thoſe ſix Days it had lodged in the Earth, and ſo few Lineaments and Features of their old Acquaintance, that they could not agree on their Verdict. And though a Captain that was preſent, and an intimate Acquaintance of the deceaſed Colonel, ſhewed them his Thumb, which by ſome Accident he had received in his Life-time, had grown to a prodigious Bigneſs, and was taken Notice of by all that kept him Company; yet the Jury, not thinking it ſo eaſy to diſcover Colonel *Blood* by his Thumb, as it was of old to know *Hercules* by his Foot, demurred upon it, and for what I can hear have not as yet given in their Verdict.

It is not very ſtrange that lifeleſs Fleſh and Blood, haſtening to return to the Duſt from whence it was taken, and ready to diſſolve into Putrefaction, ſhould in ſix or ſeven Days be disfigured beyond kenning; but it is ſomewhat extraordinary, that ſuch a Perſon as Mr. *Blood*, who in all the Changes of a reſtleſs Life never wanted a competent Subſiſtence for himſelf and Family, ſhould at laſt, after he had weathered the greateſt Storms of Adverſity, made many Friends, recovered the Favour of his Prince, ſettled himſelf and Family in a neat and ſplendid Habitation, and had Money abroad in the World, that ſuch a one, I ſay, ſhould die, and have ſo inconſiderable a Caſh by him, that it would be thought too ſmall a *viaticum* for a forty Miles Journey; and yet this through Diſappointments was his Caſe, which, without doubt added no ſmall Weight to the other Preſſures of Mind that firſt ſunk, and at laſt broke that great Heart, which had often deſpiſed the Danger of many aſtoniſhing and bold Attempts, in the Courſe of a very ſingular and remarkable Life, of Fifty-three Years Duration.

Characters of Men, Sir, are beſt drawn from their Actions; and I ſhould be bold to give a Judgment of this Perſon, after that you have a candid Relation of the greateſt Atchievements of his Life: Yet I think it may not be altogether preſumptuous, if I offer to aſſiſt your Remarks upon the preceding Narrative, by a rough, yet plain Repreſentation of the Senſe that judicious Men, who were acquainted with the Colonel better than myſelf, have had, and ſtill have of his Value.

He was a Man, in their Opinion, fitter to imbroil than compoſe a diſconcerted Society; to be a Mate to ſome hunting *Nimrod*, rather than an Aſſiſtant to a peaceful Magiſtrate; not that he wanted a Reach of Underſtanding, and with a prompt Comprehenſion of Things a clear and diſtinguiſhing Judgment; but his ambitious and reſtleſs Spirit, ſuitably lodged in a ſtrong and vigorous Body, always directed his Thoughts to ſuch ſtirring and active Counſels, as not only were inconſiſtent with Temper and Mildneſs, but required a neceſſary Concurrence of undaunted

undaunted Resolution, with plodding Sagacity, before they could be brought to Effect: And indeed his Heart and Head clubbed so equally, and kept so true a Pace together in all his Undertakings, that if the great Things he set about failed of the projected Success, yet they were still brought so near an Issue, that Providence seemed concerned, by defeating them at the last nick, to make good that Oracle of Scripture, *That God brings to nought the Counsels of the Wise.* And his Designs were generally laid with so much Artifice, and managed with that Confidence of Undertaking, that in all Probability human and ordinary Circumspection was not sufficient to way-lay him in many of his subtile and politick Contrivances.

They cannot deny but that there was a great Obliquity in his Morals, since his most noted Actions can allow of no other Appellation, than that of splendid Crimes; but whether the Injuries which he always pretended to have received, disjointed the original Rectitude of his Nature and Education, by bending him to Revenge, or that powerful Ambition, which seems to be the greatest Excess that swayed him, set him upon unusual Methods of Conduct, it is still certain, that he pursued none of those mean and sneaking Actions, that leaves an indelible Character of Ignominy upon those who would be thought Gentlemen, when they trade in the Steps of Villains. He was indeed for forbidden Game, but never on the King's Highway, always in Royal Parks and Forests; Crowns, Scepters and Government were his Booty; and the surprising of Castles and Vice-Roys his Recreation. For compassing those great Ends, he had a wonderful Art of insinuating into the Affections of the Leaders of all discontented Parties; and maugre the Differences of Remonstrances of the various Persuasions in Religion of those he rallied with, he still won so much upon the Minds of the Cabals, that (unless it be of late) he was never suspected by his Party; though it appeared at his last, that he either fell back, or had in his Heart constantly adhered to the Religion wherein he was educated. In sum, Sir, when they have considered him on every side, in the Heat of Bustling, and in the Cool of his Retreat, which seemed only to be his quarter of Refreshment, wherein he plotted and laid new Trains for Action, they think that Part of the burlesque Epitaph that was made on Mr. *Prynn*, may very fitly quadrate to this famed Man:

That he went through thick and thin,
Was never out, nor never in.

And so I shall leave him to his Judge, and recommend myself to your good Wishes; being,

SIR,

Yours.

The NATION's ADDRESS to the Committee of Grievances in PARLIAMENT, for the taking off the CORPORATION OATH, in Behalf of all Cities, Towns-Corporate, Aldermen, Bailiffs, Burgeſſes; as alſo of Sheriffs, Lord Lieutenants, and Deputy-Lieutenants of Counties, Miniſters, and all others concerned for the Repealing thoſe Acts, which impoſe the Oath following.

The OATH.

I A. B. *do Swear, that it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King. And that I do abhor that traiterous Poſition, of taking Arms by his Authority, againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſionated by him, in purſuance of ſuch Commiſſions. And that I will not, at any Time, endeavour any Alteration of Government, either in Church or State.*

IN this Oath, we have the Matter, and the Form of Words, that is the Subſtance and Compoſure: And there are three Parts of it. The firſt Part is not conſiſtent with Judgment: The ſecond with Truth: The third with Righteouſneſs.

I will take up the laſt Part firſt. *And I will not endeavour any Alteration of Government.* There is no Government on Earth ſo perfect, that it has need of Laws, like the *Medes* and *Perſians*. Government may be conſidered in the Adminiſtration, (according to Politicks) or the Conſtitution. The Word Government is ſet down here indefinitely without Diſtinction. Alteration of Laws, and ſo Government in the Adminiſtration, is as neceſſary many times upon emergent Occaſions, to the Body Politick, as the freſh Air is to the Natural. This Oath was once brought in to the Parliament, to have been made common. It were a Thing not Righteous, a deſtructive Thing, to have ſuch an Engagement laid on Perſons in ſuch a Capacity: It were injurious, to have it laid on any Freeholders, or Free-Subjects, as we are. The Conſtitution of our Nation, as Parliamentary, is ſuch, that no Law can be eſtabliſhed or repealed, but it muſt paſs the Houſe of Commons; and ſo the whole Body concur in their Repreſentatives to every Alteration of (or in) the Government which is made, if it be legal: No Houſe of Commons, but is choſen by the People. *Every* Engliſhman *is intended to be here preſent, either in Perſon, or by Procuration; and the Conſent of the Parliament is taken to be every Man's Conſent*, ſays Sir *Thomas Smith*, *De Rep. Ang. l.* 2. *c.* 2. "Nay, while the King," *Conſilio & Conſenſu Baronum Leges olim impoſuit Univerſo Regno*, "by the Counſel and Aſſent of his Barons, "did give Laws to his whole Realm," *Conſentire inferior quiſque viſus eſt in perſona Domini ſui Capitalis prout hodie per Procuratores Comitatus*, "every In-"ferior ſeemed to conſent in the Perſon of his chief Lord; as now they do by "their

" their Burgeſſes, and Knights of the Shires," ſays Sir *Henry Spelman*. This is ſo true, that in this Senſe it is, that the Laws are ſaid to be *Quas vulgus elegerit*, *Which the People ſhall chooſe*. Now, then, if any free Subject hath a fundamental Liberty to chooſe Knights, and Burgeſſes; and accordingly to inform them of their Grievances, and Petition them for Redreſs; and in them, as their Repreſentatives, do conſent to the Alteration of Government and Laws, (if there be any paſs) as profitable to the Nation: How can ſuch an Oath be impoſed on him, *That he will not endeavour any Alteration*, as this? Is not chuſing Burgeſſes; informing them, petitioning them, acting and legally conſenting in them, to this end, *an Endeavour*; and that as much as can be in their Place and Calling? And no more than an Endeavour in their Place and Calling, was ſworn in the Covenant. It is true, that new Laws was made, and old repealed, without Alteration of the Conſtitution, but not without Alteration of the Government, becauſe Government takes in both the Adminiſtration and Conſtitution. Let us ſuppoſe the Word Government confined only the Conſtitution. This is the Conſtitution of the Government in the State, which is a legal Monarchy; and this indeed we are ſo far bound from endeavouring to alter (now we are conſtituted a Commonwealth) that I think it not alterable by the King himſelf, and Parliament (though it might be ſo little a while ſince, when they were a Convention) becauſe the ſupreme Power, for the Adminiſtration, muſt be ſuppoſed, in all Communities, to be derived from, and held by the Conſtitution. But as for Government in the Church; we are to know, and to acknowledge the Conſtitution itſelf hereof, is but a Law of the Adminiſtration, in Reference to the State. And conſequently, when all Laws for the Adminiſtration are liable to the Regulations of Parliaments; the great Queſtion will remain, how theſe Men, who are Preſbyterian, or Independant, in their Judgment, and think Epiſcopacy againſt the Scripture, can be denied the Endeavour only before mentioned (which conſiſts but in chooſing Repreſentatives, and doing no more than the Conſtitution allows) in order to the Proſecution of what they think themſelves obliged to in Conſcience, both by Oath and the Word of God? Is not the Foundation Liberty of the whole People, and ourſelves with them here in Danger? Judge ye, that are Wiſe; and what an anointed Plot have we had here in the Nation, that an Allegiance in effect, ſhould be ſworn to the Biſhops, as well as to the King, by ſuch Impoſitions?

For the Words then (or Form) I wonder at this Rigour in the Compiler, that a Man muſt ſwear, *Not to endeavour any Alteration*. Had it not been enough to be engaged, not to endeavour any Alteration of the Subſtance of our Government, Epiſcopacy in the Church, and Monarchy in the State; but it muſt be, *Not any Alteration?* It were well, that we were ſo abſolutely perfect. And again, muſt we not at any time endeavour any Alteration? What, if Times ſhould turn, and we be in a Confuſion, as in *Cromwell*'s Time, and immediately after? What if any ſuch like Chance, or Changes come? Muſt theſe Men be bound up, that they cannot endeavour to render back this Government that we have? No, not the King, and the Biſhops, if the Iniquity of the Times ſhould put them out; for they have ſworn, they *will not at any Time endeavour any Alteration of Government, in Church or State.* Sirs! The Matter of this Obligation, being againſt the Fundamental Freedom of the Subject and Parliament,

and the Words you ſee, ſo enſnaring, and that againſt the Duty all owe to the publick Good; I offer it to you to conſider, in the firſt Place, whether this laſt Part be according to Righteouſneſs?

For the middle Part of the Oath. Here is a Poſition of taking Arms by the King's Authority, againſt any commiſſionated by him, which muſt be ſworn to, as abhorred and traiterous. There is a Caſe, that hath been always in the Mouths of the Underſtanding, Refuſers of this Oath and Subſcription. Suppoſe ſome Writ ſued out, and comes to the Sheriff's Hands, and ſuppoſe Perſons come to oppoſe the Execution, by the King's perſonal Command or Commiſſion, and he thereupon raiſes the *Poſſe Comitatus* upon them; I will aſk here, Whether the Sheriff act not herein by the King's Authority? I think it cannot be denied. By the King's Authority is all one, as by the Laws; and if he can act ſo juſtificially againſt any, for all their Commiſſion, and the Law will bear him out; How is this Poſition in this Caſe traiterous, and to be abhorred? It were hardly now to be imagined, that it could be the Intent of any Parliament in *England*, to advance the perſonal Will, or Commiſſion of the King above Law, which is to make his Power Deſpotical, and Royal. *Non eſt Rex* (ſays *Bracton*) *ubi dominatur voluntas non Lex:* He is no King that governs by his Will, and not by Law. And how it ſhould come to paſs therefore, that he ſhould enjoin this Poſition indefinitely (without Exception of this Caſe at leaſt) to be ſworn to, as altogether Traiterous, I can never methinks wonder enough.

What if any Soldiers ſhould come with a Commiſſion under the Seal, to raiſe Money without an Act of Parliament; and by Virtue of ſuch Commiſſions, ſeize our Goods, rifle our Houſes, and raviſh our Wives? May not the People, or our inferior Magiſtrates, or the Sheriff for the County, withſtand ſuch Violence? May not the Conſtable alone, from the Juſtice to keep the Peace, raiſe the Neighbourhood, and do it? If he may, or the Sheriff may, it muſt be in the Name of the King, or by Authority of the Law, and then there is ſome Caſe or Caſes, where Arms or Force may be raiſed by the Authority of the King, againſt ſuch as are commiſſionated by him, though not againſt his ſacred Perſon. Nay, what if a Prince ſhould go to raviſh a Virgin, and ſhe catches up the next Weapon, or Inſtrument that is at hand, to defend her Chaſtity; would ſuch a Sacredneſs as that, make this Act of hers to be ſinful, that is ſo virtuous in itſelf? Suppoſe again, that Papiſts or Fanaticks ſhould either by Power or Surprize at any Time; get, a King in their Hand (as the Duke of *Guiſe* once dealt with the *French* King) and prevail with him, for fear of his Life, to grant Commiſſions under his Hand and Seal, deſtructive to the Church and State, muſt the Nation be Remedileſs in this Caſe, and the King and Kingdom ruined by theſe Commiſſions? Nay, what Security hath the Nation, that a Lord Keeper may not prove Traitor to his King and Country, and under the Broad Seal grant Commiſſions to diſband his Majeſty's Life-Guard, deliver up the Navy, or Sea-Port Towns, ſeize on the Tower, and all Places of Strength? In what a Condition were the King and Kingdom brought, if the Subjects Hands be bound up by an Oath not to reſiſt, or take Arms againſt the Executors of ſuch Commiſſions, ſuppoſe but ſo long as they ill underſtand his Deſign, ſeeing by that Time the Nation be paſt Recovery? And who is there now, that will not be offended at the Senſe, and turned at the Horror of theſe ſad Conſequences, into

which

which ſuch Teſts and Injunctions (if not now ſeaſonably retrenched) may lead our Poſterity?

As for the Form thereof, the Words, *I abhor this Traiterous Poſition*, they are harſh. The Word *Abhor* eſpecially, was a Word of Intereſt and Paſſion, a cooler Word as I *diſown*, or *diſallow*, might have ſerved. Some of the graveſt of the Nonconformiſts were much ſcandalized at that Word. A Man may ſay a Thing is unlawful in his Conſcience, when he cannot ſay, according to Truth, *I abhor it*. Well Sirs! When the Words, Abhor and Traiterous are ſo harſh in the Compoſure, and when ſuch Caſes as above-mentioned, and others may be put as to the Poſition in the Matter of it; I offer in the next Place, to Conſideration, whether the middle Part of the Oath be according to Truth?

For the firſt Part, we have a large Aſſertion roundly ſworn. The Oath runs not only, that it is not lawful to take Arms againſt the King, and that it is not lawful on any Pretence, but *on any Pretence* (or Cauſe) *whatſoever*. The grammatical literal Conſtruction of that Word ſeems to inſinuate no leſs, than that this Propoſition muſt be held without Reſtraint or Limitation. Among the moſt eminent Authors, which have wrote of the Power of Princes, and eſtabliſhed it againſt Reſiſtance in their Writings on this Subject, I ſuppoſe there are few or none to be levelled above theſe three, *Barclay*, *Grotius*, *Arniſæus*; and we ſhall find, that they have all their Reſtrictions or Caſes of Exception, in the Maintenance of this Tenet. And how could any learned Juſtice formerly be very earneſt in puniſhing a Refuſer, when if the Matter was but ſcanned, the Reaſon why he refuſed, would be found only, becauſe he had read more than ſome others that yielded their Submiſſion. I begin with *Barclay*, that is, *William Barclay*, a *Scot* and Counſellor to the *French* King: Who writes againſt *Buchanan*, *Boucher*, and other *Monarchomachiſts*, as he calls them. This learned Man endeavours to make his Prince to be above the whole People; that conſequently no Arms can be taken againſt him: Nevertheleſs, when he comes to put ſome preſſing Caſes, he thus limits them. *Quid ergo nulline caſus inſidere poſſunt, quibus populo in Regem arma capere jure ſuo liceat? Nulli certe quam diu Rex manet. What then? Can there be no Caſes happen wherein it is lawful for the People to take Arms againſt the King by Right? None certainly, ſo long as he remains a King.* There are Caſes indeed he accounts, in which a King doth, *exuere perſonam Regis*, or *Dominatu ſe exuere, put off the Perſon of a King*; and particularly (*l.* 3. *c.* 16.) he mentions two: *Si regnum alienet: Si Reſpublicam evertere conetur. If he go to alienate his Kingdom: If he go to overthrow the Commonwealth.* Let us come to a *Grotius*, and firſt quote him in his Judgment of *Barclay*, leſt you may think elſe I miſtake him. *Barclaius* (ſays he) *Regis imperii licet Aſſertor fortiſſimus huc tamen deſcendit, ut populo, & inſigni ejus parti jus concedit ſe tuendi adverſus immanem ſevitiam.* Barclay, *though the moſt ſtrong Aſſertor of King'y Government, does come to this, that he grants a Right to the People, or an eminent Part of them, of defending themſelves againſt intolerable Oppreſſion.* For himſelf therefore, after he hath aſſerted this Tenet, *Summum imperium tenentibus jure reſiſti non poſſe*, that the higher Powers may not lawfully be reſiſted from Scripture, Antiquity, Authority, and Example, to as much Purpoſe, perhaps, as any, he deſcends to put ſeven Caſes; wherein he does, *Lectorem monere*, warn his Reader, *Ne punet in hanc legem delinquere*

linquere eos qui reverà non delinquunt, leſt he miſtake ſome for Delinquents in this Matter, that are none. It will be too long, and needleſs to mention thoſe Caſes. For *Arniſæus*, he hath wrote three learned Books of Politicks; *De jure Majeſtratus. De Doctrina Politica. De Authoritate Principum in Populum ſemper inviolabili, ſeu, Quod nulla ex cauſa ſubditis fas ſit contra legitimum Principem arma ſumere.* That the Authority of Princes over the People ought to be inviolable; or, that it is lawful for no Cauſe to take up Arms againſt our lawful Prince. Here then we have our Tenet; but as to the ſtating it, he is forced to diſtinguiſh. There is *Rex*, and there is *Tyrannus*; a King, and a Tyrant: And there is *Tyrannus in Titulo*, and *Tyrannus in Exercitio*; a Tyrant in Title, and a Tyrant in Practice: And this he comes to in the iſſue, that *Tyrannus in Exercitio*, a Tyrant in Practice does, *Excidere de jure, & ſi Hereditario*, fall from his Right, through Hereditary. *Truditur Reſpublica Principi in eum finem* (ſays he) *ut illi proſit in ſalutem omnium, a quo ſi prorſus diſciverit, etiam de poteſtate cadit, quam non alio ſine ſibi commiſſam habebat.* The Commonwealth is delivered to the Prince, that he ſhould rule over it for the common Safety; from which if he depart altogether, he falls even from the Power itſelf, which was committed to him only for this End. By ſuch Teſtimonies as theſe, I would convince the Compilers of ſuch Declarations, if they be alive, and any others that are yet of the ſame Spirit, with ſome Reſentment and Shame, that when a temperate Senſe and Meaning of them is ſuch, as ſome good Men have not ſtuck at; yet they are ſo compoſed *in terminis*, as renders them not to be endured.

For the Form then yet of the Words. *I* A. B. *do Swear, That it is not lawful*, &c. Here is an Oath to the Matter of a Propoſition queſtioned, to the Determination of a Point of Conſcience, and that diverſly decided. An Oath ſhould be to a *Matter of Fact*, and cannot be taken but to that whereof we are certain. To require of Men therefore to ſwear to the Verity of a Doctrine, is not according to Judgment, being a Thing impoſſible, becauſe no Man is infallible. Now then, Sirs! When here is ſuch an *Erratum* in the *Compoſure*, as the want of the Words, *I believe*, or the like, *I Swear that I hold, or believe, that it is not lawful*, &c. and ſo material an Exception, as the Judgment of the moſt Learned comes to, againſt the *Subſtance* in *Terminis*, of the firſt Part of the Oath, which yet hath gone down ordinarily, without chewing; I humbly offer it, in the third Place, to be conſidered, how this Oath can be taken in Truth or in Judgment.

An Oath muſt be taken in Judgment, Truth, and in Righteouſneſs. The firſt Part is not according to Judgment; the ſecond not according to Truth; the third not according to Righteouſneſs.

ENGLAND's CONCERN in the Caſe of his Royal Highneſs *JAMES* Duke of YORK and ALBANY. An Extraordinary Pamphlet, and worthy to be read by all Subjects, whether of Royal or Republican Opinions. Printed 1680.

HAVING ſeen and read all the Pamphlets for, and againſt the Power of Parliaments in the Right of Succeſſion, I cannot but conclude both Sides miſtaken in the main, and to have, wilfully or ignorantly, paſt over, or wrong ſtated, the chief Part of the Queſtion; which was, not what the Parliament, meaning King, Lords, and Commons, could do, by Virtue of their Might or Power; but, what in Juſtice, or Prudence, they ought to do in the Caſe of his Royal Highneſs?

In the firſt Notion, no Man in his Wits can diſpute, that the ſtronger joining againſt the weaker, have not Power to do what they pleaſe: But this being a Right of Nature, to which both Parties are equally entituled, and both, upon entering into Society, have renounced or changed for an artificial Right or Power, that of the Magiſtrate, or Community, cannot fall within the Limits of the Queſtion; becauſe it can never be made uſe of, without running into a State of War, putting an end to all Society, and with *Iſhmael*, having *one Hand againſt every Man, and every Man's Hand againſt him.* And therefore in the ſecond Notion this Controverſy is to be taken, *viz.* What in Juſtice, by the Laws in being, or ſince the Inſtance is extraordinary, what in Prudence, in Reaſon, the Parliament may do? For, this being the ſupreme Judicature, muſt not want a ſufficient Authority in any Caſe that can poſſibly happen.

We muſt then enquire, whether ſome Actions of the Duke have been obnoxious and cenſurable? And if found ſo, what is their proper or condign Puniſhment? In order to which, it is to be premiſed, that nothing in its own nature is or can be penal, or cenſurable *in foro humano*, but a Tranſgreſſion of ſome poſitive Inſtitution of the Commonwealth, or a Deviation from the Dictates of right Reaſon. Now the Crime objected, but never yet proved, nor confeſſed, is the Duke's going over from the Proteſtant to the *Romiſh* Church. This is the *Trojan* Horſe that ruins our City; for in its Belly is hid a myſterious Conſequence, *viz.* That his doing ſo, gave Encouragement, and was the Occaſion of the late diſcovered Popiſh Plot. The firſt Part of this Accuſation is a Breach of the Laws of *England*; the latter, of thoſe of Reaſon, and all Nations; and therefore puniſhable after the moſt ſevere manner. But before Sentence, or Execution, it is to be obſerved, that not only our own, but the Laws of all Countries, require not only the Criminal's Conviction, but that his Sufferings be commenſurate to his Offence. This laſt muſt be known by the ſtated Meaſures, the Rules of the Society and Country; the former is built upon the ſame Foundation, and neceſſarily ſuppoſes a legal Proceſs, and ſufficient Evidence. Both are wanting in this of the Duke, he having never been ſummoned to appear, nor Wit-

neſs produced to prove him guilty: For, who can ſay he has changed his Religion, or that, if he be now a Papiſt, he has not been ſo ever ſince he came to the uſe of Reaſon, ſince he was forced to fly, to avoid the Effects of the late Rebellion? If that be ſo, who are moſt in Fault, thoſe who occaſioned this Evil, or he that ſuffered himſelf, before his Years enabled him to underſtand better, and to chuſe, to be perſuaded that was not the trueſt Religion, that authoriz'd ſuch Impieties as Chriſtianity forbids? If this be his Caſe, he is not liable to the Pains of Treaſon, pronounced againſt the Perverters and Perverted to the *Romiſh* Communion. But, to wave Diſputes, allowing it were otherwiſe, yet the Statute of General Pardon enacted in the Year 1673. has ſo acquitted him from all Guilt, that on this Foot he now ſtands *rectus in curia*, innocent before any earthly Tribunal.

But as to the Conſequence, that his being reconciled to *Rome* has given Occaſion and Encouragement to the Plot, I can only ſay, that he cannot in Reaſon be blamed on that Account, if it be not proved he intended and deſigned that horrid Contrivance. It is the End and Intention that juſtifies, or condemns any Action; and neither Father nor Mother are to be cenſured, that a Monſter happens to be the Iſſue of a Marriage-bed. This being accidental (for ſo it muſt be granted, till the contrary be made out) can no more be imputed to his Royal Highneſs, without Madneſs or Folly, than it can to God, without Blaſphemy or Irreligion, that by his making Man he is the Author and Cauſe of Sin, and all the Evils under Heaven.

I am unwilling to mention what I have ſeen in Print, to wit, *That the Duke of* York's *being a Papiſt has given Birth and Life to the Plot*; becauſe this is ſo inartificial and illogical an Inference or Concluſion, that I am perſuaded the Authors will be aſhamed of the Ignorance or Malice it betrays: An Aſſertion that has neither Senſe, nor Wit, nor more Force than the old Wives Story, *The Cat waſhed her Face a* Sunday, *therefore it rained on* Monday; or any other ſuch impertinent or ſenſeleſs Saying. Indeed, if this could be made appear, I think it is a Crime of ſo foul a Nature, that nothing leſs than Death, not Diſinheriſon, could ſatisfy the Juſtice of the Nation. But from this the Duke is acquitted by Mr. *Oates*; and Mr. *Bedloe*, even in his laſt Words, clears him from having any Knowledge of the Deſign againſt the King's Life; in which, and in the bringing in Religion by the Sword, (of which his Royal Highneſs is not accuſed) the Treaſon or Conſpiracy doth conſiſt. And being freed by theſe two, by whom elſe has he been accuſed? By Mr. *Dangerfield*. As to this, tell me what you think, when you reflect, that he gave in his Depoſitions to the late Lord-Mayor, and to the King in Council, the firſt and ſeventh of *November* 1679, and upon Oath declared ſo often, he had nothing of further Diſcovery or Additions. What Credit will you then give his late new Accuſation before the Houſe of Commons, of the Duke, Lord Privy Seal, Earl of *Peterborough*, and Lady *Powis*? Whatever the Infamy of his Perſon, and the former Actions of his Life would ſignify, this alone, in my Opinion, would invalidate his Teſtimony in all Matters, with Men of Honour or of Conſcience. So that upon the whole Matter, from what does hitherto appear, the printed Narratives and Letters to and from Popes and Cardinals, I am not afraid to avow, that excluding the Duke his Right of Succeſſion, is contrary to the Laws of God, and of this

this Kingdom (expreſſed in *Magna Charta*, and agreeable to thoſe that give every Man his due, Liberty of Perſon, and Deſcent of Inheritance, and all the Advantages of Birthright; Bleſſings every Freeman has in common with the Prince: And if the greater be thus outed, how ſhall the leſs be ſecured?) and to the Rules of Reaſon, which forbid the doing any Action that in its Conſequence will be a greater Evil, than that from which we intended to be freed. The two firſt Parts of this Aſſertion are very plain, becauſe Religion or Chriſtianity alters not the Political Conſtitutions of any Society, and becauſe Popery in *England* hinders no Man from being Heir to Real or Perſonal Eſtates; the third therefore is to be made evident, to wit, that Prudence and Reaſon tells us, the Duke ought not to be barred of Succeſſion. I ſay then, this Act is not only unjuſtifiable at preſent, but in future and Conſequence, as what will bring upon the whole Nation irreparable Miſchiefs. Where there are more Hazards of an ill, than a good Event, the Action is in Prudence to be avoided. In great and momentous Inſtances new Experiments are not to be tried; nor indeed in any Caſe, or Diſtemper, where the Remedy is like to prove more fatal than the Diſeaſe. Now to give or allow ſo boundleſs, arbitrary, and deſpotick a Power, as that of putting by the next Heir, or puniſhing *ex poſt facto*, either in the King alone, (who is obliged under the Obligation of Oaths and Intereſt to govern by the ſtated Meaſures of Law) or in him, when adviſing with both Houſes, (whoſe Power is ſo far from being co-ordinate or independent, that it is only communicated, or derivative from the Prince, as Streams from the Fountain, and therefore can add or give him nothing new) is to ſubject and enſlave ourſelves and our Poſterities. For, if every one be a Papiſt, whom Faction or Malice, Preſumption or ſlight Circumſtances, and no poſitive Proofs, have made ſo; and if the right Heir on this Account, or for being really a Papiſt, may be deſpoiled of his Right by Parliament, ſince there can be greater Crimes or Evils than Popery, which we all acknowledge conſiſtent with Salvation, what can ſecure all future Princes, even the King at any Time in being, from being laid aſide and dethroned. To endeavour ſo abſolute a Subverſion of our Government, if it be not Treaſon, is to deſign, if it be purſued, that which cannot but happen, Anarchy and Confuſion, and all the Calamities of an unnatural Civil War.

Againſt this, there is but one Objection, that in the Notion of a Parliament a King is implied, and nothing can be ſuppoſed to conſent to his own Ruin. This, I confeſs, is true in Nature, in *Theſi*, but not in the Fact, *in Hypotheſi*: For, what has been once done, may be again: Tumults and Factions, Cunning and Addreſs, may make a Prince quit his Crown to ſave his Life; and yet nor e ever loſt the firſt, but ſoon after did the ſecond: Nay, every Flower or Jewel he parts with, is a Step or Advance to his Grave: And the Conſiderer of the *Weighty Conſiderations* leaves in this Objection no Force, by mentioning the Seconds of the *Edward*'s and *Richard*'s depoſed by Parliamentary Authority; he might have added to his Catalogue the late Royal Martyred CHARLES. While this Book, in many Paſſages treaſonable, is publickly ſold before the Doors of Parliament, who can lay aſide fatal Apprehenſions; eſpecially when two Houſes of Commons have ſucceſſively prepared a Bill diſpoſing of the Crown contrary to the King's expreſs Commands, and former Precedents? And becauſe I will not

run too far back, and that Queen *Elizabeth* is renowned for one of the beſt of our Princes, I will inſtance what in ſome great Points happened in her Reign, concerning the Commons intermeddling in the Eccleſiaſtical and the Crown Affairs, their Right and her Prerogative.

In the Twenty-third Year of her Reign, when the Houſe of Commons firſt ordered to have a Time of Prayer and Humiliation appointed in the Temple, on *Sunday* Fortnight after, the Queen hindered it, and ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe by Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, declaring, *That her Highneſs had great Admiration of the Raſhneſs of this Houſe, in committing ſuch an apparent Contempt of her expreſs Command, as to put in Execution ſuch an Innovation, without her Privity and Pleaſure firſt known.* And thereupon Mr. Vice-Chamberlain moved the Houſe to make humble Submiſſion to her Majeſty, acknowledging the ſaid Offence and Contempt, craving a Remiſſion of the ſame, with a full Purpoſe to forbear the committing of the like hereafter. And by the Conſent of the whole Houſe, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain carried their Submiſſion to her Majeſty.

Likewiſe in the Twenty-eighth Year of her Reign, the Queen ſaid, *She was ſorry the Commons meddled with chuſing and returning Knights of the Shire for* Norfolk, *a Thing impertinent for the Houſe to deal withal, and only belonging to the Office and Charge of the Lord Chancellor, from whom the Writs iſſue, and are returned.*

In the Thirty-ninth Year of her Reign, the Commons, by their Speaker, complaining of Monopolies; the Queen made anſwer, by the Lord-Keeper, *That ſhe hoped her dutiful and loving Subjects would not take away her Prerogative, which is the chiefeſt Flower in her Garland, and the principal and head Pearl in her Crown and Diadem; but that they will rather leave that to her Diſpoſition.*

In the Thirty-fifth Year of her Reign, Mr. *Peter Wentworth* and Sir *Henry Bromley* delivered a Petition to the Lord-Keeper, deſiring the Lords of the Upper Houſe to be Suppliants with them of the Lower Houſe, unto her Majeſty, for entailing the Succeſſion of the Crown, whereof they had a Bill ready drawn. Her Majeſty was highly diſpleaſed herewith, as contrary to her former ſtrait Command, and charged the Council to draw the Parties before them. Sir *Thomas Henage* ſent for them, and commanded them to forbear the Parliament, and not to go out of their ſeveral Lodgings: After they were called before the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord *Buckhurſt*, and Sir *Thomas Henage*; Mr. *Wentworth* was committed by them to the Tower; Sir *Henry Bromley*, and other Members of the Houſe of Commons, to whom he imparted the Matter, were ſent to the *Fleet*.

And in the ſame Parliament, when Mr. *Morrice*, Attorney of the Court of Wards, moved againſt the hard Courſes of the Biſhops, Ordinaries, and other Eccleſiaſtical Judges in their Courts, and ſpake againſt Subſcriptions and Oaths, offering a Bill to be read againſt Impriſonment for Refuſal of Oaths; the ſame Afternoon Sir *Edward Coke*, then Speaker, was ſent for to Court, where the Queen herſelf gave him a Meſſage to the Houſe, declaring, *It being wholly in her Power to call, to determine, to aſſent or diſſent to any Thing done in Parliament; that the Calling of this was only that the Majeſty of God might be more religiouſly obſerved, by compelling, by ſome ſharp Laws, ſuch as neglect that Ser-*

vice;

vice; and that the Safety of her Majesty's Person, and the Realm, might be provided for: It was not meant they should meddle with Matters of State, or Causes Ecclesiastical; and she wondered that any could be of so high Commandment, to attempt a Thing so expressly contrary to that which she had commanded; wherefore with this she was highly offended: And because the Words spoken by my Lord-Keeper are not now perhaps well remembered, or some be now here that were not then present; her Majesty's present Charge, and express Command is, that no Bill touching the said Matter of State, or Reformation in Causes Ecclesiastical be exhibited: And upon my Allegiance (saith the Speaker) *I am charged, if any such Bill be exhibited, not to read it.* I have been credibly informed, that the Queen sent a Messenger, or Serjeant at Arms, into the House of Commons, and took out Mr. *Morrice*, and committed him to Prison. Within few Days after, I find Mr. *Worth* moved in the House, that they might be humble Suitors to her Majesty, that she would be pleased to set at Liberty those Members of the House that were restrained; which was accordingly done: And Answer was sent them by her Privy-Council, *that her Majesty had committed them for Causes best known to herself; and to press her Highness with this Suit, would but hinder them whose Good they sought: That the House must not call the Queen to an Account for what she doth of her Royal Authority: That the Causes for which they are restrained, may be high and dangerous: That her Majesty liketh no such Questions, neither doth it become the House to search into Matters of that Nature.*

In 39 *Eliz.* the Commons were told, *That their Privilege was* Yea *and* No: *And that her Majesty's Pleasure was, that if the Speaker perceived any idle Heads, which would not stick to Hazard their own Estates, but meddle with reforming the Church, and transforming the Commonweal, by exhibiting Bills to that Purpose, the Speaker should not receive them, till they were viewed and considered by those, who are fitter to consider of such Things, and can better judge of them.* And at the End of this Parliament, the Queen rejected forty-eight Bills, which had passed both Houses. All these Passages are expresly to be found in the Records and Registries of the Council-Table, and are quoted by Sir *Robert Filmer*, in his *Free-holder's Grand Inquest*, p. 77, *&c.* and by Mr. *Howel*, sometimes Clerk of the Council, in his *Philangus*, p. 57, *&c.* and several others.

By which it appears, that this grand Privilege of Parliament, *Liberty of Speech*, which at present makes so great a Noise in the World, was not in this good Queen's Reign half so considerable as People now would fain persuade us. It was of no great Antiquity in her Days, but a Favour first begged in King *Henry* the Eighth's Reign, by Sir *Thomas Moore*, then Speaker of the House of Commons, who prayed the King, in behalf of the House, *That if in Communication and Reasoning any Man should speak more largely than of Duty he ought to do, that all such Offences should be pardoned, and this to be entered upon Record:* Which was accordingly granted by the King. And the same Favour was allowed by Queen *Elizabeth*, in the beginning of her Reign, to *Thomas Gargrave*, then Speaker: since whose Time this Privilege was always humbly desired by the Speakers, for themselves, and the whole House of Commons, and favourably granted by their Sovereign. Yet this Privilege extended only to rash, unadvised, ignorant, or negligent Escapes and Slips in Speech, which

People

People are ſubject to let fall in the Heat of their Debates; not to wilful Reflections, much leſs to treaſonable Speeches, againſt the King and Government; as ſufficiently appears, not only by the aforeſaid Proceedings in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, but alſo by the Tranſactions of her Father's Reign, where we find, that *Richard Strood* and his Complices, were not thought ſufficiently protected by this Privilege for their free Speech in the Houſe, unleſs their Pardons were expreſsly confirmed by the King in Parliament: To which Purpoſe there is a printed Statute enacted in King *Henry* the Eighth's Time. And in Queen *Mary*'s Days, *Plowden* was fined in the *King's Bench*, for Words ſpoken by him in Parliament againſt the Queen's Dignity. See *Filmer ubi ſupra*, and Mr. *Fowlis Hiſt. of the Plots and Conſpiracies of the pretended Saints*, init.

This was well known to our *Britiſh Solomon* King *James*, who finding the Houſe of Commons encroaching too far upon the Prerogative, ſent the enſuing Letter from *Newmarket* to Sir *Thomas Richardſon* their Speaker. *Mr. Speaker, we have heard, to our Grief, that our Diſtance from Parliament, cauſed by our Indiſpoſition of Health, hath emboldened ſome fiery and popular Spirits of the Lower Houſe to debate Matters above their Capacity, to our Diſhonour, and Breach of Prerogative Royal. Theſe are therefore to command you to make known to them, that none hereafter ſhall preſume to meddle with any Thing concerning our Government, or Matters of State; with our Son's Match with the Daughter of* Spain, *nor to touch the Honour of that King, or any other our Friends or Confederates, nor with any Man's Particulars, which have their due Motion in our ordinary Courts of Juſtice. And whereas they have ſent a Meſſage to Sir* Edward Sandis, *to know the Reaſons of his late Reſtraint; you ſhall reſolve them, it was not for any Miſdemeanor of his in Parliament; but to put them out of doubt of any Queſtion hereafter of that Nature, we think ourſelf very free and able to puniſh any Man's Miſdemeanors in Parliament, as well ſitting there, as after; which we mean not to ſpare hereafter, upon any Occaſion of any Man's. And if they have touched any Point, which we have here forbidden, in any Petition of theirs, which is to be ſent to us, tell them, (except they reform it) we will not deign the hearing or anſwering.* Newmarket, Decem. 3. 1621. Sanderſon's *Hiſtory of King* James, *p.* 510.

And likewiſe, in the ſame Parliament, when the Houſe of Commons much inſiſted upon their Privileges, calling them *their ancient and undoubted Inheritance*, this wiſe Prince, in a ſecond Letter to the Speaker, plainly and truly told them, *That moſt Privileges of Parliament grew from Precedents, which ſhews rather a Toleration, than an Inheritance; therefore he could not allow of the Stile, calling it their ancient and undoubted Right and Inheritance; but could rather have wiſhed that they had ſaid, their Privileges were derived from the Grace and Permiſſion of his Anceſtors and him.* And thereupon he concludes, *He cannot with Patience endure his Subjects to uſe ſuch Antimonarchical Words concerning their Liberties, except they had ſubjoined, that they were granted unto them by the Grace and Favour of his Predeceſſors:* Yet he promiſed *to be careful of whatſoever Privileges they enjoyed by long Cuſtom, and uncontrolled and lawful Precedents*, Sanderſon's *Hiſt. p.* 519, and 520.

Now, add to this, that if the King ſhould be drawn to conſent to the Bill of Excluſion, after his ſeveral Declarations to the contrary, he cannot but be con-

cluded under a Conſtraint, which alone makes the Act void in itſelf; it being abſolutely neceſſary, that the Commons, Lords, and the King's Conſent ſhould be free from all Reſtraint and Terror: And we know, that Acts of Parliaments in 15 *Edw.* III. and 10 *Rich.* II. were repealed, meerly becauſe the King's Conſent was forced. ——— Moreover, if we ſeriouſly did conſider the mighty Advantages of an Hereditary Monarchy beyond an Elective, we ſhould find it reaſonable, that though the Laws had not, yet the King ſhould, endeavour to make ours ſuch; much leſs ought he to alter that moſt happy Conſtitution, by excluding his Brother. For, let Men ſay what they pleaſe, the ſame Power that can put by One, may All; and ſo change the Beſt of Government for the Worſt, or None at all.

Beſides, his Majeſty cannot but find it his own Intereſt to ſtick to the Duke, when he reflects, that there is in all Things, eſpecially in State-Affairs, a Balance neceſſary, by an equal Libration to keep Things in a right Order, and prevent Confuſion and Ruin. Where Men are, there will be Ambition; this creates Parties and Factions; theſe muſt be kept divided and aſunder; by their Jars and Diſagreement, and by ſo poiſing them, that the leſs, like the ſmaller Fry of Fiſhes, be not ſwallowed by the greater, the Safety of the Prince and State is preſerved. If the Prince be once prevailed upon to join with the one, to the Suppreſſion of the other, he has reſigned his Power, and expoſed himſelf to the Mercy of the Conqueror. This he likewiſe does, if he gives way to ſeveral little Factions to embody into one of greater Strength than the reſt, though aſſiſted with that of his own Particular: For here we muſt ſuppoſe three ſtrong Parties, one of the Prince, and two of the People. To keep this Balance in the beſt Poſture, and to ſecure the Peace of the Commonwealth, by the King's reigning void of Fear or Jealouſy on the Score of Factions, or his Succeſſor, it is neceſſary in Polity to find, or make the next Heir the Object of the People's Hatred, and keep the Factions from combining; becauſe, however they may chance to be weary of the King, either through the Inconſtancy of their Humours, ſtudious of Change and Variety, though for the worſe, or through the ill Conduct of Miniſters, or the Misfortunes of Publick Affairs; when they find a Perſon whom they hate like to ſucceed, they will be for Continuance of the old; or elſe, being jealous of one another, will not attempt his Removal. This then being ſo great an Advantage, prudent Kings cannot be ſuppoſed to neglect it, by ſuffering the immediate Heir to be run down, and thereby giving way to the People to dethrone the preſent Poſſeſſor, and ſet up the next in courſe after. To this Wiſdom, in *Henry* the Third, gained by his own and Father's Misfortunes, we owe our preſent Conſtitution of Parliament. This King, perceiving the Lords Power (in whom, with himſelf, the ſupreme Legiſlative Right then conſiſted) grown formidable, the Commons being their Liverymen and Dependants, erected theſe into a Lower Houſe, to counterpoiſe the Weight of the other, that he, joining with either, as Occaſion of State required, might Balance the other, and ſo keep Things in an equal and ſteady Libration. And if his Succeſſors had been as ſolicitous to maintain, as he was to inſtitute, this good Order and Polity, the Eternity of this Commonwealth would not at this Day have been a Queſtion. And as this was our Home-Intereſt, and that of holding the Scales even between *France* and *Spain* our Foreign; ſo it plainly appears,

that

that not to exclude the Duke, is not only his Majesty's particular Interest, but also that of the Three Kingdoms. Not to insist, that the Parliament is not compleatly the People's Representative, but granting it is, they cannot be supposed to enjoy a greater Power than those they represent; who, because such are the greater, and therefore must be concluded, explicitly or implicitly, to limit the Commissions of these their Trustees; and that Confinement, Reason will tell us, must be within the Bounds of our ancient Rights and Privileges; consequently, these are not to be invaded, without the Consent of every individual Person, or at least of the major Part, truly polled and computed. The present Electors, not making a sixth Part of the Nation, cannot in Reason bind the rest, contrary to their Interest; much less can the Majority of those chosen by them, oblige the others to conform to whatever they enact, when they find the Statutes more prejudicial than advantageous; the End of Government being the Good of the Community, *i. e.* of the major Part, not of any artificial or fictitious Majority of a *Quorum*, as in the House of Commons, of five hundred and twelve to reckon forty the greater Number.

Now if such an Act should be obtained, the Consequence, if the Duke survive the King, (*whose Life God long continue*) must needs be a War and Misery, Folly and Repentance. Our Histories are full of Tragical Events upon such Occasions: One of them wrought so great a Depopulation, that in sixty Miles riding, between *York* and *Durham*, for nine Years together, there was neither Ground tilled, nor House left standing. *Harold*, justling young *Edgar Atheling* out of the Throne, produced a Civil War, and the *Norman* Conquest. I wish excluding the Duke may not enslave us to the *French* Dominion, which may be of greater Evil, than the cutting of as many of our own People's Throats as died in the *Yorkist* and *Lancastrian* Quarrel, upwards of two hundred thousand of the Commons, besides several Kings and Princes, and Nobles without Number. The Duke cannot be supposed to want Sticklers both at home, and from abroad; few will believe the Act lawful in its own Nature, nor the King's Consent free, or themselves not bound by Oath to his Assistance: *Scotland* and *Ireland* will rejoice at another Civil War in *England*, in hopes to free themselves from the Inconveniences of being Provinces. Those who have least to lose, are the usual Gainers by Rebellion. There are sown between these Nations Seeds of Discontent, and there will not be wanting those who will improve them. I have heard from knowing Persons, there are no less than fifty thousand *Irish* Soldiers now living, that have been trained up in the *French*, and other Foreign Service; and I believe there cannot be fewer of the *Scottish* People. These all, with many of our own Countrymen, will quickly credit the Lawyers, that tell us, *No Act, no Crime, no Attainder of Treason, can bar the next of Blood from being King in the instant of Time his Predecessor does not so much die, as transmit his Life, his Breath, or his Soul, by a State-Metempsychosis, into the Nostrils, the Body of his Successor.* *Edward* the Fourth, *Henry* the Seventh, Queen *Mary*, Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* enjoyed the Crown, though all excluded by Acts of Parliament, if they ought to have the Name, that were the Effects of Force, strong Hand, and an usurping Tyrannick Power. These Statutes were by all Judges of *England* accounted void in themselves, and therefore never had the Honour of Repeals, nor were they brought into Plea by Sir *Wal-*

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ter Rawleigh, one of the greateſt Wits of that Age, though he urged a very trivial one, *The King's not being crowned*; a Ceremony of Pomp and State, not of Uſe or Neceſſity, as appears not only in that it could be of no uſe to him, but that ſeveral Kings have exerciſed a full Regal Authority, enacted Laws, *&c.* before their Coronations. And ſince this Inauguration is but a Formality, let it be well weigh'd, that unleſs the Monarchy be made purely Elective, and that Part of the Common Law, and the ſeveral Statutes that have declared it Hereditary, be repealed in expreſs Words, and the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy changed, and the Succeſſor mentioned by Name, the Act againſt the Duke falls to the Ground of itſelf, in the Moment in which he happens to out-live the King; for thereby becoming our lawful Sovereign, none can fight againſt, or oppoſe his Right to the Crown, without Prejury and Rebellion; we having ſworn to defend, againſt all Pretenders whatſoever, Foreign or Domeſtick, the King's Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, and all Rights, Privileges, and Prehemineneces to them belonging, annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. Is not the Deſcent of the Crown upon the next of Blood one of theſe Rights, *&c.* acknowledged by the Common Law, and in the Statutes 1 *M. Eliz.* and *Jac.*? The Maxim in our Laws, *The King never dies*, confirming as much. And was not the Duke then, at the taking of theſe Oaths, the next Heir? And what Power on Earth can abſolve from the Obligation of promiſſory Oaths, without the Party's own Conſent to whom the Promiſe is made? Let us not rail againſt the Pope, for depoſing Princes, and abſolving Subjects from their Allegiance, and yet allow the Parliament the ſame Authority?

The Bill againſt the Duke is not only of an extraordinary, but of two Natures; one expreſſes a preſent Puniſhment, Exile, which, as a Subject, did the Crime deſerve it, none will deny may be inflicted; the other refers to the future, and is at preſent no Puniſhment, nor can be hereafter; for if he out-live his Brother, his being King in that Moment puts upon him a new Perſon, a Politick Capacity, over which, not before in being, no former Authority could have Power, nor any after, becauſe himſelf is become Supreme, and, as ſuch, by our own, and the Laws of God, ſubject to no Earthly Tribunal. *Bracton*, and all our old honeſt Lawyers, tell us with one Conſent, *The King can do no Wrong*, *i. e.* can be accountable to his Subjects for none of his Actions. *Nemo quidem de factis ejus præſumat diſputare, multo minus contra factum ejus ire —— Locus erit ſupplicationi, quod factum ſuum corrigat & emendet; quod quidem ſi non fecerit, ſufficit ei ad pœnam, quod dominum Deum expectet ultorem.*

Now he that ſays, *The Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy reach no further than to the King in being*, ſays not amiſs, if he takes the King in his Publick Capacity; for, *in that he never dies*. But if he means no more than the Perſon of the reigning now Monarch, he cancels with his Death the Obligation of thoſe Oaths, and makes Rebellion againſt the Succeſſor no Crime againſt Conſcience, though it may be otherwiſe againſt Prudence. This is to elude the Oath, and rob it of the Energy deſigned. For, it is plain by the Words *Heirs and Succeſſors*, that the Taker's Obligation continues during their own Lives, let the Perſons of never ſo many Princes be altered; and as certain, that in an Hereditary Monarchy the Duty is owing to the next of Blood: And, that a Parliament, or any Power, may diſpenſe or abſolve from the Obligations,

eſpecially of promiſſory Oaths, between Party and Party, without mutual Conſent, is a Doctrine inconſiſtent with the Nature of Promiſes (where the Promiſer gives the other a Right, and makes himſelf his Debtor) with the Rules of Chriſtianity, of human Society, and all Government. It is no leſs dangerous to aſſert, *That Promiſſory Oaths, or Oaths* de futuro, *are not Obligatory.* Such a Principle cancels all the Duties and Bonds of Obedience between Prince and Subject; of which therefore not only the Divines, and my Lords the Biſhops, but the State, is to be very tender and careful. Upon this Foundation, it is evident, that if the Duke out-lives his Brother, and the Monarchy of *England*, as it is, be Hereditary, and Coronation but Formality, we become upon the Death of the one, the Subjects of the other: And though there may be ſome that will not think of this Truth, or nowithſtanding will not mind it; yet I am aſſured, all that are truly Chriſtians, and all that are of the Church of *England*, and wiſe, will lay it to Heart; for Chriſtianity teaches, be the Prince of any, or no Religion, we muſt be obedient, and ſubmit ourſelves, *not only for Wrath, but alſo for Conſcience ſake.* In the late Times of Uſurpation they were ſo ſenſible of this, that they made the People covenant againſt the King, and renounce their former by After-Oaths; yet they durſt not depend on that Artifice, without the Aſſiſtance of an Army. Thus then we ſee the Duke cannot want a Party in *England*, whoſe Strength muſt over-power any other, when to it is united that of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. And here let none be miſtaken, as if *Scotland* were governed or influenced by Preſbyterian *Domine's*; the Nobility there do wholly ſway, and hate refined Preſbytery, and a Plebeian Commonwealth. Neither will the *Scots* be more forward to aſſiſt the Duke, than the *Iriſh*; in hopes they may thereby find an Opportunity to extirpate the *Engliſh*, and regain their ancient Poſſeſſions, free themſelves from any Dependence, or at leaſt Change their preſent from that of *England* to *France*, which on many Scores ſeems to be the true Intereſt of that Kingdom, politickly conſidered, either as Popiſh or Proteſtant, without reſpect to Religion. It is a ready Inlet to *France*, who will not be wanting to aſſiſt the Duke in this Quarrel; the only way he can hope, by gaining *England* on his ſide, to win the Univerſal Dominion. Now to reſiſt the Duke, an Army muſt be maintained; the General of that Army may turn Papiſt, or Tyrant, or both; and either way we may be inſlaved, by the Duke if he gains the Victory; or, if he loſes it, by our own General. Thus we may, by ſhunning one Rock, ſplit upon another. The *Romans* deſigning to free themſelves from the ſeeming Tyranny of *Julius Cæſar*, (who ſtudied by Clemency and Obligations upon every Body to ſecure himſelf, as muſt needs be his Royal Highneſs's Intereſt, as it is his Temper and Inclination) made way for the real and perpetual one, in the Perſons of *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius*, and their Succeſſors. And the *Græcians* repining againſt their lawful Emperors, and deeming their juſt and wholſome Commands tyrannical and oppreſſive, were ſo refractory, and ſo obſtinate, that, through ſpite to their Sovereign, they would contribute nothing towards the neceſſary Defence of the Empire, when invaded by the *Turk*, until at laſt, through the juſt Judgment of the Almighty, (a fitting Puniſhment for their Folly) they became a Prey to that Tyrant, and to this day continue the verieſt Slaves in Nature.

And, I pray, why muſt we run all this Hazard to ſecure Religion? If that be the Thing, it may certainly be done by binding up the Hands of a Popiſh

Succeſſor

Succeſſor by ſuch Laws as will make it Felony or Treaſon for a Papiſt to appear at Court, or bear any Office, and put it out of the Prince's Power to pardon ſuch Offences or Offenders. For my own Part, I ſee no Cauſe to apprehend a Popiſh Succeſſor, eſpecially the Duke, would or could alter our Laws or Religion. To attempt it, would be, for a Crown of Flowers, to forfeit one of Gold and Jewels. Has he ever offered to perſuade any of his Children, or his Servants to change their Opinion? And why ſhould we think a Man who has never broken his Word or Promiſe, and never profeſſed nothing more than a Liberty of Conſcience, ſo reſtrained as might be conſiſtent with publick Peace, ſhould, with his Fortune, alter his Judgment, contrary to Prudence, and contrary to his Intereſt? Kings are not now a-days Prieſt-ridden; and the King of *England* cannot be ſuppoſed to deſtroy his Subjects at their Deſires, more than the Monarchs of *France* and *Germany*, and other Princes of that Religion, where Non-Papiſts, or Proteſtants, live under the Protection of Laws, and enjoy their Liberties, and their Fortunes. Beſides, to offer by Force to reduce all to the Church of *Rome*, would be Folly and Madneſs. Neither the Conſtitution of *England*, nor Chriſtianity, will admit of propagating Religion by the Sword. The next King, not to mention that his Subjects in the Three Kingdoms will be above two hundred Proteſtants for one Papiſt, will not have the fourth Part of the preſent King's Revenue; which being inſufficient for the neceſſary Expences of the Crown, will neceſſitate him to have recourſe to, and compliance with his People in Parliament.

But now conſider the Iſſue: If it pleaſe God, after this Bill paſſed, in ſome ſhort time to take the King to himſelf, the Princeſs of *Orange*, perhaps in compliment to her Father, and to prevent a War, may refuſe; and her Huſband cannot come to the Throne, if ſhe decline it, others being before him. What then? The next after cannot come in; muſt the Duke then? No, that is againſt Law. Here will then be no King; conſequently Anarchy and Confuſion. But if the Princeſs do aſſume the Crown, and after that, the Duke have a Son, and he bred up in the Proteſtant Religion, what will then follow? Still a War. The Princeſs will be unwilling to reſign, and yet the other is moſt certainly King. But if this young Prince ſhould, during his Father's Life, or his Siſter's, be kept out; he, or his Iſſue after, contending with that of the Princeſs, will entail a War upon the Nations. So that upon the whole, if the Duke out-live the King, I ſee nothing but Miſery and Deſolation like to enſue upon his Diſinheriſon. And therefore I ſay, it is fitter to wave the Act wholly, or endeavour, by proving him guilty of the Plot by ſufficient Teſtimonies, to take away his Life. For, if we cannot be ſafe if he ſucceed, I am ſure we cannot, if he out-live our preſent Sovereign: A Bill of Attainder will be of no Force; the beſt Lawyers will tell you, the Deſcent of the Crown waſhes that Stain away. A Project of *Divorce* whiſpered between the King and Queen, will not be ſufficient Security: For, if that ſhould take, which is not probable, becauſe Chriſtianity forbids it; yet it is poſſible the King may have no Iſſue by a new Conſort; or, if he have, that the moſt will look on them but as illegitimate: And ſo, as a queſtionable *Divorce* once brought us from the Church of *Rome* in *Henry* VIII's Days, another may return us thither, during, or ſoon after the Reign of CHARLES II.

And here I would have it remembered, that the Nature of Parliament requires their intermeddling only with what the King ſhall propound or approve: He calls them to adviſe and deliberate as Counſellors, not to impoſe upon him in any Particular. Let therefore the Spirit of Moderation govern and direct their Counſels, put an End to the Plot, by trying the Accuſed. It has loſt *England* in its Trade already Six Millions, as has been lately computed by knowing Perſons; encreaſed our Jealouſies and Fears at home, made us a Scorn and Reproach abroad, and expoſed us to be a Prey to the Deſigns of Foreigners. Let not the Ambition, Malice, or Revenge of any of our Fellow-Subjects prevail to the enſlaving ourſelves and our Poſterities. If the Power of the Commons grow exorbitant, the Lords are with the King to counterpoiſe it, to prevent the otherwiſe not avoidable Ruin of the Commonwealth. To the Lords then this Addreſs is humbly ſubmitted, praying they would betimes conſider all the fatal Conſequences of the Bill of Excluſion. The Love of Truth and Juſtice, Courage, and the Practice of thoſe Virtues in this great Affair, are the only Preſervatives of *England*'s preſent Peace and future Happineſs. *Fælix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.* Remember what is paſt, and then I ſhall not need to add more than this, ——*Verbum ſapienti.* As for others, guided or miſled by Ignorance, Malice, or Intereſt, I can only ſay, with the Poet,

Quid cum illis agas, qui neque jus, neque bonum atque æquum ſciunt?
Melius, pejus, profit, obſit; nihil vident, niſi quod lubet.

And therefore I leave them to Time for a better Temper, to the Conduct of their own Reaſon, and God's Providence, for the Cure of their Folly, and for a better Underſtanding.

Since I finiſhed this Diſcourſe, the following Letter came to my Hands; and believing it as advantageous to the Publick, as it is ingenious, I have reſolved to add it, that thoſe who might repent the Charge of the former, may be recompenſed by the latter.

SIR,

I AM grieved at my very Soul, and infinitely aſhamed, to find by your laſt, that any make the Suppoſition of the Duke's being a Papiſt, and conſequently unfit to govern, the Pretence of running ſo high againſt the Monarchy; and, that ſo many are drawn into this violent Courſe and Faction, upon the Surmiſe of his being, if once offended, irreconcileable.

I ſhall, in few Words, return you my Opinion on theſe two Points; I cannot indeed but look on both as meer Artifices of ambitious Men, who, miſſing a Share in the preſent Conſtitution, contrive another Government, I wiſh I had not too much Cauſe to ſay, it will at laſt end in a Commonwealth: For, if nothing were in their Heads, but ſecuring the Eſtabliſhed Religion, they would not oppoſe Popery alone, but Preſbytery, equally with the other deſtructive of that, for which they do not only open a Gap, but for the Opinions of all other Sectaries. And we cannot here but obſerve with Aſtoniſhment, and with Reſolutions, which have put us upon Preparations, of ſticking by our Sovereign, againſt

againſt all manner of inſolent and rebellious Practices whatſoever, that the Commons have not brought any one Man into Trouble, beſides Papiſts, but Men of known Loyalty, and of the Church of *England*; addreſſing, by repeated Inſtances, in Favour of *H*——— who ought, in our Opinion, to have been executed for Treaſon, if guilty of no other Crime than his ſaying *he could be backed with ſixty thouſand Men*, to ſtand by him for printing that ſeditious Libel, *The Appeal.*

How is Popery more dangerous than Preſbytery, either in Principles or Practice? Suppoſe the firſt is for the King-killing and depoſing Doctrine, of which all her Profeſſors are aſhamed, and therefore diſown it as a general Tenet, allowing it only a probable Opinion of ſome private Divines: And where have Princes felt the Effects of it, as they have in *Germany*, from the *Anabaptiſts*; in *France*, from the *Hugonots*; in the *Netherlands*, from the *Geuſes*; in *Geneva*, *Scotland*, and *England*, from the *Preſbyterians? For Shame let us give the Devil his due, and not make him blacker than he is.*

It was the Preſbyterians of *Scotland* that made War againſt, and baniſhed their lawful Queen *Mary*, and began the Rebellion in 37, againſt King *Charles* I. It was theſe in *England*, and not the Papiſts who fought in his Defence, that cut off this Prince's Head.

But what if the Papiſts ſay, *an Heretick King may be excommunicate and depoſed, and that every one is ſo, that is not of the Church of* Rome? Does not the Preſbyterian ſay the ſame in other Words? And is not the dogmatical Claſſis, or Synod, the ſole Arbitrator, and as imperious and infallible as St. *Peter*'s Chair, *That Dominion is founded in Grace?* and, *that an idolatrous King may be cut off?* and, *that a King is but the People's Officer or Truſtee; and if he fails in his Duty, of which they alone are to be Judges, they may reſume their Grant, and ſpurn him beſide the Throne?* Put one anent the other, *the Hare's Head againſt the Gooſe Giblets*, and *Dee'l a Barrel better Herring will you find among all.* The Caſe is ſo plain, I need not inſtance Authors, eſpecially in a private Epiſtle: But let me ſee whether *Knox* or *Buchanan*'s Diſciples, or any of your *Engliſh* Preſbyter Followers, can purge themſelves, and their Writings, from theſe pernicious Principles. Did not all the Popiſh Plotters lately executed, not only aver their own Innocence, but deny the King-killing Doctrine? Was not the contrary plain here with us, in the ſeveral Riſings of the *Whigs?* And did not the Murderers of the Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews*, as well as thoſe juſt now by-paſt, maintain the Lawfulneſs of their Proceedings, and chuſe to die, aſſerting the King was juſtly excommunicate, and that it was doing God Service to kill him, rather than take their Pardon, and diſown thoſe damnable Tenets, and Doctrines of Devils? What a ſtir all over the Nation, has the Murther of a ſingle Juſtice of the Peace, Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*, made? And even that, by the Papiſts, is not ſo very clear, but that ſome doubt whether they were really the Authors: But granting they were, thoſe that ſuffered for the Crime denied it, with horrid Execrations, and Aſſeverations of their Innocence; and yet allowing them guilty, that is much, very much, leſs than the barbarous Aſſaſſinations of a Proteſtant, the Metropolitan of *Scotland*; the wicked Inſtruments of which, the Preſbyterians, were ſo far from diſowning it, that they impudently gloried in that inhuman Act, as a meritorious Piece of Zeal and Devotion.

votion. And is it not a ſmaller Guilt or Evil with the Papiſts, to deſign the killing of a King, than with the Preſbyterians, to have actually murdered one of the beſt that ever ſwayed a Scepter; and, with thoſe Antichriſtian Zealots of this Kingdom, of the ſame Herd, to avow they would likewiſe gladly ſacrifice our preſent Sovereign? And yet what Prints or Pulpits have ſince inveighed againſt ſuch Helliſh Proceedings? Was not this, together with a formed Rebellion of many thouſands in the Field, huſhed and paſſed over in very few Days, without Noiſe, Wonder, or Abhorrence? The Memory and Reproach of the other being ſtill in the Mouths of all, and freſheſt in theirs, who were Partizans, or of the ſame Principles with thoſe of our Villany. Away, away, Man, for Shame; let it not be ſaid, that the Preſbyterians are not even as black as the Papiſts: Suppreſs both, or neither: It is beſt Policy to ſet them anent of each other, for a Balance. If I did not hear, from all Hands, the Inſolence of the Preſbyterians; and with Trouble read many of the printed Votes, and the Ballads on the Biſhops, for voting againſt the Duke's Excluſion, I ſhould believe, that our preſent Fears and Diſorders in *England* did proceed from Apprehenſions of Popery; but by many Arguments I am convinced, that the Duke's private Opinion is but made the Stale to wreak their Malice againſt the Kingly Government; and that Paſſion, more than Reaſon, does Influence your Countrymen.

For, I pray conſider; is not Faith the Gift of God? Can any Man believe what he pleaſes? And who knows whether the Duke was ever of the Church of *England?* Did not the late Rebellion force him to fly into a Popiſh Country in his Youth? And is it not next to impoſſible to remove Prepoſſeſſions, eſpecially conſidering the Unity, Antiquity, and Univerſality of that Church, wherein all the *Engliſh* Orthodox Divines allow Salvation? Can any Man change his Complexion, alter the Figure of his Face, the Stature of his Body, the Colour of his Hair, or of his Skin? Is not the Jaundice a Diſeaſe in the Eye, that needs the Help of Phyſick? And is not Error, or Weakneſs in the Underſtanding, a Diſtemper alſo that requires the Aſſiſtance of a Phyſician? And what Remedy can be proper, but gentle Arguments, and the perſuaſive Arts of Diſcourſe, and ſober Reaſoning? Perſecution makes ſome Men, thoſe of great Souls, obſtinate; and others of little, Hypocrites. But what Law enacts, that an Opinion, in the diſputable Parts of Religion, ought to deprive a Man of his Right to inherit? Would any of your Fanaticks (I am ſure none of our *Whigs* would) hold their Tongues, if treated ſo ſeverely: Equality of Juſtice is that alone which upholds a State, and makes a Kingdom happy.

And why muſt there be all this ſtir about the Duke, when it is more than probable he may not ſurvive his Brother, for whoſe long Life, I am perſuaded, he, as well as all honeſt Subjects, does heartily pray: But if he ſhould, pray, why, if a Papiſt, muſt he, more than the *French* King, or other Popiſh Princes, deſtroy his Subjects? To do ſo, would be againſt his Intereſt, if a *Turk*, or an Atheiſt.

The Caſe would not then be, what it was in Queen *Mary*'s Days: Thoſe Laws, by which Men ſuffered, (and yet in her ſix Years there were not three hundred, and few of them too purely for Religion) are abrogated; the Body of the People were then more Papiſts, than now Proteſtants; and no new Laws can be made without a Parliament, out of which, as well as out of all Offices, *Roman*

Catholicks are excluded, by Oaths and Penalties, not in the Prince's Power to remit or forgive: So that, upon the whole, there is, indeed, on this Account, no real Danger of any Innovation in Religion; and therefore we may well look on this, but as a Pretence to undermine Monarchy itself.

But left this single String should fail, they have cunningly found out another for their Bow, *The Inexorableness of the Duke's Temper, if once offended*: A groundless and malicious Scandal; an Opinion that being generally spread abroad, has already begot many great Evils, and, if continued, will, in all probability, run us into infinite Calamities and Disorders, not to be equalled but by the Malice of the Contrivers: For, his being thus misrepresented, must needs add to the People's Obstinacy in opposing, and his Violence in asserting his Right to the Crown: And therefore I wonder why you suffer yourselves to be imposed upon, and your Understandings subjected to that Slavery which is certainly designed against your Persons by the Ambitious, without prying into the Grounds, and considering the Consequences of that Calumny. I am sure, did his Enemies allow but half the Time for Consideration, as they do for Passion, they would find his Royal Highness is much less swayed with an inordinate Desire of *Revenge*, than they are with a *false and misguided Zeal*; or, which is more, that he is as void of that *spiteful Humour*, as they that charge him with it, are of *Candour and Integrity*. The Knowledge of this Truth I owe to my Observation of his *Temper*, *Principles*, and *Practice*, in the many Varieties of his Fortune: But I am now more bold to affirm it, since his coming into *Scotland*; because, three Days after I had shewed him your Letters, he publickly declared in Council, that though the Malice of his Adversaries might possibly deprive him of a Crown, together with the Affections of the People; yet it would never of the Royal Virtue of Clemency: Which whether he derives more from the Blood of his Father, or the Example of his Brother, is an undecided Question; as it likewise is, whether the one merited more by laying down his Life for his People's Liberty, than the other by pardoning so many thousands, who had forfeited theirs to his Justice: That he was not ignorant how *Machiavel*'s Advice of *Fortiter calumniare & aliquid adhærebit*, was daily put in Practice by his Adversaries; nothing being so usual with them, as to traduce his most blameless Actions, calling Justice, Cruelty; Bounty, Prodigality; Resolution, Obstinacy; Valour, Rashness; and, in fine, any Thing that is Great or Glorious, Base and Degenerous: Yet he hoped Truth would at last prevail against his and its own Enemies, and make it as impossible for them to spread their Calumnies to his Disadvantage, as for him to leave any to Severity or Punishment, that had first left their Crimes: That he always looked upon *Revenge* as *the Result of a cankered and impotent Mind, inhumanly rejoicing in the Calamities of the Oppressed, and as insatiable in Cruelty, as the Memory of received Injuries is commonly indelible*; than which, nothing was more contrary to his Nature, having, besides the Commands of Christianity, been taught from his Infancy, that so poor and mean a Passion ought never to influence a Prince, who is obliged by Honour to end his Wrath, as soon as his Enemies do their Malice; and, having no Rivals to contend with, is then to be accounted most victorious, when he triumphs over himself, by conquering his Passions: That he challenged any that knew him, to give one Instance, wherein he had swerved from this Maxim, or exercised any Rigour

against

againſt any Offender, that had truly and ſincerely repented: That it was true, he could not forget the *French* Proverb, *Qui ſe fait un brebis, le Loup le mange*, i. e. *The Wolf devours him that makes himſelf a Sheep*; and therefore would not, by an Over-eaſineſs of Nature, yield tamely to his own Ruin, and ſuffer himſelf to be made a Prey to the Ambition and Inſolence of others; but was reſolved to temper the Methods of gaining and enjoying his juſt Rights, with a mixture of Severity and Mildneſs, proportionable to the Oppoſition he ſhould meet with: And laſtly, that he could diſtinguiſh very well, between thoſe whom *Ignorance* or *Imprudence* carried inſenſibly beyond the Bounds of Duty, and thoſe who *knowingly*, and *adviſedly*, ran not only into *Extremes* themſelves, but likewiſe, by *Lyes* and *falſe Suggeſſions*, hindered many to return from, and drove others to, wicked and malicious *Practices*; and, conſequently, he hoped, none would wonder if *theſe* ſhould feel the Smart of his *Juſtice*, as the *other* might be ſure, upon diſclaiming their Errors, to be received into *Mercy*; being perſuaded, that puniſhing ſuch Men could no more be termed *Revenge*, than executing the Laws againſt *Traitors*, and *Diſturbers of the publick Quiet*, could reaſonably be accounted *Cruelty*: But leſt, upon this ſcore, he ſhould be thought to reſerve a Latitude to himſelf of wreaking his Anger againſt any at Pleaſure, he was willing to give all the Aſſurance they themſelves could expect, and would move his Brother to agree to an Act of Parliament for that Purpoſe; that he would freely forgive, and bury in eternal Oblivion, whatever is paſt, that ſo either all may be thoroughly reconciled, or ſuch as are guilty of that *Implacability* which they attribute to him, differenced from the reſt, and left without excuſe, to the Terror of their own evil Conſciences, and his juſt Reſentments.

I cannot imagine what further can reaſonably be expected from an injured Prince, and am confident, whoever after continues diſſatisfied, is as great an Enemy to Reaſon, as he is to his Royal Highneſs; and inſtead of *taking away*, ſeeks to *perpetuate* your Differences. Nor do I ſee why any before him, ſhould be credited in an Affair of this Importance; ſince all acknowledge him to be of a frank and generous Nature, free from all Diſſimulation, and the little Politick Fetches and Evaſions which ſerve other Men's Turn to break their Promiſes: Whereas the Ringleaders of his Adverſaries are verſed in all the Arts and Wiles of forming Parties and Factions, and conſequently, cannot be thought to ſtick at forging any Lye or Aſperſion, beneficial to the End they propoſe. But, allowing an equal Probability of Truth in his Denial, and their Charge; *yet to err of his ſide, is not leſs ſafe, and I am ſure much more honeſt and honourable.*

It is indeed the uſual Cheat of aſpiring Men, by ſpecious Pretences, firſt to engage the unwary in their Conſpiracies, and, when either Fear or Honeſty opens their Eyes, then to make them believe, they are ſo far advanced, that they cannot with Safety retire; and that the State or Perſon they provoked, will admit of no other Attonement than that of their Lives and Fortunes. This Device (to omit ancienter Times) in *Philip* the Second's Reign filled the *Belgick* Plains with the Blood of his *Spaniſh* and *Flemiſh* Subjects; brought *France* ſucceſſively under ſeveral Kings, almoſt to a total Deſtruction; deprived our late Sovereign of his Life and Crown, which I am confident was not by the major Part firſt intended in 1640; and had like to have kept his preſent Majeſty in perpetual Exile, had not Providence wrought Miracles in his Favour, and, in

ſpite

ſpite of all the Artifices of his rebellious Subjects, reſtored him to his Throne, without Blood or Violence: Among which, I cannot but remember that deviliſh Pamphlet, intituled, *A Letter from Bruxelles, &c.* mentioned in *Baker*'s Chronicle, publiſhed after his Majeſty's Declaration from *Breda*, inſinuating, That notwithſtanding his Promiſes, if they ſuffered his Return, he would with all imaginable Cruelty revenge the *Death of his Father*, and not forget it to the third Generation of thoſe concerned in that horrid *Murder*. This put the People into a great Conſternation; yet his unparallelled *Clemency*, and his ſo often preſſing his Parliament to paſs the *Act of Oblivion*, ſufficiently proved the Malice of that Invention. But I hope this *Cheat* is now ſo well known, that it will gain no Credit with conſidering Perſons: I only wiſh ſome Care were taken to undeceive the weak and unthinking, that Peace and Unity, which ſeem to have parted from you with his Royal Highneſs, might with him be once more reſtored, and the happy *Union* of both Kingdoms be made *perpetual*, by ſuffering no *Rent* or Gap in the Royal Line; which all of our *Nation*, (and we hear thoſe of *Ireland* will not be leſs forward) are not only obliged, but have vowed to maintain, with the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes: A Neceſſity we hope you will never put upon us, as well for your own Sakes, as for the Peace and Quiet of this Kingdom, wherein he has not the leaſt Concern, who is, and always will be,

Your moſt humble and moſt obedient Servant, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

JUST now I hear of a new Project ſet on Foot, to give the King Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds, which he may diſpoſe of at Pleaſure, on Condition he will conſent to the Bill of Excluſion; and that, in return, he ſhall have Power, by Act of Parliament, in Caſe he have no Iſſue by his Queen, to ſettle by Will the Crown upon any of his Natural Children. To manage this Deſign, a new Set of Miniſters is contrived: A great Lord, whoſe Son moſt, if not wholly, influences the Houſe of Commons, is to be made a Duke; another Earl, to be Treaſurer; Sir *W*—— *J*—— is to be Lord Chief Juſtice; Col. *T*—— to be a Secretary of State, *&c.* I am very ſorry to perceive the Differences between the King and his Subjects, are fomented by Perſons of the ſame Humour with thoſe in 1640. who, meeting at Sir *Robert Long*'s, undertook, if his then Majeſty would do ſo and ſo, he ſhould govern the Parliament to all Intents and Purpoſes: The King conſenting to every, excepting one, their deſired Preferments, was refuſed, crying out, *One and all*, having before bound themſelves accordingly. One of the then leading Men has in this Parliament a Son, whoſe Power and Ambition falls very little ſhort, if at all, of his Father's; and if you have a mind to diſcover *Hercules*'s Proportion by that of his Foot, compare the *Remonſtrance* and the late *Addreſs*, and, without naming, you will find the near Relation of the Authors. For ſhame, let not ſuch Proceedings *be nick-named, doing your Country Service.* I remember to have heard, that in the ſhort Parliament, before that of (40) when ſome more zealous than wiſe Mem-

bers ſpake too extravagantly, a ſober Gentleman, and no Courtier, ſtood up, and ſaid, *he was for more moderate Counſels, leſt their preſent Heat and Exorbitance ſhould put that King, and his Succeſſors, for ever out of Conceit with Parliaments, who depended upon his Pleaſure.* I wiſh the whole Kingdom, as well as their Prince, may have no Reaſon to grow weary of, and diſlike the ſettled Conſtitution of Commons in Parliament, chuſing rather to have, as formerly, the whole Power in the King, and his Great Council of Lords and Barons. *Extremes are near one another*; *and many, by graſping at too much, have loſt the little they enjoyed:* This is as fooliſh, as with the Dog in the Apologue, to loſe the Subſtance for the Shadow: And ſince Prudence tells us, *A long provoked and incenſed Clemency turns into the greateſt Cruelty*, you ought to bridle your Paſſions and Ambition, leſt you too late repent your Madneſs and your Folly. This Conſideration has carried me beyond the uſual length of a *Poſtſcript*, wherein I deſigned to have ſaid little more, than that I underſtand the Duke writes this Night to the King his Brother, *That if he can be ſecure his Parliament will agree with him, upon quitting his Intereſt, that he ſhould not longer ſtruggle for him, who would not only Hazard his uncertain Hopes of a Crown, but would with Joy expoſe his Life, to do his Majeſty Service*; *whoſe long Reign, and Happineſs, notwithſtanding all the Forgeries of his Enemies, he as heartily wiſhes, as any other the moſt loyal Subject in his Dominions.*

Conſider the Greatneſs of this Generoſity, and let not Malice for ever prevail, to the Defamation of Innocence, and the Diſturbance, if not the Ruin, of theſe Nations.

The SPEECH of Sir GEORGE PUDSEY, Knight, at the Time of his being ſworn Recorder of the City of OXFORD, in the Council-Chamber of the ſame City, on *Tueſday* the Eighth Day of *January*, 1683-4; where they agreed to the ſealing the Inſtrument ſent by his Majeſty.

Ordered by Act of Council, that Sir GEORGE PUDSEY, *Knt. be deſired to print his Speech.* BAKER.

Gentlemen,

FORTUNE has at laſt gratified me in that earneſt Deſire I have always had to ſerve you; and though I deſpair of making due Acknowledgments, yet you may believe, that I am very ſenſible of the Favour you have done me, in ſo unanimouſly chuſing me to be your Servant; for ſuch a one your Recorder is: It is a Place of Honour, and of Truſt, and if I diſcharge it not as I ought, or at leaſt as I am able, I am the worſt of Men: I value myſelf much upon it, but more upon your Friendſhip. Perhaps few Recorders for many

many Ages have been ſo freely elected. Therefore Gratitude as well as Oath obliges me to be faithful to you; Intereſt alſo (a mighty Motive) prompts me to the ſame. I am your Neighbour as well as Fellow-Citizen. The little Fortune that I have lies near you; If *Oxford* flouriſh, *Elsfield* will not fare the worſe. Gentlemen, I hope you will have a favourable Opinion of him you have made yours. It is no inconſiderable Diſadvantage to ſucceed a Man of ſuch great Abilities as your laſt Recorder was: A Perſon who lived long amongſt you, and knew the Secrets of your Corporation; yet this I vow, I will pray the Aid of all the Inns of Court rather then you ſhall ſuffer; and indeed why ſhould you in any thing? Have you not Opportunities enough to be happy? Does not the great and good Earl of *Abington* offer his Aſſiſtance, ready at all Times upon his Knee to beg his Majeſty's Favour in your behalf? When he appears, make room for *Oxford*, cry the Guards, the Town is loyal grown; when at another time (if I may ſpeak it) a modeſt *Oxford* Man dare hardly peep in Court. Why then do not we by his vaſt Intereſt let in the Beams of Majeſty upon us? Who can live without the Sun? Have we not a famous Univerſity for our Example? Let her great Loyalty (if it be poſſible) be out-done by us. Can we be poiſoned at the Fountain-Head? Where is Learning, Piety, and Obedience practiſed, if not in this our *Engliſh Athens?* Who ſo ignorant that does not know how eminent this Place has been for Loyalty? How proud it was when *Charles* the Firſt, that glorious King, ſhut himſelf up within our Walls? Did not our Citizens follow *Bellona*'s Call, to defend his ſacred Perſon from Rebels Fury? Was not this the Seat of War? With what Bravery and Gallantry did this City aſſert its Monarch's Right? Surely the Stock of Loyalty is not worn out. How many are there in this Place now who lived in thoſe Days, and played the Soldier's Part, therefore I will not think there is an ill Man amongſt us, however it happens that for ſome Miſcarriages of ours we ſtand not right in *Cæſar*'s Favour. We promiſe largely, perform poorly, and that with grudging too. The Widow's Mite, what was it? Yet being all, and freely given, had the largeſt Thanks. Gentlemen, let me adviſe you to redeem yourſelves again: His Majeſty, whom the Law ſtiles Head of the Kingdom, Father of the Country, Maſter of the whole Family of the Nation, Chief Juſtice of all *England*, and a kind of petty God on Earth, who for the Excellency of his Perſon, by way of Reſemblance, has divine Attributes, as Immortality, for as King he never dies, Sovereignty, Majeſty, Power, Verity, Juſtice, and the like: He is merciful, of a god-like Temper, as ready to forgive as we to aſk: Let us think nothing but good of him and his Government; for Fears and Jealouſies have been of fatal Conſequence to this Nation, and ſtill are the greateſt Enemies to the Peace and Tranquility of it. Sometimes they cry Popery is a breaking in upon us, when God knows (as it is lately proved) the eight hundredth Man is not Papiſt, unleſs all are ſuch that are not Diſſenters from the Church, for ſo indeed they call us. Did not his Majeſty for ſeveral Years live in Popiſh Soil, yet came over to us as well in Heart as Title, *Defender of the Faith.* His Royal Highneſs, *Great Britain's Mars*, its Heir, and Glory, has upon all Occaſions expreſt himſelf highly in Favour of our Church, has ſettled the Proteſtant Religion upon ſuch ſure Foundations in *Scotland*, that it is not to be ſhaken. Are not his Daughters (after him the preſent Heirs to the Imperial

Crown) Proteſtants, and married two ſuch Princes, on Deſign purely for to ſecure our Religion, when *France* itſelf courted that Alliance for its Heir? Are not the Lords of the *Romiſh* Faith excluded the Houſe of Peers? The Laws ſtrictly put in Execution againſt the Papiſts? Beſides, what Alteration can there be in Church or State, without a National Conſent? If theſe are Signs of Popery then indeed we are in Danger. What think ye Gentlemen? You are Men of Reaſon, live among the Muſes, where Learning is at the Height; though I muſt confeſs if a Papiſt muſt not breath common Air, or tread his native Earth becauſe he is ſo, it is hard. Who does not think his own Opinion beſt? Sometimes again, how do the Fears of Arbitrary Power, of Loſs of Liberty and Property call Crowds together to conſult, who ſhake the Head, look down, cry we are all loſt, ſad Times are coming? When that is the only way to have them come; for if a People grow Rebel-ripe, why ſhould not we believe that Kings who ſet at ſtern, that pick and cull the Nation for the wiſeſt Heads, ſhould not endeavour to preſerve their Empire and Dominion, as well as we quit Shops and Stalls, and fly to Coffee-Houſes to examine every Letter, to ſee how Things are like to go with us. Gentlemen, be not ſeduced by Men of ſeditious Spirits; the firſt Sin of Men and Angels was Rebellion, Heaven and Paradiſe were loſt by it; believe it is the King's Intereſt, as well as Royal Inclination to preſerve us in our Rights and Liberties; for take away Property, and Induſtry is quickly at an end: Where is the Crown's Safety then? The empty Traveller laughs at the Thief; who values his Country's Defence that hath nothing in it which he can call his own? In ſome of the *Eaſtern* Parts, (the Garden of the World by Nature) a Man may ride ſome Scores of Miles, and ſcarcely ſee a Hut; becauſe no Man has any Thing but at the Prince's Will; with us the Proſperity of the People is the Monarch's Joy: He always eſteems himſelf rich if they are ſo.

Gentlemen, I am not altogether a Stranger to Hiſtory, can give a reaſonable Account of moſt Countries, amongſt which *England* has not an equal. Let us ſee how Matters ſtood with the *Jews* in righteous *David*'s Days? Thou and *Ziba* divide the Land was *David*'s Judgment, againſt his Maſter's Son before his Offence was proved. A Scimeter, or a Bow-ſtring, leaves breathleſs in a Minute the greateſt Subject in three Parts of the World, without a Judge and Jury. In our neighbouring Countries, Racks and Wheels are thought gentle eaſy ways to find out Truth. The *French* King's Sword is his Subjects Charter, the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition this World's Hell. In *Holland* itſelf, that famed Commonwealth, a Herring is exciſed nine Times before it is eat, yet in theſe Places all huſh and ſtill: No Plots to murder Kings, or Magiſtrates. Gentlemen, you muſt pardon me, if I tell ye, that many Times the too great Indulgence of a Prince brings ſpeedy Ruin to a Nation. *Plutarch* in the Life of *Lycurgus* gives us a Relation of one *Eurytion*, a *Spartan* King, who took a Courſe never practiſed by his wiſe Predeceſſors, which was to cajole his own Subjects by ſlacking the Reins of the Royal Authority; but ſee what followed, inſtead of gaining upon them, they grew ſo inſolent that at laſt they brought the Government into Contempt, and ſoon after the whole Kingdom into Anarchy and Confuſion, and were never ſatisfied, till one of their beſt Princes was barbarouſly murdered in the Streets by the Rabble, as he was appeaſing a Tumult; how near a Parallel is this.

this to his late Majesty, who I will boldly say has done more, except the present King, to endear the Subject than all the Kings from the *Norman* to this Time besides; but what come on it? That is a melancholly Consideration. Mercy and Goodness in Princes are too often mistaken, and called Necessity and Easiness of Nature: A yielding King shall always find a craving Subject. We are like the *Israelites* never satisfied, desire to return back into *Egypt* into our old Bondage. I have heard, that in the late Rebellion, a Captain and his Company has made *London*, that haughty Mistress of our Isle, whom we so much delight to imitate, all in Tears, her Citizens crouching like Spaniels at the Frown of a Traitor, when at the same Time they bid Defiance to their King.

Are not we turned Madmen, and the Devil Fool, his Invention is lost. Must a Nation be destroyed, twice in half an Age, by the very same Methods; a Jugler's Tricks if shewn more than once or twice become Childrens Sport. Popery was the Topick among the Zealous ever since I remember, and is now the only Idol that supports the Brethrens Cause: If the Word were but forgotten they were dumb; its the holding Twig. Who would not have sworn three Years since that the Pope's Bull was not broken in among us: No Popery, no Papist were the *Oxford* Cries, when, on my Conscience, the Promoters of the Noise are nearer that Persuasion than myself; the Man they aimed at. Do they not say, that Kings are the People's Creatures, made by them, and when the Spirit moves may be laid aside again. Our Church abhors such Doctrine, let us hold to that. *Julian*, that cuning arch Enemy of our Religion, encouraged all Opinions and Sects amongst the Christians that tended to the rooting out of our Faith. For Shame let us grow wiser, we are in Safety (if there be such a Thing on this side Heaven:) Let the most factious Fellow of them all tell me what is not done to secure the Subject? He is fenced in on every side, the Star Chamber, Court of Wards, High Commission Court, and every Thing which the People had the least colour to call grievous, are willingly laid aside. What a Noise has quartering of Soldiers made? How are the Law-Books filled with Cases of Imprisonments. To ease us of these Fears too, there is not a Soldier looks into a private House, or enters any Inn, but as a Traveller: The Landlord makes the Bill: What Offender is not bailed out of Prison in such a Time, if not prosecuted, though Treason threw him in? If such Acts of Grace as these will not give us grateful Souls, or at least keep us in quiet, nothing but a Rod of Iron will. Will there be no Peace till *Sheba*'s Head is thrown over the Wall. Gentlemen, I could waste a Day upon this Subject, and challenge all the World to shew me such another Government; therefore if these be Signs of Arbitrary Power, of Loss of Liberty and Property, speak, Gentlemen, be not silent. Good Men will be convinced by Reason, and bless their Maker for their Happiness; Ill Men must be watched by those that are in Power. He that grumbles at this Government, with *Lucifer* would quarrel with Heaven, therefore with him deserves his Punishment. But suppose the worst, that our Fears were true, that Religion and Allegiance did no ways oblige us, that his Majesty had as many Vices as he has Virtues, would Rebellion mend the Matter? No, that a Nation's Ruin is ready to attest. Has not that happened to us and much more, which foolish *Reboboam* threatened the ten Tribes with, that his little Finger should be heavier upon them than his Father's Loins; that if his Father whipped them with

Rods

Rods, he would beat them with Scorpions. Gentlemen, a Civil War is like a Gaming-House, where none gets at last but the Box-keeper. Not long after his Majesty's Return I was at such a Place at a Time when a great Lord had lost no little Sum, to chear his Heart, he calls for a Glass of Wine, and drinks a Health to him that had gained by Play; amongst fifty Gentlemen there was not one would lay any Title to it, at last in come a little creeping Fellow, and claims the Health, protesting that he had never brought into the House more then Half a Crown at any one Time, seldom so much, yet by his Cunning and Advantages had heaped up many a Hundred Pounds; so in a Civil War the Beggar mounts a Horse-back, and all above him go a foot, Coblers and Tinkers turn Lords, and Lords turn nothing. If Rebellion has Success, which to the Discouragement of all Treason (it has had but once these six hundred Years in *England*) to change its Government, yet the leading the Rebels very rarely die in Peace. If the Prince be victorious, which certainly he is, unless when the Almighty intends to call the Nation to a reckoning for her Sins, then the People are at Mercy. Which of us would willingly call an equal or an inferiour Lord? Where were our *English* Liberty then? Therefore since all cannot be Kings, let us be obedient to him that is the best of Kings, think Loyalty our greatest Interest as well as Duty. Gentlemen, consider, we have watchful Eyes over us: Esteem not them good Citizens who advise us to wrestle too much with Majesty, for we shall have the Fall. Why, then, all say with me, Long live the King, we will grant him any Thing that he will have, because we are sufficiently assured, he will ask nothing, but what we may freely, and safely give.

The POPISH PLOT taken out of several Depositions made and sworn before the Parliament.

THE Design in general was (when all other means failed) by Fire and Sword so perfectly to reduce all his Majesty's Dominions to the *Roman* Religion, that no Toleration should be given to any Protestant, but all should have been extirpated both Root and Branch.

The Chief DESIGNERS were,

1. The Pope. 2. Cardinal *Howard*. 3. *Johannes Paulus de Oliva*, General of the *Jesuits*. 4. *Pedro Jeronymo de Corduba*, Provincial of the *Jesuits* at *Castile*. 5 *Le Cheese*, a *Jesuit* Confessor to the *French* King. 6. The Provincial of the *Jesuits* in *England*. 7. The *Benedictine Monks* at the *Savoy*, and other Seminary Priests and *Jesuits*.

The Work was so great, and in their Apprehension so glorious, that the most eminent of the Popish Clergy in *Europe* were engaged in it; it cannot be said to be an Act or Contrivance of a few particular Persons, but an unanimous Act of their whole

whole Church, and ſo let it be recorded to their everlaſting Shame. The Pope in the Congregation *de propaganda fide*, held about *December* 1677, declared his Majeſty's Dominions to be St. *Peter*'s Patrimony, as forfeited to him for the Hereſy of Prince and People, and ſo to be diſpoſed of as he pleaſeth: To this end, he appoints Cardinal *Howard* as his Legate, to take Poſſeſſion of *England* in his Name: He alſo conſtituteth new Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Dignitaries for all or moſt of the Places in *England*, removing all the Biſhops in Poſſeſſion, from their preſent Dignities.

Johannes Paulus de Oliva, General of the *Jeſuits* at *Rome*, gives Direction to the Provincial of the *Jeſuits* in *London*, how to proceed in this Affair; where note the College, called the Society *de propaganda fide*, conſiſts of about three hundred and fifty Perſons: The Prieſts in *England* are in Number about eighteen hundred.

At a Conſult held *May*, 1678, by the Provincial and Society of *Jeſuits*, they declare the King an Heretick, they depoſe him, and condemn him to be murdered. At this, and ſome other Conſults held before and after that Month, they appoint the chief Officers of State, as the Lord Chancellor, the Lord High Treaſurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Secretaries of State, *&c.* They alſo conſtitute the Officers of War both by Sea and Land, as the Lord General, the Lieutenant General, *&c.* Colonels, Captains, and others Officers. Here note, the greateſt Part of thoſe Officers were *French* and *Iriſh*, and not one *Engliſh* Commander was appointed for the Fleet. Their Army ſhould have conſiſted of eighteen hundred Officers, and twenty thouſand common Soldiers liſted in and about *London*. Theſe they gave out were enough to cut the Throats of ten thouſand Proteſtants; eſpecially being taken upon a Surprize, and themſelves being aſſiſted by the *French*. *Groves*, *Smith*, and others were appointed by the College to go from Houſe to Houſe to inform the chief Papiſts in and about *London* of theſe Intentions, that they may have their Approbation, which they call the Conſent of the People. To carry on this or any ſuch like Deſign, the Society of *Jeſuits* in *England* have Seventy Thouſand Pounds *per Annum* Eſtate in Lands, managed by their Truſtees. They have an Hundred Thouſand Pounds in ready Money employed at Intereſt by Scriveners, and uſed in Trade by Graziers, Jobbers, and Bankers. *Johannes Paulus de Oliva* ſupplies them with Eleven Thouſand Pounds from *Rome*, *Pedro Jeronymo de Corduba*, Provincial of the *Jeſuits* at *Caſtile*, contributes Ten Thouſand Pounds more, *Le-Cheeſe*, the *French* King's Confeſſor, advances Ten Thouſand Pounds, beſides ſeveral conſiderable Sums given to *Coleman* by foreign Miniſters of State. For the more ſpeedy effecting of this, ſeveral Perſons are ſet on Work in ſeveral ways to accompliſh it, to whom huge Sums of ready Money were given in Hand, and great Rewards were promiſed afterwards when the Work ſhould be done; as 1. Four *Iriſh* Ruffians were employed to murder the King when he went laſt to *Windſor*, by ſuch ways and means as they could. 2. *Coigniers* and *Anderſon*, two *Benedictine* Monks, were ſuborned to ſtab the King. 3. *Groves*, otherwiſe called honeſt *William*, and *Pickering* undertook to ſhoot the King. 4. Sir *George Wakeman*, the Queen's Phyſician, was contracted with to poiſon the King, for which he ſhould have had Fifteen Thouſand Pounds, Five Thouſand of

which was paid in part by *Coleman*, and in the Preſence of Dr. *Fugarty*, an *Iriſhman*.

They concluded to uſe the Name and Intereſt of the Duke of *York*, if he would comply with them. 1. To accept of the three Kingdoms as a Gift from the Pope, and to hold them in Fee of him. 2. If he would confirm their Settlement of Church and State. 3. If he would exterminate all Proteſtants. 4. If he would pardon the Murderers of his Brothers, the Murderers of the People, and thoſe who ſhould fire the remaining Part of the City and Suburbs.

How bloody the Execution of this Plot muſt needs have been cannot eaſily be imagined, nor how miſerable the remaining Part of the poor People and Children left alive muſt have been, cannot be conceived. No Places in the World are ſo miſerably enſlaved under the worſt of Tyrants, as thoſe who live within the Verge of St. *Peter*'s Patrimony, which muſt have been the State of *ENGLAND*.

As for *IRELAND*, the Pope had made the titular Archbiſhop of *Dublin* his Legate, to take Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom in his Name. *Talbot* his Brother was made General of all the Forces in *Ireland*. The Duke of *Ormond* was to be murdered, and then the *Iriſh* were to riſe, and form an Army of five thouſand Horſe, and twenty thouſand Foot, and to murder the Proteſtants as they did before. This they call, *Zeal for the Roman Catholick Religion*. To enable the *Iriſh* to this, the Pope contributed Eight Hundred Thouſand Crowns, the *French* had already ſent over ſome Supplies, and had promiſed a further ſeaſonable Supply of Arms, Men, and Money, ſo ſoon as they ſhould be in Action. *Le-Cheeſe* had a great Influence in all theſe Tranſactions.

As for *SCOTLAND*, the great Deſign of the *Jeſuits* was to raiſe a Rebellion there; to this end they diverſe Times ſent over ſeveral *Jeſuits* to mingle themſelves, if they could, with the Diſſenters, ſo as they might preach in their Field-Meetings, and encourage them to take Arms, to vindicate their Religion and Liberty againſt Duke *Lauderdale*'s Tyranny, and alſo the Tyranny of the Biſhops, as they term it. The Papiſts were to raiſe an Army of eight thouſand Men to join with the Diſſenters, leſt they might have been ſuppreſſed by Duke *Lauderdale*.

As to *HOLLAND*, they have ſent over twelve Meſſengers thither for to ſow Diſſention between the Prince of *Orange* and the States, which in the *Loveſteyn* Party go under the Name of the Fifth Monarchy-Men.

To theſe Things may be added the Firing of *London* upon Deſign by the *Jeſuits* in *September* 1666. which ſhould have been burnt ſooner, but they could not get Perſons and Things ready for Execution, the Perſons that were employed, the Place where they met to conſult, the manner how thoſe eight Perſons executed at *Tyburn* in *April* before were drawn in, and afterwards betrayed by them, were all ſpecified to the Parliament. Where note, the Gazette in *April* 1666, tells the World that eight Perſons were executed at *Tyburn* for deſigning to burn the City the Third of *September* following, only as a Colour of that wicked Act they intended to commit, that it might be caſt upon the Fanaticks, whoſe Intereſt was, all the World knows, to preſerve this Place for a ſhelter and hiding Place to them. *Richard Strange*, a *Jeſuit*, ſometimes Provincial of that Society, did inform this, whoſe Information and the Execution

do

do very well agree together. The Society of *Jesuits* employed *Groves* and three *Irish* Ruffians procured by Dr. *Fugarty* to fire *Southwark*, for which they had One Thousand Pounds, that is, *Groves* had Four Hundred Pounds, and the *Irish* Ruffians had Two Hundred Pounds a-piece, and yet the Society got by the Bargain, for whilst the Fire rages they have their Instruments to plunder Houses, and steal what Goods they can, which they carry to their Ware-houses in *Wild-street*, and *Somerset-house*. In the Firing of *Southwark* they got Two Thousand Pounds; in the Burning of *London* they got Fourteen Thousand Pounds, as *Strange* the *Jesuit* confessed. The Society of *Jesuits* designed lately to burn *Westminster*, *Wapping*, and the remote Parts of the Suburbs. *Blondel* a *Jesuit*, had his Post at *Wapping*, where he began his Work, but the Fire was by God's Mercy prevented in other Places. That this was done upon Design is evident, for it was fore-told upon Oath twelve Days before, that such a Day *Wapping* should be set on fire, as it came to pass. This *Blondel* is the *Jesuits* Ordinary at *Newgate*, where he endeavours to pervert the Prisoners condemned, by promising them Pardon, and feeding them with Hopes of Transportation; those whom he finds Wicked enough for his Purpose, he entertains in his Service.

At present it is necessary to give this short Account to satisfy the World, because, notwithstanding the Votes of both Houses of Parliament, that they were satisfied with the Information given them, that there was a Plot to murder the the King, alter the Government, and subvert Religion established by Law, the Papists impudently deny the Thing, or extenuate it, that very few were concerned in it, and that it was not so bad as the World would make it. In this their impudent Lying they were much confirmed and encouraged by the Office, sent out by the Bishops, to be used on the Fast appointed the 13th of *November* last, wherein there was no mention of this Plot; so that the People might be easily run down by the Impudency of the Papists, that there was no Plot at all, nor Design upon his Majesty's Person.

The Papists lay Aspersions on *Oates*'s Person, (the first Discoverer of this Plot) that he is a debauched Fellow, turned out of the College at *St. Omers*, and doth all this out of Revenge. They suggest that his Information must needs be fictitious, because it is improbable he should come in so short a Time to a distinct Knowledge of so many Particulars; or if he had heard or seen them, that he should remember them; and that if he went amongst them, with an intent to discover them, why did he not do it sooner? And lastly, they say it is not likely, that those who mingled their Blood with that of his Majesty's best Protestant Subjects in the late Wars, should now, as one Man, have the least Thoughts of murdering the King they had fought for, and destroy the Liberty of the Nation they had vindicated with their Lives; these Insinuations seem plausible, but when we look into them, we shall find they are either palpably false, or frivolous.

As to *Titus Oates*'s Education, he was bred a Student in *St. John*'s College in *Cambridge*; that he is a Scholar appears by his proceeding Doctor in Divinity in *Salamanca* in *Spain*, no mean University, where he did all his Exercise, more difficult than that performed by us here. He was sometimes Minister at *Chichester*, and at last Chaplain to the Duke of *Norfolk*. In all these Stations he was a Person of a sober Life and Conversation, and never charged with Debauchery, and dares appeal to the *Jesuits* themselves in this particular, who would

never have esteemed him so much, nor trusted him so far, had they not found him a sober Man, and fit for their Purpose.

When he was the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Chaplain, he over-heard some Whisperings among the Priests, that there was some great Design on foot, but could not learn what it was. He had heard from his Protestant Friends, and had read in Sir *Hammond L'Estrange*'s History of King *Charles* the First, that the Papists had carried on a Design for many Years to introduce Popery again into these Nations, which created in him an itching Desire to see the Depth of it, and if it were possible to countermine it; to this end, he seemed to some Priests as if he were dissatisfied in some Things, as to our Church, and desired an Opportunity to Discourse with some of their *Jesuits*, which the Priests procured, upon this Condition, that he would not betray them. After sundry Conferences with them, in which he suffered himself to be overcome, he was formally reconciled to the Church of *Rome*; after his Reconciliation, he begged the Fathers of the *Jesuits* that they would give him their Order, which was granted him after three Days Consideration. They then told him, because he was a Man of Years, being about Twenty-eight, they would not employ him as usually they did Novices, in Drudgery for the first two Years, but he should spend that Time in being a Messenger for their Society. This exactly fitted his Design, so that he was sent with Letters into *Spain*; those he opened, and by them began to smell something of their Hellish Designs, and managed his Business so dexterously, that after a little time he was taken into their Consult, as they call it, and so had an Opportunity to see all that was acting at the present, and liberty, without Suspicion, to enquire how any Thing past had been carried on; more particularly he made it his Business to inform himself of the Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion of the late Wars, in all which he found the *Jesuits* had a great hand. By this means he understood that the City was fired by their Contrivance, and was told how the Plot was laid, and who were the Actors in the several Scenes of it, which he might confidently believe, because he saw how they burnt *Southwark*, and designed to burn the *Temple*, *Westminster*, and the rest of the Suburbs. He kept short Notes of all Things of Moment that occurred from the time he was admitted into their Society, with an intent to produce them when they might be of use; by this means he is able to give so exact an Account of all Occurrences, which are confirmed by other Circumstances and collateral Evidence, that in many hundred Particulars no one thing hath interfered with another, nor with those Papers that have been found elsewhere, or with those Informations that have been given in by other Persons. For instance, he informs that *Coleman* was a great Agent in this Business; Letters found inform the same. He informs that he delivered Commissions received from *Langborn*; Letters intercepted make mention of Commissions sent, which they hoped were delivered. In short, it was impossible that a Man should contrive such a Thing, attended with so many hundreds, nay some thousands of Circumstances, and comparing them with so many Papers, and Informations, and Examinations of so many other Men, but they would interfere one with another if they were false; therefore it may be concluded the whole is true, till something be found to the contrary, and then it will follow that this is the most bloody, devillish, and hellish Design that ever was contrived. The Massacre in *France*, tho' very barbarous; the Massacre in *Ire-*

land, tho' very bloody; the Invaſion intended in 88; the Gun-Powder-Treaſon, were inferior to this, which ſhould immediately have ſpread itſelf over ſo many Kingdoms.

That Propoſition made in Parliament to impriſon all the Prieſts and *Jeſuits* that can be found in the three Kingdoms, and to ſecure the principal Papiſts in his Majeſty's Dominions, to be kept as Hoſtages for his Majeſty's Life, ſeems not unreaſonable. It is eſſential to the Popiſh Religion, (founded upon the Pope's Supremacy and Infallibility) that all Papiſts do own a foreign Allegiance, namely, to the Pope; the Oath of Supremacy is diametrically oppoſite to the Popiſh Religion, whoever takes that Oath, and is a Papiſt ſtill, in theſe two fundamental Points, debauches his Conſcience, and muſt do all the Pope bids him *in ordine ad ſpiritualia* notwithſtanding. When the Pope condemns any for Hereſy, (as is our Caſe now) all Papiſts are bound as Papiſts, to deſtroy ſuch when it is commanded; this is not only their Duty, but it is meritorious ſo to do, as the Papiſts did believe it in our intended Maſſacre. So that they are our inveterate, irreconciliable, profeſt Enemies, and would have declared themſelves ſo, had they not been prevented by God's Mercy in preſerving the King's Life, and the ſeaſonable Diſcovery of the Plot. Though they are not in open Hoſtility, they lurk in ſecret, and ought to be looked upon as Spies, and by the Law of Nations may be uſed as ſuch; then, if inſtead of preſent Death, which all Spies deſerve, their Prieſts and *Jeſuits*, and principal Laity are impriſoned, and there kept, not to be executed, unleſs their Confederates abroad exert their wicked Principles, and put them in Execution, by murdering our King, burning our Houſes, and embroiling the Nation in Blood, this ſeems to be no Piece of Injuſtice.

As to the Time of *Oates*'s Diſcovery of the Plot, if on the firſt Intimation of the Papiſts Deſign he had made a Diſcovery of it, probably he had been rejected, becauſe he could not make out the Particulars, as now he doth. He hath been hardly received ſince, and therefore would in all likelihood have been rejected then. Further, he had not the Command of himſelf, when he engaged in their Society; had he moved any way without, or contrary to their Order, he had preſently been ſuſpected, and might eaſily have been found out; as ſoon as he was ſent from *St. Omers* into *England*, and had an Opportunity, he did ſhew his real Intention to preſerve his Majeſty's Perſon, and his native Country from their *Romiſh* Enemies, the Safety of which depended ſolely upon his Information, which for aught we ſee muſt otherwiſe have been a Prey to them.

As to the Papiſts aſſiſting King *Charles* the Firſt in the late Wars, the Violence of the People forced them to that Side, where they did as much Hurt to his Majeſty, by the Scandal they brought to his Party, as they did Good by their Arms. For they were the Cauſe of that War, and it mattered not much what Side they were on, ſo that their Deſign might go forward: They were the main Men which brought the King's Head to the Block. Monſieur *De Moulin*, in print, hath offered to make good all theſe Things, but was never called to it; he is yet living, a Man of Reputation, who doubtleſs will make good his Word.

To conclude, this is ſuch a plain Diſcovery of the Roguery and Villany of the Papiſts, as hath not been made ſince *England* departed from the Church of *Rome*. It is hoped, that all poor, deluded Perſons, now they ſee ſuch Things

they could never have believed essential to the *Romish* Religion, will renounce their foreign Allegiance to so devillish a Master as the Pope is, and return to the Church of *England*, and free themselves from those impending Troubles which will justly and necessarily come upon them; in the suffering of which they can have no Comfort. Persons that will retain (after all means used to satisfy them) such hellish Principles as the Papists do, ought either wholly to be rooted out from all Mankind, or to be put into such a Condition, under such Circumstances, that they can do no hurt. As for such as shall be obstinate in their Irreligion, and maintain a Resolution to destroy all Hereticks, that is Protestants, as soon as they can, it seems not unreasonable to take Hostages of them for securing of the King's Life and Kingdom's Peace, which can be secured no other way but by putting Things into such a Posture, that the Papists shall presently lose much by the King's Death, and get no Advantage afterwards by his Successors; which must be left to the Wisdom of Parliament. The Candour of the Protestants is such, that no Violence or Affront hath been offered to any Papists, though the Protestants see their Houses so frequently fired by their means, and are sure this Plot was laid by them, and should have been put in Execution so soon as they had accomplished their Treason upon the King's Person.

Though the Pressure should fall upon the Papists in general, when it may be presumed many are innocent, there may be this offered in the Case, that few Papists have made any Discovery, though many, yea most of the principal Papists in *England* have been acquainted with it; so that all the rest seem to be guilty either *â parte ante*, by consenting to it, and intending to act in it, or *â parte post*, by denying, approving, concealing, extenuating, and mincing of it.

The Archbishop of *CANTERBURY*'s Letter to the King concerning the PLOT, *&c.* and written with his own Hand.

May it please your Majesty,

AS great as the Secret is which comes herewith, yet I choose rather to send it in this silent covert Way, and I hope safe, then to come thither, and bring it myself. First, because I am no way able to make haste enough with it. Secondly, because should I come at this time and antedate the Meeting, there would be more Jealousy of the Business, and more Enquiry after it, especially if I being once there, should return again before that Day, as I must if this be followed, as is most fit.

The Danger it seems is imminent, and laid by God knows whom; but to be executed by them, which are very near about you (for the great Honour which I have to be in Danger with you, or for you, I pass not, so your sacred Person, and the State may be safe.) Now may it please your Majesty, this In-

formation is either true, or there is ſome miſtake in it: if it be true, the Perſons which make the Diſcovery will deſerve Thanks and Reward; if there ſhould be any miſtake in it, your Majeſty can loſe nothing but a little Silence.

The Buſineſs (if it be) is extreme foul; the Diſcovery thus by God's Providence offered, ſeems fair. I do hereby humbly beg it upon my Knees of your Majeſty, that you will conceal this Buſineſs from every Creature, and his Name that ſends this to me. And I ſent his Letters to me to your Majeſty, that you may ſee his Senſe both of the Buſineſs and of the Secrecy. And ſuch Inſtructions as you think fit to give him, I beſeech you let them be in your own Hand for his Warrant, without imparting them to any. And if your Majeſty leave it to his Diſcretion to follow it therein in the beſt way he can, that in your own Hand will be Inſtruction and Warrant enough for him; and if you pleaſe to return it herewith preſently to me, I will ſend an Expreſs away with it preſently. In the mean time I have by this Expreſs returned him this Anſwer, that I think he ſhall do well to hold on the Treaty with theſe Men, with all Care and Secrecy, and drive on to the Diſcovery ſo ſoon as the Buſineſs is ripe for it, that he may aſſure himſelf and them, they ſhall not want Reward, if they do the Service; that for my Part he ſhall be ſure of Secrecy, and that I am moſt confident your Majeſty will not impart it to any. That he have a ſpecial Eye to the eighth and ninth Propoſition. SIR, for God's Sake and your own Safety, Secrecy in this Buſineſs, and I beſeech you ſend me back this Letter, and all that comes with it ſpeedily and ſecretly, and truſt not your own Pockets with them. I ſhall not eat nor ſleep in quiet, till I receive them, and ſo ſoon as I have them again and your Majeſty's Warrant to proceed, no Diligence ſhall be wanting in me to help on the Diſcovery.

This is the greateſt Buſineſs that ever was put to me, and if I have herein propoſed, or done any Thing amiſs, I humbly crave your Majeſty's Pardon, and I am willing to hope I have not herein erred in Judgment, and Infidelity I never will.

Theſe Letters came to me *September* Ten at Night, and I ſent theſe away according to the Date hereof, being extremely wearied with writing this Letter, copying out theſe other which come with this, and diſpatching my Letters back to him that ſent theſe, all in my own Hand; once again Secrecy for God's Sake, and your own: To his moſt bleſſed Protection, I commend your Majeſty and all your Affairs, and I am

Your Majeſty's moſt humble
and faithful Servant,

WILLIAM *Cant.*

The

The Earl of *ESSEX*'s SPEECH at the Delivery of the Petition to the KING, *Jan.* 25. 1680.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

THE Lords here preſent, together with diverſe other Peers of the Realm, taking notice that by your late Proclamation your Majeſty has declared an Intention of calling a Parliament at Oxford; *and obſerving from Hiſtories and Records, how unfortunate many ſuch Aſſemblies have been, when called at Places remote from your Capital City; as particularly the Congreſs in* Henry *the Second's Time, at* Clarendon; *three ſeveral Parliaments at* Oxford *in* Henry *the Third's Time; and that at* Coventry *in* Henry *the Sixth's Time; with diverſe others which have proved fatal to thoſe Kings, and have been followed with great Miſchiefs on the Kingdom; and conſidering the preſent Poſture of Affairs, the many Jealouſies and Diſcontents which are amongſt the People, we have great Cauſe to apprehend that the Conſequences of the Sitting of a Parliament now at* Oxford, *may be as fatal to your Majeſty, and the Nation, as thoſe others mentioned have been to the then reigning Kings; and therefore we do conceive that we cannot anſwer it to God, to your Majeſty, or to the People; if we, being Peers of the Realm, ſhould not on ſo important an Occaſion, humbly offer our Advice to your Majeſty, that, if poſſible, your Majeſty may be prevailed with to alter this (as we apprehend) unſeaſonable Reſolution. The Grounds and Reaſons of our Opinion are contained in this our Petition, which we humbly preſent to your Majeſty.*

To the KING's moſt Excellent Majeſty. The Humble Petition and Advice of the Lords undernamed, PEERS *of the Realm.*

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT whereas your Majeſty hath been pleaſed, by diverſe Speeches and Meſſages, to your Houſes of Parliament, rightly to repreſent to them the Dangers that threatened your Majeſty's Perſon, and the whole Kingdom, from the miſchievous and wicked Plots of the Papiſts, and the too ſuddain Growth of a Foreign Power, unto which no Stop or Remedy could be provided, unleſs it were by Parliament, and an Union of all your Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects in one Mind and Intereſt.

And the Lord Chancellor, in purſuance of your Majeſty's Command, having more at large demonſtrated the ſaid Dangers to be as great as we, in the midſt of our Fears, could imagine them; and ſo preſſing, that our Liberties, Religion, Lives, and the whole Kingdom, would be certainly loſt, if a ſpeedy Proviſion were not made againſt them.

And your Majeſty on the 21ſt of *April*, 1679. having called unto your Council many honourably and worthy Perſons, and declared unto them and your whole Kingdom, that being ſenſible of the evil Effects of a ſingle Miniſtry,

or

or private Advices, or foreign Committees, for the general Direction of your Affairs, your Majeſty would for the future refer all Things unto that Council. And by the conſtant Advice of them, together with the frequent Uſe of your Great Council the Parliament, your Majeſty was reſolved hereafter to govern your Kingdoms, we began to hope we ſhould ſee an End of our Miſeries.

But to our unſpeakable Grief and Sorrow, we ſoon found our Expectations fruſtrated; the Parliament then ſubſiſting was prorogued and diſſolved before it could perfect what was intended for our Relief and Security. And though another was thereupon called, yet by many Prorogations, it was put off to the 21ſt of *October* laſt: And notwithſtanding your Majeſty was then again pleaſed to acknowledge, that neither your Perſon nor the Kingdom could be ſafe until the Matter of the Plot was gone through, it was unexpectedly prorogued on the Tenth Day of this Month, before any ſufficient Order could be taken therein. All their juſt and pious Endeavours to ſave the Nation were overthrown; the good Bills they had been induſtriouſly preparing to unite all your Proteſtant Subjects, brought to naught. The Diſcovery of the *Iriſh* Plot ſtifled. The Witneſſes that came in frequently more fully to declare that both of *England* and *Ireland* diſcouraged. Thoſe foreign Kingdoms and States, who by a happy Conjunction with us, might give a check to the *French* Power diſheartened; even to ſuch a Deſpair of their own Security againſt the growing Greatneſs of that Monarch, as we fear may induce them to take new Reſolutions, and perhaps ſuch as may be fatal to us. The Strength and Courage of our Enemies, both at home and abroad increaſed; and ourſelves left in the utmoſt Danger of ſeeing our Country brought into utter Deſolation.

In theſe great Extremities we had nothing under God to comfort us, but the Hopes that your Majeſty being touched with the Groans of your periſhing People, would have ſuffered the Parliament to meet at the Day unto which it was prorogued, and that no further Interruptions ſhould have been given to their Proceedings, in order to the ſaving of the Nation: But that failed us too, when we heard that your Majeſty, by the private Suggeſtions of ſome wicked Perſons, Favourers of Popery, Promoters of *French* Deſigns, and Enemies to your Majeſty and the Kingdom (without the Advice, and as we have good Reaſon to believe, againſt the Opinion of your Privy Council) had been prevailed with to diſſolve it, and call another to meet at *Oxford*, where neither Lords nor Commons can be in Safety, but will be daily expoſed to the Swords of the Papiſts and their Adherents, of whom too many have crept into your Majeſty's Guards. The Liberty of ſpeaking, according to their Conſciences, will be thereby deſtroyed, and the Validity of all their Acts and Proceedings conſiſting in it, left diſputable. The Straitneſs of the Place no ways admits of ſuch a Concourſe of Perſons as now follows every Parliament. The Witneſſes which are neceſſary to give Evidence againſt the Popiſh Lords, ſuch Judges, or others whom the Commons have impeached, or had reſolved to impeach, can neither bear the Charge of going thither, nor truſt themſelves under the Protection of a Parliament, that is itſelf evidently under the Power of Guards and Soldiers.

The Premiſes conſidered, we your Majeſty's Petitioners, out of a juſt Abhorrence of ſuch a dangerous and pernicious Counſel (which the Authors have not dared to avow) and the direful Apprehenſions of the Calamities and Miſeries that

that may enſue thereupon, do make it our humble Prayer and Advice, that the Parliament may not ſit at a Place where it will not be able to act with that Freedom, which is neceſſary and eſſential to give unto their Acts and Proceedings, that Authority which they ought to have amongſt the People, and have ever had, unleſs impaired by ſome awe upon them (of which there wants not Precedents.) And that your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to order it to ſit at *Weſtminſter*, it being the uſual Place, and where they may conſult and act with Safety and Freedom.

And your Petitioners ſhall ever pray, &c.

Monmouth.	*Stamford.*	*Gray.*
Kent.	*Eſſex.*	*Pagitt.*
Huntington.	*Shafteſbury.*	*Howard.*
Bedford.	*Mordant.*	*Herbert.*
Saliſbury.	*Eure.*	*De-la-mere.*
Clare.		

A New NARRATIVE of the POPISH PLOT, ſhewing the cunning Contrivance thereof; with a ſignal Providence to this Nation in the Diſcovery of it, and the Plotters; to the Confuſion of the wicked PAPISTS, and to the great Comfort of all good PROTESTANTS.

To the Tune of Packington's *Pound.*

The Contents of the FIRST PART.

How Sir Godfrey *is kill'd, how his* Corpſe *they hide,*
Which brought out in Chair, *a* Horſeback *does ride;*
How Jeſuits *diſguis'd, our Houſes do fire;*
How ſubtly they Plot, and King's Death conſpire;
Of diverſe great Lords drawn in to their Bane,
An Iriſh *Army, and Pilgrims from* Spain.

I.

GOOD People, I pray you, give Ear unto me,
A Story ſo ſtrange you have never been told,
How the *Jeſuit*, *Devil*, and *Pope* did agree,
Our *State* to deſtroy, and *Religion ſo old.*

To

To murder our King,
A moſt horrible Thing,
But firſt of Sir *Godfrey* his Death I muſt ſing,
For howe'er they diſguiſe 't, we clearly can ſee,
Who murder'd that Knight, no good Chriſtian cou'd be.
The Truth of my Story if any Man doubt,
W' have Witneſſes ready to ſwear it all out.

II.

At *Somerſet-houſe* there is plain to be ſeen,
A Gate which will lead you into the Back-Court,
This (*a*) Place for the Murder moſt fitting did ſeem,
For thither much People do freely reſort.
His Body they toſs'd,
From Pillar to Poſt,
And ſhifted (*b*) ſo often, 'thad like t'have been loſt.
To watch with (*c*) dark Lanthorn the Jeſuits did go,
But no ways diſtruſted our honeſt (*d*) *Bedlo*.
The Truth of my Story, &c.

III.

Leſt ſuch cloſe Contrivements at length might take Air,
When as his dead Body corrupted did grow,
They quickly did find an (*e*) inviſible Chair,
And ſet him on (*f*) Horſeback to ride at *Soho*.
His own (*g*) Sword to th' Hilt,
To add to their Guilt,
They thruſt through his Body, but no Blood was (*h*) ſpilt;
T' have it thought he was kill'd by a Thief, they did mean,
So they left (*i*) all's Money, and made his (*k*) Shoes clean.
The Truth of my Story, &c.

IV.

To ſhew now th' Exceſs of Jeſuitical Rage,
They this Loyal City to ruin would bring,
'Cauſe you Citizens are ſo religious and ſage,
And ever much noted as true to your King;
T' your Houſes they go,
With (*l*) Fire and Tow,
Then (*m*) pilfer your Goods, and 'tis well you ſcape ſo;

(*a*) Vid. *Hill*'s Trial, p. 16.
(*b*) Viz. Four Times, p. 18 and 19.
(*c*) Vid. p. 18.
(*d*) Vid. p. 31.
(*e*) The Centinels ſaw none, p. 69.
(*f*) Vid. p. 20.
(*g*) Vid. p. 35.
(*h*) Ibid.
(*i*) Ibid.
(*k*) Vid. Coroner's Inqueſt.
(*l*) Vid. Dr. *Oates*'s Nar. p. 22.
(*m*) Ibid.

Y' have ſeen how they once ſet the Town all in flame;
Yet 'tis their beſt Refuge, if we believe Fame.
The Truth of the Story, &c.

V.

By (*n*) *Bedlo*'s Narration is ſhewn you moſt clear,
How Jeſuits diſguis'd into Houſes will creep;
In a Porter's or Carman's (*o*) Frock they appear,
Nay will not diſdain to cry Chimney-ſweep;
Or ſell you Small-Coal,
Then drop in ſome Hole
A Fire-Ball, or thruſt it up by a long Pole;
But I now muſt relate a more tragical Thing,
How theſe Villains conſpir'd to murder our King.
The Truth of my Story, &c.

VI.

At th' (*p*) *White-Horſe* in *April* was their main Conſult,
Where a (*q*) Writing theſe Plotters wickedly frame;
The (*r*) Death of our Sovereign was the Reſult,
To which at leaſt (*s*) forty all ſigned their Name.
They would not do that,
In the Place where they ſat,
Truſty *Oates* muſt (*t*) convey't from this Man to that;
To make ſure Work, by (*u*) Poiſon the Deed muſt be done,
And by a (*w*) Dagger, and (*x*) ſhot from a Gun.
The Truth of my Story, &c.

VII.

For fear at *St. Omers*, their *Oates* might be miſs'd,
They agreed with a Devil t' appear in his Place.
In a Body of Air, believe't if you liſt,
Which lookt juſt like *Oates*, and mov'd with the ſame Grace;
'T could plot, it cou'd cant,
Turn Eyes like a Saint,
And of our great Doctor no Feature did want.
Thus (*y*) hundreds might ſwear they (*z*) ſaw *Oates* ev'ry Day,
But true *Oates* was here, and the Devil ſaw they.
The Truth of my Story, &c.

VIII.

(*n*) Vid. his Nar. all along.
(*o*) Vid. alſo Dr. *Oates*'s Nar. p. 68.
(*p*) Vid. *Ireland*'s Trial, p. 19.
(*q*) Ibid.
(*r*) Ibid.
(*s*) Vid. p. 26.
(*t*) Vid. p. 20.
(*u*) Vid. *Oates*'s Nar. p. 21.
(*w*) Vid. p. 47.
(*x*) Vid. *Pickering*'s Trial, p. 23, &c.
(*y*) Vid. *St. Omer*'s Certificate.
(*z*) Vid. alſo *Jeſuit*'s Trial, p. 47, &c.

VIII.

From Father *Oliva* (*a*) Commiſſions did come,
To raiſe a great Army much Treaſure is ſpent;
The old Man did once think to take Poſt from *Rome*,
For to ride at the Head of them was his Intent;
But (*b*) *Bellas'* was fit,
Who can deny it,
To command in his Place, when his Gout wou'd permit;
Lord (*c*) *Stafford* was prop'reſt to truſt with their Pay,
Old (*d*) *Ratcliff* to range them in Battle Array.
The Truth of my Story, &c.

IX.

Th' High-Treaſurer's Place the Lord (*e*) *Powis* did pleaſe,
Men of deſp'rate Fortunes oft venture too far;
Lord (*f*) *Peters* wou'd hazard Eſtate, and his Eaſe,
And Life for the Pope too, in this Holy War;
Lord *Ar'ndel* of old,
So warlike and bold,
Made Choice of a (*g*) Chancellor's Gown we are told
All theſe did conſpire with the Lord *Caſtlemaine*,
Whom now his good Dutcheſs ſhall ne'er (*h*) catch again.
The Truth of my Story, &c.

X.

Great Store of wild (*i*) *Iriſh* both civil and wiſe,
Deſigned to join with the (*k*) Pilgrims of *Spain*,
Many (*l*) thouſands being ready all in good guiſe,
Had vow'd a long Pilgrimage over the Main.
To arm well this Hoſt,
When it came on our Coaſt,
(*m*) Black Bills forty thouſand, are ſent by the Poſt,
This (*n*) Army lay privately on the Sea-ſhore;
And no Man e'er heard of them ſince or before.
The Truth of my Story, &c.

(*a*) Vid. *Oates*'s Nar. p. 58.
(*b*) Ibid.
(*c*) Ibid.
(*d*) Ibid.
(*e*) Ibid.
(*f*) Ibid.
(*g*) Ibid.
(*h*) Dr. *Oates* ſaw my Lord's Divorce, as he ſwore before the King, and Council.
(*i*) Vid. Lords Journal, as alſo *Langhorne*'s Trial, p. 20.
(*k*) Ibid.
(*l*) Ibid.
(*m*) Vid. *Coleman*'s Trial, p. 23.
(*n*) Vid. Journal and Trial, ut ſupra.

The CONTENTS of the Second Part.

Of Arms under Ground for Horſe and for Foot,
The King almoſt kill'd, but Gun will not ſhoot,
For which Pick'ring *is whipt. All of them ſwear*
To be true to the Plot; yet Oates *not for fear,*
But Revenge, being turn'd away, and well bang'd,
Diſcovers them all; the Jeſuits are hang'd.

I.

THE Plot being thus ſubtly contriv'd as you hear,
To God know's how many this (*a*) Secret th'impart.
Some famous for Cheats, yet their Faith they don't fear,
To tie a Knave faſt they had found a new Art.
They (*b*) ſwore on a Book,
And (*c*) Sacrament took,
But you'll find if into their grave Authors you look,
To forſwear's no Sin (as th' (*d*) Recorder well notes)
Nor Treaſon, Rebellion, nor cutting of Throats.
The Truth of the Story, &c.

II.

Still blinded with Zeal, and inveigled by Hope,
Store of Arms they provide for Fight and Defence,
The Lords muſt command, as Vice-Roys of the Pope,
And all over *England* they raiſe (*e*) Peter-pence.
Their Letters they ſend,
By (*f*) *Bedlo* their Friend,
Or elſe by the (*g*) Poſt, to ſhew what they intend,
Some hundreds (*h*) *Oates* ſaw, which the Jeſuits did write,
'Tis a wonder not one of them e'er came to light.
The Truth of the Story, &c.

III.

Pounds two hundred thouſand they to (*i*) *Ireland* ſent,
Fifteen thouſand to (*k*) *Wakeman* for Potions and Pills,
Forty thouſand in Fire-Works, we gueſs that they ſpent,
And at leaſt ten thouſand for the 'foreſaid Black Bills;
Fifteen hundred more
(*l*) *Grove* ſhou'd have, they ſwore;
Four Gentlemen Ruffians deſerved (*m*) Fourſcore; Pious

(*a*) As appears in the ſeveral Trials.
(*b*) Vid. *Ireland* s Trial, p. 23.
(*c*) Vid. alſo *Hill*'s Trial, p. 32.
(*d*) Vid. his Speech in *Ireland*'s Trial, p. 81.
(*e*) Vid. p. 30.
(*f*) Vid. Jeſuit's Trial, p. 33.
(*g*) Vid. p. 29.
(*h*) Vid. Dr. *Oates*'s Nar. all along.
(*i*) Vid. *Coleman*'s Trial, p. 23.
(*k*) Vid. 40.
(*l*) Vid. p. 21.
(*m*) Vid. p. 24.

Pious *Pickering* they knew was of Maſſes more fond,
And for (*n*) thirty thouſand they gave him a Bond.
The Truth of my Story, &c.

IV.

Theſe two, to kill the King by Promiſes won
Had now watch'd for ſome (*o*) Years in *St. James's Park*,
And *Pick'ring* who never yet (*p*) ſhot off a Gun
Was about to take aim, for he had a fair Mark;
Juſt going to begin't,
He miſſed his (*q*) Flint,
And looking in Pan there was no (*r*) Powder in't;
For which, he their Pardon does humbly beſeech,
Yet had thirty good (*s*) Laſhes upon his bare Breech.
The Truth of my Story, &c.

V.

But a ſadder Miſchance to the Plot did befal,
For *Oates* their main Engine fail'd, when it came to't;
No marvel indeed if he couzen'd them all,
Who turn'd him a (*t*) begging, and (*u*) beat him to boot.
He wheeling about
The whole Party did rout,
And from lurking Holes did ferret them out;
Till running himſelf blind, he none of them (*w*) knew,
And fainting at (*x*) Council, he could not ſwear true.
The Truth of my Story, &c.

VI.

To ſtrengthen our Doctor, brave *Bedlo*'s brought in,
A more credible Witneſs was not above Ground,
He vows and proteſts what e'er he had been,
He wou'd not ſwear falſe now, for Five Hundred Pound;
And why ſhould we fear,
They falſly would ſwear,
To damn their own (*y*) Souls, and to loſe by it here;
For *Oates* who before had no Penny in Purſe
Diſcov'ring the Plot, was Seven Hundred Pound (*z*) worſe.
The Truth of my Story, &c.

VIII.

(*n*) Vid. p. 21.
(*o*) Vid. *Ireland*'s Trial, p. 24.
(*p*) Vid. p. 25.
(*q*) Vid. p. 24.
(*r*) Vid. Jeſuit's Trial, p. 33.
(*s*) Vid. *Ireland*'s Trial, p. 24.
(*t*) Vid. *Wakeman*'s Trial, p. 73.
(*u*) Vid. Jeſuit's Trial, p. 91.
(*w*) *Wak.* p. 30, and 55. as alſo *Coleman*'s Trial, p. 30.
(*x*) Ibid.
(*y*) Vid. *Wakeman*'s Trial, p. 40.
(*z*) Thus Mr. *Oates* and Mr. *Bedlo* affirm in *Langhorne*'s Trial.

VII.

Two Witneſſes more were let looſe from the Jail,
Though (*a*) one, 'tis confeſt, did run back from his Word,
In danger of Life a good Man may be frail;
And th' (*b*) other they ſlander for cheating his Lord;
T' each one of theſe Men,
The Jeſuits brought (*c*) ten
To diſprove 'em in Time and in (*d*) Place, but what then?
One Circumſtance lately was ſworn moſt clear
By a (*e*) Man who in hopes has Four Hundred a Year.
The Truth of my Story, &c.

VIII.

Beſides 'twas oft urg'd; we muſt always ſuppoſe,
To murder the King a great Plot there has been,
And who to contrive it ſo likely as thoſe
Who Murders and Treaſons do hold for no Sin.
Things being thus plain,
To plead was in vain,
The Jury inſtructed again and again,
Did find them all guilty, and to ſhew 'twas well done,
The People gave a Shout for Victory won.
The Truth of my Story, &c.

IX.

'Tis ſtrange how theſe Jeſuits ſo ſubtle and wiſe,
Should all by the Pope be ſo baſely trapan'd,
To hang with much Comfort when he ſhall adviſe,
And go to the Devil too at his Command.
He may give them leave,
To lye and deceive,
But what when the Rope does of Life them bereave,
Can his Holineſs think you diſpenſe with that Pain,
Or by his Indulgences raiſe them again?
The Truth of my Story, &c.

X.

Yet like Mad-men of Life a Contempt they expreſs,
And of their own Happineſs careleſs appear;
For Life and for Money not one would confeſs,
Th' had rather be damn'd, than be rich, and live here;

But

(*a*) Mr. *Prance.*
(*b*) Mr. *Dugdale.*
(*c*) Vid. Jeſuit's Trial all along.
(*d*) Viz. *Ireland* was in Town, *Aug.* 19. *Wak.* Trial, p. 22.
(*e*) Mr. *Jeniſon.*

But ſurely they rav'd
When God they out-brav'd,
And thought to renounce him the way to be ſav'd;
And with Lyes in their Mouth go t' Heav'n in a String;
So proſper all Traitors, and God ſave the King.
The Truth of the Story, &c.

Concordat cum Recordo, Cl. Par.

The SPEECH of the Right Honourable Sir PATIENCE WARDE, Lord-Mayor Elect, at *Guild-Hall*, *LONDON*, *September* 29, 1680, being the Day of his Election. Together with the SPEECH of the Right Honourable Sir ROBERT CLAYTON, Knight, the preſent Lord-Mayor of *London*.

The SPEECH of the Lord-Mayor Elect.

Gentlemen,

I Cannot but be ſenſible of the Honour you have been pleaſed to confer upon me in calling me by your free Choice to the Place of Chief Magiſtrate of this populous and famous City, and therefore am obliged to return you, as I do, my humble Acknowledgment.

Although when I reflect on the Meanneſs of my Abilities, for the diſcharge of ſo great and difficult a Service, eſpecially under the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs, when Fears and Cares preſs on us, I might heartily wiſhed to have been excuſed: Yet, in confidence of (and imploring) the Divine Aſſiſtance, and hopes of your favourable Acceptance of my ſincere Endeavours, I ſubmit to the ſame.

I do not preſume to think that I ſhall be able to come up to the Pattern my worthy Predeceſſor hath ſet before me, whoſe excellent Conduct hath contributed much to our peaceable and ſafe meeting this Day, and well deſerves our Praiſe and Thanks; but I ſhall labour to imitate it the beſt I can.

I ſhall, according to the beſt of my Underſtanding, make the Laws of the Land, and the Conſtitutions, Uſages and Cuſtoms of this renowned City my Rule; the Glory of God, the Honour of the King, the upholding of the Proteſtant Religion, and maintaining the Peace, Liberties, and Proſperity of this City, my End in all my Adminiſtrations: And if at any time I ſhall ſeem to any of you to deviate from theſe, I entreat you to make candid Conſtruction, and forbear ſudden and ſevere cenſuring my Actions, waiting for better Information. For if through human Frailty, I may fail in a Circumſtance, I aſſure you, in the main and ſubſtance I ſhall never ſwerve from this my propoſed End.

Our indefatigable Enemies the Church of *Rome* (who in former times did lay and carry on Designs for Subversion of the Protestant Religion, and Government established in these Kingdoms) have of late been more active than ever. And to pass over the Burning the City, and frequent Attempts of that kind; and the many other Plots and Conspiracies at our remoter Parts, came to those horrid Resolutions of assassinating his Majesty's Royal Person, and to menace even Justice itself in the Inquiries after them, by that barbarous Murder of (the never to be forgotten) Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*, and Attempts on others, in order to an introducing their false Religion: All which carry their own Evidences so full and great, that such who will not shut their Eyes, have Demonstration; and calls aloud upon us to watch against such a People, whose Religion (according to their Casuists) allows, if not engageth them in such Practices.

But besides these, wherein God hath wonderfully disappointed them (and I hope ever will) there is just Cause to apprehend they are more secretly undermining us, and amongst other ways, by being the Occasion of, or at least taking Occasion from the great Impiety, Prophaneness and Atheism of late crept in amongst us; and the raising and fomenting Divisions and Animosities between ourselves; and therefore, as much as in me lies, to obviate these their wicked Purposes, I have propounded;

First, To endeavour the Advancement of the Glory of God; and in order thereunto, I am resolved to be impartial in the Punishment of Wickedness and Debauchery, and in countenancing Piety and Virtue; and entreat by your good Admonitions and Examples to make my Work the more easy in this Particular.

Secondly, To promote the Honour of the King, our Religion obligeth us to be good and loyal Subjects, and to give *Cæsar* the Things that are *Cæsar*'s; and therefore as I shall study to evidence my own unfeigned Loyalty to the King's Majesty, so I shall be careful, according to Law, to punish all Disloyalty in any whomsoever.

Thirdly, To uphold the Protestant Religion, as to which nothing will more conduce than an Union in Affection of all those who profess the same Faith, and agree in the essential Doctrine of it, however they may differ touching some Circumstantials, that we may, as honest Men, and good Christians, maintain Love and Good-will, as those who mind the same Thing, and intend the same common Good of all, and this to be the only Measure of our Actions, all private and particular Apprehensions being made subject thereto.

Fourthly, To the particular Concerns of this City, I shall make it my Business to preserve it in Peace, and advance its Prosperity in all things, and in order thereto shall from time to time desire the Advice and Assistance of my worthy Brethren the Aldermen, and as often of the Common-Council as Occasion shall require.

And if we are careful to discharge our Duty to God, in a sober and pious Conversation; to the King, in a dutiful and loyal Comportment; to the Religion we profess, by Union and Charity among ourselves; to this City, in promoting its Peace and Welfare, we need not fear but God will dissipate and disappoint all the Designs of his and our Enemies, and continue his Blessings to us. And so let us pray, that his Majesty may be blessed with a long and happy Reign, and this City and Kingdom with Peace and Prosperity.

The Speech of the preſent Lord Mayor.

Gentlemen,

I Rejoice to meet you here this Day, where I can ſee the Face of my Succeſſor, and almoſt an end of my own troubleſome Year, in which I can truly affirm I have uſed my hearty Endeavours, for the carrying on and promoting the common Buſineſs, and Advantage of the City, with the ſame Integrity and Induſtry I ever did in my own private Concerns, as far as my Health and Strength of Body would permit; and I wiſh I could ſay, they had had the deſired Effects. And as for what concerns the Publick, though I own myſelf ſubject to many human Frailties, and pretend not, in that Hurry of Affairs that attend my Office, to be exempted from Surprize; yet I can with Safety ſay, that in what I have done therein, I have acted according to the Dictates of my own Conſcience, and the Rule of Law: And if whilſt I have followed thoſe Guides, in any think I have been miſled, my Satisfaction is, I have them to appeal to for my Vindication.

And now, Gentlemen, being almoſt out of Office, and not likely to have any other Opportunity of ſpeaking to you before I take my leave of it, I muſt ſay one Thing more to you.

It is not to tell you how troubleſome it hath been to me, nor what hourly Cares, for the Peace and Safety of this City, I have laboured under, nor how I have impaired my Health and Eſtate in this Service; for all theſe every ſober Man's own Thoughts will eaſily ſuggeſt to him.

But it is to beg a Favour of you, and that not for myſelf alone, but for you, for us all, and for this great City, (whoſe Members we all are;) and it is, that all of us, who profeſs ourſelves to be Chriſtians, would ſo far bear Teſtimony to the Truth of that Profeſſion, as heartily in Meekneſs and Forbearance to love one another. And though there be Differences in Opinions, and the outward Modes and Forms of Divine Worſhip; yet let not theſe have that Effect, as in the leaſt to divide us, or divert us from that common Defence, which all good Proteſtants are engaged in to ſtand together. The due Regard of which, in my poor Opinion, next under God, is the only probable Way left for our Deliverance.

I beg your Pardon for the Freedom I have uſed, and am well aſſured, all my Defects will be liberally ſupplied by my worthy Succeſſor. And I ſhall pray, that God of his Goodneſs will diſperſe thoſe Clouds, that ſeem ſo much to threaten this City and Nation, and to defeat all Counſels that tend thereto; to bleſs his Majeſty with a long and happy Reign, and this City and Kingdom with Peace and Tranquillity.

The CHARACTER of a TORY.

A *TORY* is a *Monſter* with an *Engliſh Face*, a *French Heart*, and an *Iriſh Conſcience*. A Creature of a large *Forehead*, prodigious *Mouth*, ſupple *Hams*, and no *Brains*. The Countryman's Deſcription of him, was both Rhyme and Reaſon; *Roary*, *Whorey*, *Sworey*, *Scorey*, that is a *TOREY*; For *Noiſe* and *Debauchery*, *Oaths* and *Beggary*, are the four *Elements* that compoſe him: His *Arms* are thoſe of *Iſſacher*, an *Aſs Couchant*; and his Mark is a *Red Ribbon* in his Cap, to ſhew, that he belongs to the *Scarlet Whore*, by her bloody Livery; or elſe, you may take it for a *Wedding-Favour*, that whenever *Popery* and *Tyranny* ſhall make a *Match* he would fain be a *Brideman*. He ſeems deſcended from *Eſau*, ſince is is ſo ready to truck away an invaluable *Birthright* for a *French Kickſhaw*, and a nauſeous Meſs of *Italian Pottage*. Or if you will run his *Pedigree* higher, you may call him a *Noddite*, one of the Race of *Cain* the Murderer, that would fain be *perſecuting* his Brother, meerly becauſe he is *more righteous* than himſelf.

Take our *TORIES* in the *State*, and they are *Caterpillers* that devour every *green Thing* in a flouriſhing Kingdom, and would ſtab *Liberty* and *Property* to the Heart, that they themſelves, like *Beaſts of Prey*, might live wholly upon *Spoil and Rapine*, fit only to be Subjects to *Nebuchadnezzar*, when bereaved of human Senſe, he herded with the *Wild Aſſes* of the *Deſert*. Though they boaſt themſelves *Engliſhmen*, yet they act in all Things as *Antipodes* to their Native Country; and ſeem rather *Bog-trotters* tranſplanted, the Spawn of ſome *Redſhanks*, or the By-blows of the old *Lazy Lord Danes*, that once domineered over our Anceſtors: They are a ſort of *Wild Boars*, that would root out the Conſtitution, and break the Ballance of our happy Government; and render that *Deſpotick*, which hitherto has been both eſtabliſhed and bounded by *Law*. *Vauxes* in Maſquerade, that with *Dark-lanthorn* Policies, would at once blow up the two Bulwarks of our Freedom, *PARLIAMENTS* and *JURIES*; making the *Firſt*, only a *Parliament of Paris:* and the *Latter*, but meer Tools to *eccho* back the Pleaſure of a Judge. They are ſo certain, that *Monarchy* is *Jure Divino*; that they look upon all People living under *Ariſtocracys*, or *Democracys*, to be in a State of *Damnation*; and fancy, that the *Grand Seignior*, the *Czar of Moſcovy*, and the *French King* dropt down from *Heaven* with *Crowns* on their Heads, and that all their Subjects were born with *Saddles* on their Backs. Your true *TORY* is as fond of *Slavery*, as others are of *Liberty*, and will be at as much Pains and *Charge* to obtain it; for he envies the Happineſs of *Canvas Breeches* and *Wooden Shoes*; and extremely admires the Mercy of the *Inquiſition*. He rails at *Magna Charta* as the Seed-plot of *Sedition*; ſwears, that it was firſt obtained by *Rebellion*, and that all our Fore-fathers were *Rogues and Fools*, and did not underſtand *Prerogative*. He wonders, why People ſhould ſquander away their Time at the *Inns of Courts*, or what need there is either of the *Common Law*, or the *Statute-Book*, ſince the King might at any Time, with quicker Diſpatch, declare his Pleaſure in any Point or Controverſy, and each loyal Subject were bound to acquieſce, on Pain of

of Damnation. Yet after all, his boasted *Loyalty* extends no further than a drunken Health; he *roars* and *swaggers*, but does not *serve* the King: he promises Mountains, and by *Lyes* and Misrepresentations, gives *false Measures*: But performs nothing: Nor is it the Cause, but the Crust, that he barks for.

Then in Relation to the Church; —*TORY* is either a *Crab-Protestant*, that *crawls backwards* as fast as he can to *Rome*; or at best, but the *Cat's-foot* wherewith the *Romish Monkeys* claw the Protestant Religion till the Blood comes: One that does their Drudgery, though he has not always the Wit to see it; and all the Wages he must expect, is *Polypheme*'s Courtesy, to be devoured *last*. He is a *Flambeau* kindled by the *Jesuits*, and flung in, to make a *Combustion* amongst us. Whilst we were hunting down their *Plot* with a full Cry, they slipt in their *deep-mouthed* Hound, who spending on a *false Scent* diverted the Chase, and so the *Popish Puss squats safe in her Form*: And now quitting the Pursuit of the *Foxes*, he begins to worry the *Sheep*. He pretends high for the Church of *England*; but as he understands not her Doctrine, so he dishonours her by his lewd Conversation: What a pretty pious Confession of Faith is it, to hear a *Bully* cry, —— *God-Damn-Me, I am of the Church of* England, *and all the* Presbyterians *are Sons of Whores*. Indeed, the only Proof both of his *Religion* and *Courage*, is, that he swears most frequently by that *tremendous* Name, at which, lesser Devils tremble, and his Christianity consists in *Cursing* all those that he is pleased to call *Fanaticks*; and *Fanaticks* he calls all those, that are not content to be either *Papists* or *Atheists*. His *Tongue* is always tipt with *Dam-me*, and *Forty-one*; and so *hot*, (being set on Fire of *Hell*) that he is fain to drink *Healths*, (sometimes to the *Pope*, and sometimes to the *Devil*) sixty Times in an Hour to quench it; and then belches out *Huzza's* as fast, as Mount *Strombulo* does Fire and Brimstone.

Whilst he Clamours at *Dissenters* for not coming to *Church*, he thinks it is Canonical enough to *Sleep* over the *Lord's-day* to digest the Fumes of *Saturday*'s Debauch, or take a Walk in *Guildhall-Yard*, peep in at the Preacher, and presently retire to the Tavern for a Whet to Dinner, or else to meet the Club of *Witty Good-mockers* by *Fleet-Ditch* Side, and droll away the Day in Blasphemy, ridiculing religious Duties, or inventing *Jack Pudding Lyes* of some pretended *Nonconformist*'s Preaching. If he be somewhat of a more serious Temper, he is as very a superstitious *Bigot*, as any in the *Papacy*; he would rather have no preaching than that the Surplice should be left off, and thinks his Child not christened, if it be not done with the Sign of the *Cross*; he counts *Opus operatum* sufficient, and if he have but been at *Common-Prayer*, and made his *Responses* loud enough to drown the Clerk, and had the Parson's Blessing, his Task is done and all is safe. Flesh on a *Friday* is more Abomination to him, than his Neighbour's Bed; and he abhors more not to *bow* at the Syllables of the Word *Jesus*, than to swear by the Name of *God*.

He has got a *New English Dictionary* framed by the indefatigable Skill of *Heraclitus* and the *Observator*, whereby he traverstes the most loyal honest Sense into *Blasphemy* and *Treason*. Talk soberly of *Religion*, and he flaps you over the Face with Heresy, Schism, Fanaticism and Faction, or roundly calls you *Confounded Whig*, and so you are confuted. Urge never so modestly *Legal Fundamental Rights*, and mention Irregularities, though in a Place appointed to

Remedy them, he cries out, *Rebellion! Treason!* You *depose the King!* You *arraign the Government*, &c. Mention the *Commons* of *England* and the *General Sense* of the Nation, and he exclaims, Damn the *Mobile* and your *Appeals* to the *Rabble*; and yet at the same time courts and applauds Tag, Rag and Long-tail, the *Cooks and Chandlers of New Sarum*, and such other *Worshipful Patriots* for declaring their three half-penny Judgments of the highest Affairs of State, in their *Addresses*. And as for the two last Parliaments every petty *Chapman* or *Apprentice Boy* takes upon him to censure the grave Proceedings of those *Venerable Senates*, as malepertly as if they had been but a Company of Fidlers.

Yet still he fears not *God*, so much as a *Parliament*; but the Reason why he blasphemes the *one*, and rails at the *other*, is because he really believes not a future Judgment in the *other* World. So he puts *far off* the other (to him) evil Day in *this*, and hopes to escape the Justice of both by the Mediation of Saint *Noli Prosequi*.

The CASE of the PROTESTANTS in *ENGLAND* under a POPISH PRINCE, if any shall happen to wear the Imperial Crown.

A PRINCE putting himself and his Dominions under the Pope's Authority, and admitting (as he must unavoidably) the Laws and Decrees of the *Romish* Church *, all his Protestant Subjects, being by the Judgment and Sentence of that Church *Hereticks*, do forthwith lie under the Penalties which those Laws and Constitutions will have inflicted upon *Hereticks*. And these are the severest Penalties, being proportioned to the Crime which that Church judgeth most heinous; for Heresy is Treason with them, and the highest Degree of High Treason, for it is (say they) *Crimen læsæ Majestatis Divinæ*, Treason against the Divine Majesty, and so much worse than Treason against any Prince on Earth; and upon this Ground they commonly justify all Severities decreed against *Hereticks*. Not to mention particular Doctors, *Innocent* the Third (*a*) thus argues in a special Instance, *This Punishment is justly inflicted upon Hereticks, because it is so in case of civil Treason, which is a smaller Fault than Treason against the Divine Majesty*. And there is an Edict of (*b*) *Frederick* confirmed and made a Church-Constitution by several Popes, particularly by *Innocent*

* By the Law of the Church, Sic omnes Apostolicæ sedis sanctiones accipiendæ sunt tanquam ipsius divini Petri voce firmatæ sint, *Distinct.* 19. *cap.* 2. All the Constitutions of the *Roman* See must be received, as if they were made firm by St. *Peter*'s own Mouth. And it is enacted by a General Decree (Generali Decreto constituimus) that whatsoever King, Bishop, or Nobleman, shall believe that the Decrees of the *Roman* Bishops may be, or shall suffer them to be violated in any Thing, be accursed, (execrandum Anathema sit) and shall for ever remain guilty before God, as a Betrayer of the Catholick Faith. *Caus.* 25. *q.* 1. *cap.* 11.

(*a*) Caput Vergentis, de Hæreticis.

(*b*) Septem Decretal. *lib.* 5. *tit.* 3. de Hæreticis.

nocent IV. wherein what is enacted againſt Traitors, is declared to fall upon Hereticks *multo fortiùs juſtiuſque*, with much more Force and Juſtice. So that the Papal Authority being introduced among Proteſtants, they are forthwith *Traitors by Law*, and ſtand in no better Terms, than the worſt of Traitors, and are expoſed to the Penalties which the higheſt Treaſon is judged worthy of. Let me inſtance in two or three Particulars briefly; for I muſt but Point at the Miſeries of Proteſtants in ſuch a State, not give a full Proſpect of them.

Infamy is one of them (that I may begin with the leaſt.) Hereticks are infamous by Law (*c*), *It is certain* (ſaith (*d*) *Suarez*) *that Hereticks both by common and civil Law are infamous*, for which he alledged ſeveral Texts of the Pope's Law, and extends it to the *Favourers* of Hereticks, if they repent not within a Year; and to their Children for ſome Generations, if their Parents died pertinacious.

It is many Penalties in one, including ſeveral Things grievous and intolerable to all ſorts (*e*); for upon this Account, thoſe whom they count Hereticks, are deprived of all Nobility, Juriſdiction, and Dignity; and debarred from all Offices, Benefices, and publick Councils; they are uncapable of chuſing, or of being choſen to them, (ſo that it reacheth all ſorts) Clergy, Laity, Noble and Ignoble, (as the ſame Author tells us.) And they fall under all this immediately, *ipſo facto*, as ſoon as they are Hereticks, before any Sentence declaratory of their Crime; ſo *in a manner all the* (*f*) *Doctors conclude*, *In quo Authores ferè conveniunt*, proving it from the very Words of the Law aforementioned.

Let me mention ſome of the Particulars comprized in this legal Infamy: Proteſtants are hereby excluded from all publick Councils, and ſo from Parliaments; being uncapable of either chuſing, or being choſen thereto. This is the Decree of a *General* (*g*) *Council*, beſides ſeveral Conſtitutions for it in the *Canon Law*. So that all the Lords and Commons in *England* would be by Law (while they are Proteſtants) debarred from having any Place in Parliament; and all the Freeholders from chuſing any; and that by a Law paramount to any Civil Law or National Conſtitution: And this alone would be enough to ruin and enſlave this, or any People whoſe Liberty depends upon Parliaments. They are excluded from all Dignities, this is eſſential to the Penalty; for it is a (*h*) Rule in their Law, *Infamibus Portæ non pateant dignitati*; particularly Noblemen are degraded from their Nobility, and deprived of all Honours (*i*), this by the ſame Law: And it is extended to their Children by many of their (*k*) Authors, who ſay expreſly, that the *Iſſue of Traytors*, *Civil or Spiritual*, *loſe their Nobility*, both that which they had by Privilege, and that which comes by Deſcent from their Anceſtors.

They are deprived not only of all eccleſiaſtical Benefices, but of all ſecular Offices, which is expreſſed in the Law forequoted; particularly it is decreed (*l*) that

(*c*) Caput Infames 6. *q.* 1 *cap. alieni.* 2. *q.* 7. *Cap.* Excommunicamus 1 §. credentes. de Hæreticis. *Cap.* Statum. de bæret. in 6.

(*d*) De Fide. Diſp. 21. §. 5. *n.* 3.

(*e*) Suarez *ibid.* Diana. ſum. v. Hæret. *n.* 9. Pet. St. Joſeph in 1. Deca. *p.* 39. Tho. Sanchez. op. Moral. *lib.* 2. *n.* 12.

(*f*) Suarez. *ibid. n.* 4.

(*g*) Con. Lateran. ſub Innocent 3. in Crab. Tom. 2. Concil. *p.* 948.

(*h*) Regul. Juris 87. in 6.

(*i*) De Hæreticis cap. ut Commiſſ. in 6.

(*k*) Faber Teraquillus, Cantera, Otalora in Sanchez. *ibid. l.* 2. *c.* 29. *n.* 1.

(*l*) *Cap.* 2. §. Hæretic. de Hæreticis in 6.

that *Hereticks be not admitted into any publick Office, or Benefice; but if they be, it is null and void.* Nor can they exerciſe any Juriſdiction, either Spiritual or Civil, as their (*m*) Authors commonly determine: And upon this account they conclude all our Judges, Juſtices and Magiſtrates, that are Proteſtants, to be incompetent, ſuch as have no more Juriſdiction than the Bench they ſit on, and think not themſelves at all obliged to anſwer them; or if they condeſcend to give them an Anſwer, yet not to ſpeak the Truth before them, although they be ſworn to it.

In ſhort, all that owe any Duty to Hereticks are diſcharged from the Obligation, and exempted from paying any. In their Canon Law it is decreed (*n*) that all *who are bound to Hereticks by any Obligation, whether of Oath, or Fealty, or Service, or any other Agreement, or Promiſe, are freed therefrom.* Subjects owe no Allegiance to their Prince, nay they may lawfully kill them, as their Authors commonly conclude. Servants owe Maſters no Faithfulneſs, no Service; though they be Slaves, and purchaſed with their Money, yet they are diſcharged; and if they diſcover their Maſter's Hereſy, and ſo ſeek to take away his Life, though they be not Chriſtians, it is Reaſon (they hold) that they have abſolute Freedom; when none but Chriſtian Slaves may have it, ſave upon ſuch a treacherous (*o*) Account. Parents loſe Authority over their Children, ſo their Law (*p*) will have it: And Children owe no Duty to ſuch Parents, only they are bound under mortal Sin to denounce them, that is, to diſcover their Hereſy; which is the way to deprive their Parents of their Lives. And they give this Reaſon for it, becauſe *it is lawful for a Child to kill his Father, if he be an Enemy to the Commonwealth; and therefore he may much more lawfully in this Caſe* deal thus with his Father, that is, betray him to Death. This is an *Act worthy of Honour and Praiſe*, as is proved by the Conſtitutions of ſeveral Popes, and ſo many other (*q*) Writers, that it may paſs for their common Doctrine; nor can they be ſecured from ſuffering for their Parents Hereſy, without detecting them, as *Innocent* IV. decrees.*

We ſee a little to what Condition the Admiſſion of the Papal Authority would reduce us; it would expel Nature and Humanity, and make the deareſt Relatives unnatural and barbarous to one another; it would leave no Proteſtant either Dignity or Authority, either Safety or Liberty; by theſe Laws (which muſt then be ours) our Nobles are ſentenced to be Peaſants, and Peaſants muſt be no better than Slaves.

Secondly, another Penalty to which Hereticks are condemned by their Laws, is *Confiſcation of all their Eſtates or Goods*, and this they incur, *ipſo jure, & ipſo facto*, that is immediately, as ſoon as they ſhew themſelves Hereticks, *before the*

(*m*) Aquinas, Soto, Caſtor, Azor, Simanca, & Suarez, *ibid. Diſp.* 21. §. 5. *n.* 12. By the Conſtitution of *Gregory* IX. an Heretick is deprived of all Juriſdiction, whether Natural, Civil, or Politick. Simanca Inſtit. *tit.* 46. §. 74. Juxta Conſtitutiones *Gregorii* IX. *&c.*

(*n*) Cap. Final. de Hæreticis.

(*o*) Azon. Inſtit. Moral. Tom 1. *l.* 8. *c.* 12. *q.* 7. Penna, Molina & Sanchez. *ibid. c.* 24. *m.* 10, 11.

(*p*) Cap. 2. §. final. de Hæreticis in 6.

(*q*) Bonacina de obligatione denunciandi. *Diſp.* 4. *p.* 2. *n.* 3. Ita Farinacius, Azorius & alii ferè communiter. Id. ex aliis Sum. Pontificum Conſtitutionibus probat Penna. *ibid.*

* Septem Decret. de Hæretic. *c.* 3.

the Sentence of any Judge. There is an expreſs Decree (*r*) for this in the Canon Law, *Bona Hæreticorum ipſo jure decernimus confiſcata.* We decree that the Goods of Hereticks are confiſcated by Sentence of Law. In this *the Gloſs, and all the Doctors who write of* (*s*) *Hereticks do agree*; and upon this Reaſon among others, becauſe *Human Laws puniſh Treaſon againſt Men, and ſometimes leſſer Crimes*, with Confiſcation of Goods; *therefore much more muſt Treaſon againſt the Divine Majeſty*, which is committed by Hereſy, be thus puniſhed. And this Reaſon is aſſigned not only in the Text of the Canon Law now mentioned, but alſo in other Texts, particularly *Innocent* (*t*) the Third thereby proves, that Hereticks Goods are confiſcated, becauſe this is decreed againſt Civil Treaſon, *which is much leſs than that againſt the Divine Majeſty.*

By Virtue of this Confiſcation, Hereticks, as ſoon as ever they diſcover it, are deprived of all Propriety and Title to their Eſtates, before any Sentence paſſed againſt them. *Suarez* (*u*) ſaith, this is the *common Doctrine. Sanchez* (*w*) muſters up Multitudes of Doctors for it: And (*x*) *Corduba* tell us, that all their Doctors in a manner, both Canoniſts and Divines, maintain it.

But though they generally agree that Proteſtants by Law have loſt all Propriety, and have no Title to any Eſtate; yet there is ſome Difference among them about the Poſſeſſion of what is thus confiſcated. For many of them hold, that Hereticks before any Sentence, are bound in Conſcience to quit the Poſſeſſion of all they have, and ſin damnably if they do not; eſpecially if their Hereſy be publick and notorious, as it is in all profeſſed Proteſtants: And their Reaſons are good enough, if the Principles upon which they proceed were ſo. For the Sentence which ſome count pre-requiſite, is not pretended to be *damnatory*, to condemn to the Puniſhment, for that is already done by Law; but only (as all agree) *declarative* of the Crime, that the Crime may be evident, and who are guilty of it; which is needleſs when it is evident and notorious before.

Others of them teach that Hereticks may keep Poſſeſſion, and are not to be deprived of it, before the Sentence declarative of the Crime. But though this latter ſeem more favourable, yet it is of little or no Advantage to Proteſtants, ſince thoſe that have a mind to their forfeited Eſtates, may ſoon procure ſuch a Sentence; for an ordinary Biſhop, or other Eccleſiaſtical Perſon may paſs it, as the Law it (*y*) ſelf declares. For Example: *Corker* the *Benedictine*, lately arraigned, was ordered by the Pope to be Biſhop of *London*; if their Plot had ſo far ſucceeded, that the Pope's Orders had taken Place, he might in his Spiritual Court have declared all the known Proteſtants in *London*, and his whole Dioceſe to be Hereticks; which done, all the Nobles, Citizens and others in his Dioceſe, might have been turned immediately out of Poſſeſſion, and ſtript of all they had; and this by Law. The Effects of this Confiſcation, wherein they all agree, make the Severity of the Law apparent; and the Forbearance of Seizure before Sentence of little Conſideration, if they thought themſelves obliged not to ſeize ſuch Eſtates before.

First,

(*r*) Cap. cum ſecundum leges, de Hæret. in 6.

(*s*) Suarez. *ibid. Diſp.* 22. § 1. *n.* 2.

(*t*) Cap. Vergentes, verſ. cum enim, de Hæreticis. Cum longè ſit gravius, æternam quàm temporalem lædere Majeſtatem.

(*u*) Ibid. §. 3. *n.* 1.

(*w*) Ibid. *cap.* 22. *n.* 2.

(*x*) Quæſt. Theol. *lib.* 1. *q.* 36. *p.* 290.

(*y*) De Hæreticis. *Cap.* cum ſecundum legis, in 6.

First, All the Profits made of the Estate from the first Day of their Guilt are to be refunded, if they be extant and found among their (*z*) Goods, *formally*, or but so much as *equivalently*; nay, some (*a*) will have them responsible for the mean Profits, though they be consumed or spent, if so be they knew themselves to be obnoxious, when they spent them: Or being spent, if the Estate be any thing *better* on that Account, they are still looked on as being extant, and the Estate still liable: And it is counted *better*, if the Party be (*b*) richer, *If he therewith bought any thing else, or made use thereof to pay his Debts, or bought but Necessaries to live on, and thereby spared his other Revenues.*

Secondly, All Alienations by Gift, Sale or otherwise, before Sentence, are null and void; and all Contracts for that Purpose rescinded; in this, *Suarez* saith, *all their Writers agree* (*c*) *unanimously*; and the Exchequer of the Pope or Popish Prince will recover all that hath been so disposed of by the Hereticks to others where they be, or in whose Possession so ever they be found, or through how many Hands soever have passed; this is the Doctrine *universally embraced by all their Doctors of Law, and all their Divines*, so understanding the Text of their Law, as (*d*) *Sanchez* tells us. Nay it is a Sin (*e*) for him to sell any Part of his Goods or Estate, without discovering to the Purchaser his Hazard, in buying what is by Law confiscated. And in this case the Purchase will be forced from him without restoring the Price he paid for it, unless it be found among the Hereticks Goods, for which the same *Jesuit* alledged above thirty (*f*) Doctors. Nor are those to whose the Estate is escheated any way obliged, to pay any of the Hereticks Debts (*g*), which were contracted since his Heresy, and so his Creditors (not excepting *Roman* Catholicks) may be lawfully ruined, as well as himself.

Thirdly, The Children and Heirs of Hereticks are deprived of their Portions. And though this seem hard in their own Apprehensions, that they should be ruined and reduced to Poverty for their Parents Fault; yet what they suffer is not to be considered, because the Child is not here punished by or in himself, but by an Accident, and in another. And this is all the Satisfaction the best of them give in this pitiful Case, *Suarez ibid.* Nor will their Law admit that any Commiseration of the Innocent should be any Impediment to the Severity of the Execution; but provides against it in these Words, *Neither shall this severe Censure, for the disinheriting of Orthodox Children be any way hindered, by the Pretence of Compassion; since in many Cases by Divine Judgment, the Children are temporally punished for their Fathers; and according to Canonical Sanctions, Vengeance may be sometimes taken, not only upon the Authors of Wickedness*, but their Posterity, *Cap. vergentis, Tit. de Hæreticis.*

But what if the Children to whom the Estate is left, be *Roman* Catholicks, are they to be thrust from an Estate left them by their Heretical Parents? This seems impolitick, since hereby no Hopes are left to any for securing their Estates by turning Papists; and not only so, but they confess it seems to be against Piety, and

(*z*) Suarez, de fide. *Disp.* 22. §. 4. *n.* 11. Sanchez ubi supra, *c.* 21. *n.* ult.

(*a*) Simancha, Vasquez in Suarez, *ibid.* *n.* 11, 12.

(*b*) Idem *ibid.* §. 4. *n.* 9.

(*c*) Ibid. §. 1 *n.* 5. In hoc effectu concors est sententia omnium scribentium.

(*d*) Ibid. *l.* 22. *n.* 33.

(*e*) Idem *ibid.* *n.* 61.

(*f*) Ibid. *n.* 68.

(*g*) Ibid. *n.* 76.

and in the fourth Synod of *Toledo* there is a Limitation for the Security of ſuch Innocents; but by the Canon Law in after-times that Limitation was exploded, and the Catholick Deſcendents of Hereticks excluded from having any Advantage (*b*) by their confiſcated Eſtates. This is expreſſed in the Text of their Law, and more fully in an original Epiſtle of Pope *Innocent* III. *Suarez ibid. p.* 775.

But ſuppoſe the Poſterity of a Proteſtant or his Children, being ſtill Papiſts, have continued in the Poſſeſſion of the Eſtates ſo left them for many Years together (forty or an hundred Years) will not this create them a Title? Since Preſcription may do it where there is no other Right, and is allowed ſo to do both by *Civil* and *Canon* Law; and an hundred Years is confeſſed to be ſufficient for Preſcription (*i*) againſt the *Roman* Church in other Caſes?

No, an hundred Years will not ſuffice in this Caſe, if the Poſſeſſors, or their Fathers knew that he who left them the Eſtate was an Heretick, and if he was at any time ſuſpected to be ſo while he lived; or if he was reputed a Catholick all his Days; yet if any time within forty Years after his Deceaſe, it appears he was an Heretick, there is no Place left for Preſcription: But then they will have the Eſtate ſeiſed, in whoſe Hands ſoever it be found, and the (*k*) Poſſeſſors thruſt out, though they be *Roman* Catholicks.

Hereby it appears, that as ſoon as the Papacy is admitted, all Title and Property is loſt and extinct among us by the Law which will then be in force, unleſs in thoſe few Families who never had a Proteſtant Proprietor; nor are they ſecure as to any Part of their Eſtate, which ever belonged to Hereticks: And therefore we muſt not think his Holineſs acted extravagantly, when he declared *all his Majeſty's Territories to be his own as forfeited to the Holy See for the Hereſy of Prince and People:* for herein he proceeded regularly, and according to that which they eſteem the beſt Law in the World. Not only Abbey Lands are in danger, who ever poſſeſs them, but all Eſtates are forfeited to his Exchequer, and legally confiſcated: All is his own which Proteſtants in theſe three Nations have, or ever had, if he can but meet with a Prince ſo wiſe, as to help him to catch it.

Thus we ſee the Proceſs of their Law againſt Proteſtants muſt not end with their Lives, but follow them many Years beyond Death and the Grave; and ruin their Children, and Childrens Children, when they are gone: And when they have left a Heretick nothing of his own to ſubſiſt on, it is provided alſo that he ſhall have no Relief from others: For this is Part of his Penalty (*l*), that *none ſhall receive him into their Houſes, nor afford him any Help, nor ſhew him any Favour, nor give him any Counſel.*

We in *England* are zealous for Property, and all the Reaſon in the World we ſhould be; but we muſt bid adieu to this when we once come under the Pope's Authority; for as ſoon as this is admitted, *all the Proteſtants in theſe Nations are Beggars by Law*, by the Laws of that Church (which will then be ours) diveſting us of all Propriety and Title to what ever we count our own.

(*b*) Cap. Vergentis de Hæreticis.
(*i*) Menochius & alii in Diana. Sum. V. Præſcrip. *n.* 2.
(*k*) Sanchez, *l.* 2. *c.* 22. *n.* 41.
(*l*) Zanardus, Director. pars 2. *p.* 126.

Thirdly, The laſt *Penalty* I ſhall inſiſt on, which their Law will have inflicted on Hereticks, is Death.

This is the Sentence of the *Canon Law*. *Hereticks* (*m*) *are to be delivered to the ſecular Power to undergo due Puniſhment*; and that is Death, as appear by many *Papal Bulls* approving and receiving the Civil Laws, which have adjudged Hereticks to Death. For though thoſe Laws were originally intended, againſt ſuch only which were Hereticks indeed; yet ſince the *Roman* Church will have all Proteſtants to be Hereticks, they muſt ſuffer Death by Virtue thereof, how far ſoever they be from Hereſy.

And the *Canon Law* further determines, that Secular Judges cannot remit the Penalty, as appears by the Text, Cap. *ut Officium*, and is more fully explained in the *Bull* of *Urban* IV. and in another of *Innocent* IV. Hereupon (*n*) *Zanardus* takes it for granted, *that all Laws will have every Heretick put to Death*; and their Angelical Doctor (*o*) is poſitive, *that Hereticks, though they do not pervert others, may be juſtly killed by the Secular Judges, and bereaved of all they have, rather than ſuch as are guilty of High-Treaſon.*

If there were need to cite particular Doctors, *Suarez* aſſures us, that it is the Judgment of all their Doctors, *Ita docent omnes Doctores*. But there is a Conſtitution of *Paul* IV. (*p*) which may ſerve inſtead of all; where to ſhew how impartial their Decrees are in this Caſe, having declared that with the unanimous Conſent of the Cardinals, all Pœnal Acts, Canons, Conſtitutions againſt Hereticks, made by any Popes, Councils, or others, are by Apoſtolical Authority renewed and inforced; he ſpecifies Perſons of greateſt Eminency in Church and State, *viz.* Earls, Barons, Marqueſſes, Dukes, Kings, Emperors, *&c.* and will have all theſe Puniſhments inflicted on them, if they are, or ſhall hereafter be Hereticks. Particularly it is decreed, that *they are therefore deprived wholly and perpetually of their Baronies, Marquiſates, Dukedoms, Kingdoms, Empires, and rendered uncapable hereof, ſo as they ſhall never be reſtored.* And to make ſure Work, all of them, Kings and Emperors among the reſt, *ſhall be put to Death* (*q*). Only if they recant, the Holy See may ſhew them this Clemency, as to thruſt them into ſome Monaſtery, there to do Penance all their Days with Bread and Water.

This Puniſhment they extend very far (*r*) for Death is to be inflicted, not only on the Teachers of what they call Hereſy; but on all who believe any Doctrines oppoſite to what the *Romaniſts* receive as Matters of Faith, though they draw none elſe thereto; yea on all that believe any one Point of ſuch Doctrine, though they renounce all the reſt; for they agree, *that one Error makes a Heretick*, though all beſides that one be abjured. And on thoſe alſo who abjure them all, if they do not likewiſe diſcover their Complices; and ſo betray all the Proteſtants they know to Death. For ſuch, though they do profeſs themſelves to be Papiſts, and conform to them in all Things; yet if they diſcover not others,

(*m*) Cap. ad abolendum de Hæreticis. Vide Suarez ubi ſupra. *Diſp.* 23. §. 2. *n.* 1. & 3.

(*n*) Direct. pars 2da. 2dæ. *p.* 754.

(*o*) Secund. 2dæ. *q.* 10. Art. 8. Corp.

(*p*) Septem Decretal. *l.* 5. *tit.* 3. *c.* 9.

(*q*) Sæcularis relinquantur arbitrio poteſtatis, animadverſione debita Puniendi. Which Expreſſion they thus explain, Debita nimirum ſecundum jura civilia quæ eſt pœna mortis. So *Suarez ibid. Diſp.* 23. §. 2. *n.* 3.

(*r*) Idem *ibid.* §. 2. *n.* 5, 6.

others, and expoſe them to Death, *they are judged to be but (s) counterfeit Catholicks*, and not worthy to live.

The Death they will have us ſuffer, is *burning alive*; no Death more tolerable, or of leſs exquiſite Torture will ſatisfy the Mercy of that Church. For though they find no Rule for this in the Body of the Civil Law, yet they alledge ſome latter Conſtitutions for it, and particularly that of *Frederick* (which the Popes have made their own Law) in theſe Words, (*t*) *Decernimus ut vivi in conſpectu hominum comburantur*, *We decree that they ſhall be burned alive in the Sight of the World*. The Holy Canons it is preſumed are for it: The firſt Statute of *Henry* IV. in *England*, for the burning of Hereticks, was enacted *according to the Holy Canons*. And if they had no other Law for it, yet the Uſe and Cuſtom of their Church hath the Force of a Law; and makes it as lawful and neceſſary for them to burn Proteſtants, as it is to burn Faggots when they are cold; and that it is the Cuſtom of the Church, they have the Teſtimony of all Nations round about us. We need go no further than our native Country, where in the Days of the laſt Popiſh Succeſſor it is proved by near three hundred Witneſſes, that their Laws will have all ſorts of us burnt alive, without regard of Age, Sex, or Quality. And if we will not be ſatisfied that they may lawfully burn us, Man, Woman and Child, unleſs we have Scripture for it, they have it ready, John xv. 6. *If any one abide not in me*, *Men gather them*, *and caſt them into the Fire*, *and they are burned*. Alledged by diverſe of their prime (*u*) Authors for this Purpoſe; which proves as plainly and infallibly that Proteſtants muſt be burned, as —— *Feed my Sheep* proves that the Pope hath Power to kill both King and People. The Proceſs againſt Hereticks in the *Inquiſition* is remarkably merciful, for there a Proteſtant ſhall not have the favour to be burnt at firſt (*x*) and die once; but muſt ſuffer many Deaths before, by enduring diverſe Tortures more grievous than Death, before he be brought to the Fire. One that hath the Spirit of a Chriſtian, and reads the Account of the Tortures there in uſe, would ſcarce think that any but the Devils could be either the Inventors or Executioners of them. But Pope *Paul* IV. would better inform him, who aſcribes the ſettling of the Inquiſition in *Spain*, to the *Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt*; and there is no doubt but his Succeſſors would attribute it to the ſame Inſpiration, if they could get it ſettled in *England*. And they are highly concerned to endeavour it, if they believe the Words of a dying Pope. For (*y*) *Paul* IV. in a Speech before his Death (and ſo before his Infallibility expired) declared to the Cardinals, *that the Authority of the* Roman *Church depends only upon the Office of the Inquiſition*. And indeed it is very fit, that ſuch an Authority ſhould have ſuch a Foundation. Nor can any queſtion that it is neceſſary and pious to exerciſe all the Cruelties of the Inquiſition upon us, without ſhaking the whole Foundation of the *Roman* Church, and all the Authority of it.

(*s*) Quia eſt occulator Hæreticorum —— & ideo meritò judicatur fictè converſus. *ib.* §. 6.

(*t*) De Hæreticis. 7 Decretal. Sect. inconſutilem.

(*u*) *Jac. de Graff.* deciſ. *l.* 2. *c.* 9. *n.* 2. *Suarez* ubi ſupra. *n.* 4.

(*x*) *Zanardus*, Director. 2da pars, *p.* 575.

(*y*) *Onufrius*, Vita *Pauli* IV.

Hereupon how are we concerned to look about us? We ought to remember (for they are not like to forget it) that as soon as ever the Papal Authority is admitted among us, *all the Protestants in these Nations are dead Men in Law*; being under a Law that has sentenced us to be burnt alive, and under a Power that hath declared it necessary that no one of us escape with Life.

But they are not yet quite ready for burning us, though they are impatient till they be so; and shew what Design they have upon our Persons, by turning our Houses and Goods into Flames. For this Course they think not fit to take, how just and pious soever they esteem it, meerly because they cannot, or dare not till they have the Law in their Hands, and Power to murder us by a judicial Process. Where Protestants are numerous and potent, the way they then take for discharging the Obligation that is upon them to destroy us, is by treacherous Massacres, or open Wars or Assassinations. They hold it lawful to make War upon Hereticks for their Heresy. So (*z*) *Bonacina*, *Diana*, *Castro*, *Molanus*, and others: But Cardinal *Allen* (*a*) our Countryman may suffice, who asserts it to be not only lawful, but necessary to take Arms against his Prince and People, being Hereticks. *It is clear* (saith he) *that what People and Persons soever, be declared to be opposite to God's Church, with what Obligation soever, either of Kindred, Friendship, Loyalty, or Subjection, I be bound unto them; I may, or rather must, take Arms against them. And then must we take them for Hereticks, when our lawful Popes adjudge them so to be.*

Not only Sovereign Princes and the Pope, but a Bishop may raise War for the Faith, against those that are excommunicate, if they submit not: So *Hostiensis*, and others (*b*) after him. They count it a more necessary and holy War which is levied for the destroying of Hereticks, than the War against the *Turks*. Hence Cardinal (*c*) *Pool* in his Address to *Charles* V. importunes him to turn his Arms against the Protestants, being more concerned to ruin them than the *Turks*.

They think the destroying of Protestants by Massacres, sometimes more advisable, for avoiding the Hazards of a War; and these, how bloody and treacherous soever, will be both lawful and meritorious, being for the rooting out of a pestilent Heresy, and the promoting of the *Roman* Interest. The barbarous *Irish* never thought their Hands and Weapons better imployed than in butchering the Protestants: And this not more for the Savageness of their Nature, than from the Laws and Doctrines wherein they have so much Encouragement for such Bloodiness. The least they could expect for it, *was full Pardon of all Sin*, such as it promised to those who make War against the *Turks*, and for the Recovery of the Holy Land. For several Popes had thus rewarded the *Irish*, for far less bloody Feats than these; and thereby testified how meritorious it

(*z*) De Restitut. Disp. 2. *q. ult.* §. 2. *n.* 7. *Sum.* V. *Bellum. n.* 5. Theol. Pract. Tr. 2. *c.* 13. *n.* 3.

(*a*) Admonition to Nobility and People, *p.* 41.

(*b*) Vid. *Silvest.* V. *Bellum.*

(*c*) Lib. de unione Ecclesiastica ad finem. And this was he who made it his Business in so many Courts to form a League against *England* (having renounced the Pope's Supremacy;) persuading the Popish Princes, that it was more necessary and meritorious than a War against the *Turks*.

it is, to ſhed the Blood of *Engliſh* Proteſtants (*d*). *Charles* IX. with the *French* Papiſts, never acted any Thing with more Satisfaction to his Holineſs, than that Tragedy in *Paris*, and other Cities, where ſo many thouſand *Hugonots* were moſt treacherouſly and inhumanly ſlaughtered. The Pope would not have ſo great delight as he took therein to be tranſient, but that it might afford him a continued Entertainment, would have it painted in his Palace. And for this, Triumphs were made by the Papiſts almoſt every where, as a moſt glorious Action. And that there might be a Concurrence of the greateſt Impiety, with the greateſt Inhumanity, publick Thanks muſt be returned to God, in *France* and *Italy*, for the ſtabbing, drowning, piſtolling, and cutting the Throats of ſo many Thouſands; inticed thither by the Solemnity of a Marriage, with all the Security that the Promiſe and Oath of a King could give them: But nothing is unlawful that will ruin the Proteſtant Religion.

Only in one Thing theſe fell ſhort; for though near three hundred thouſand were thus murdered in both Nations, yet they killed not all; whereas if they had not ſuffered one Proteſtant in *France* or *Ireland* to eſcape with Life, the Catholick Deſign had been there perfectly accompliſhed, and the bloody Actors had more highly merited; for that merits moſt, which moſt promotes the Catholick Intereſt, which is moſt promoted when Hereſy and Hereticks are quite extirpated; and ſo to kill all Hereticks is moſt meritorious.

This was it that our Conſpirators aimed at, they intended to leave no Proteſtants alive; thoſe *that eſcaped the Maſſacre, ſhould have been cut off by their Army* (*e*). And *Coleman* ſaith, *their Deſign proſpered ſo well, that he doubted not but in a little time, their Buſineſs would be managed to the utter Ruin of the Proteſtant Party*, in his Letter (*f*) to the *Internuncio*. The effecting of this, with the Conſequence of it, was a Thing ſo deſirable, ſo meritorious, that *if he had a Sea* (*g*) *of Blood, and a hundred Lives, he would loſe them all to carry on the Deſign; and if to effect this, it were neceſſary to deſtroy an hundred Heretical Kings, he would do it.* We muſt not imagine that it was a Sin, with this Man, to deſtroy an hundred Kings, and an hundred Kingdoms too, in ſuch a Cauſe; a Cauſe, no doubt, moſt glorious, and of tranſcendent Merit in their Account; when *one Man* might without profuſeneſs, be at the Expence of *an hundred Lives*, and a *Sea of Blood*, to promote it. It is true by his Expreſſions, he ſeems to be in ſome tranſport, and no wonder when he had ſo fair a Proſpect of *the utter Ruin of Proteſtants* by their preſent bloody Deſign; and ſpeaks of their Ruin as a Thing *certain, and not to be doubted of.* Sure this was a Sight ſo fair, ſo tranſporting, as muſt needs raviſh a good *Roman* Catholick out of his Senſes. But then how ſenſleſs muſt they be, who will not believe our utter Ruin was deſigned, when ſuch as beſt knew it, make no doubt, but it would in a little time, be certainly effected? However we cannot think that they, who make ſo little of killing an hundred Kings, when they ſtand in the way of their Catholick Deſign, will ſtick at aſſaſſinating any particular Subjects.

When

(*d*) See the Brieves of *Gregory* XIII. *Anno* 1580. and *Clement* VIII. 1660.

(*e*) *Dudgale*'s Depoſition at the Trial of the Five Jeſuits, *p.* 25.

(*f*) In *Coleman*'s Trial, p. 78.

(*g*) Ibid. *p.* 43. 77.

When we hear Papists say (as diverse such Sayings have been of late observed) that they would *make no more to kill a Protestant Man, or Child, than to kill a Dog* (*b*), we look upon them as wild Expressions, which proceed rather from the Wickedness of the Persons than of their Principles; whereas indeed they have Ground enough from the Writings of their chief Authors. One of their greatest Divines proving that they may justly kill us, being Hereticks, makes use of this Argument among others, *Christ calls Hereticks Thieves and Robbers; but Thieves and Robbers are worthy of Death; also he calls them ravenous Wolves*, Matth. v. Luke xx. *But Wolves are not only to be driven from the Flock, but also to be killed, if it be possible.* So *Suarez* (*i*) argues, and his Argument seems less tolerable, than the other villanous Expression, for it seems more meritorious to kill a Wolf than a Dog. Cardinal * *Baronius* tells the Pope (though his Holiness might know so evident a Truth before) *that* Peter *had a double Ministry, to feed, and to kill*; according to that Text, *Feed my Sheep:* And according to that too, *Kill and eat: For*, saith he, *when the Pope hath to do with refractory Opposers, then* Peter *is commanded to kill, and slay, and devour.* Much according to this Cardinal's Doctrine is the Saying of *Singleton* (*k*) the Priest, *That he would make no more to stab forty Parliament-Men, than to eat a Dinner.* And who can discern but the Priest's Expression is as agreeable to the Cardinal's Comment, as that is to his Text? *Girald* and *Kelly*, the two Priests that were chief in the Murder of Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey*, that they might draw Mr. *Prance* into that barbarous Action, told him, (*l*) *That it was no Murder, no Sin*, (and *Girald* said, *Nothing was to be made of killing twenty Hereticks in such a Case*) *that it was an Act of Charity, and a meritorious Work.* We may easily conceive, how they have it to be an Act of *Justice*; for they are taught, that the killing of Hereticks *Justa est quia Vindicativa*; and so withal, how it may be meritorious; every Act of Virtue being so, by their Doctrine: But how it can be an Act of *Charity*, is not so easy to discern. We shall hardly be persuaded, that to kill us, is an Act of Charity; but if they will have it so, so it must be. And then who can deny but that Papists are the most charitable Persons under the Cope of Heaven, since they will not stick to murder Millions of Protestants (all in these Nations) out of meer Catholick Charity? What need they more to stop the Mouths of any, that will dare hereafter to accuse their Church as uncharitable? They may have two hundred thousand Arguments from one Topick, the Massacre in *Ireland*, to prove that none ever out of Hell were more eminent for this Virtue, no not the *Assassins* themselves.

The Gunpowder-Traitors were as much for the Meritoriousness of murdering Hereticks. *John Grant*, one of the principal Conspirators, the Day he was executed, being advised by a grave and learned Person, to repent of that wicked Enterprize; he answered, *That he was so far from counting it a Sin; that on the contrary he was confident, that noble Design had so much of Merit in it, as would be abundantly enough to make Satisfaction for all the Sins of his whole Life*, as (*m*) *Casaubon* assures from good Evidence.

O

(*b*) *Bradshaw* in *Prance*'s Narrative, *p.* 28. *Giffard* in Hist. Plot. *p.* 213.

(*i*) De Fide. Disp. 23. §. 1. *n.* 3. *Zanard. ibid. c.* 7. *p.* 119.

* Epist. contra Venetos.

(*k*) *Prance*'s Narrative, *p.* 4.

(*l*) Ibid. *p.* 10.

(*m*) Epist. Fron. duc. *p.* 189.

O the dreadful Power of the Spirit of Deluſion, which can perſuade a Man even when he is dying, that the moſt horrid and barbarous Deſign that ever the Devils helped any of their Inſtruments to contrive, is ſo tranſcendently both meritorious and ſatisfactory! Yet this is not a private Spirit, but that by which the *Roman* Church ſeems generally inſpired. This was but a more compendious way, of executing the Laws of their Church againſt Proteſtants. And *Roman* Catholicks are left to deviſe what Expedient they can, for the Execution of them; when they are not in a Capacity of proceeding the ordinary way, by burning us. And that Invention will have moſt of Merit, which is moſt quick and extenſive, and makes an end of moſt at once. The Society is particularly under the Conduct of that Spirit; for the *Provincial Garnet*, *Teſmond*, *Gerard*, and other Jeſuits did teach the Conſpirators this Catholick Doctrine (*n*) *That the King, Nobility, Clergy and whole Commonalty of the Realm of* England *(Papiſts excepted) were Hereticks, were accurſed and excommunicated, and that no Heretick could be a King; but that it was lawful and meritorious to kill the King, and all other Hereticks within this Realm of* England; *for advancing and enlargement of the Authority and Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and for the reſtoring of the* Romiſh *Religion.* What? Is it meritorious to kill all in the Realm? Yes, the more the better; the greater the Sacrifice, the greater will the Value and Merit of it be: They will prove it unanſwerably by an Argument from the leſs to the greater. If it be meritorious to kill one Heretick, it will be as much more meritorious to kill all in a Kingdom; as all in a whole Kingdom are more than one ſingle Perſon. Thus the greater Wickedneſs is, the more powerful Motive their Church hath for its Encouragement; the more prodigiouſly bloody and inhuman it is, the more will the Catholick *Merit* of it advance. And the Ground of this is obſervable, they will have it meritorious to murder this whole Nation, King and People, becauſe *they were Hereticks, and all Hereticks are accurſed and excommunicated.* Now King *James* and the People of theſe Kingdoms were not at this time excommunicate expreſly, nor ſo *denounced*, nor any ſuch Sentence againſt them publiſhed, as the Jeſuits acknowledged; only they were included in the general Excommunication, which is denounced by the Pope againſt all Hereticks every Year the Week before *Eaſter*. So that all who are in their Account Hereticks but one Year, or but one Day before *Maunday Thurſday*, are ſufficiently accurſed and excommunicated, to make them liable to be juſtly killed; and to render any Papiſt capable of meriting, by doing Execution upon them. All the Proteſtants in theſe Nations may be meritoriouſly ſlaughtered, as ſoon as ever the Papiſts have Opportunity to do it, without expecting a Warrant from any other Sentence, or Excommunication, than what we are continually under. This was the Doctrine of our *Engliſh* Jeſuits, of *Garnet* their *Superior* particularly, whom the Papiſts here honoured as a Pope, and paid him the Veneration due to his Holineſs, by kiſſing his Feet, and reverenced his Judgment as an Oracle; and ſince his Death he hath the Honours of a Martyr. And if he and his Aſſociates be counted Martyrs, for but deſigning to deſtroy the Proteſtants of theſe Realms, though they miſcarried; what would their Succeſſors be thought worthy of, if they could attempt it ſucceſsfully, and do effectual Execution? *Garnet* further declared it to be his Judgment,

(*n*) Gunpowder Treaſon, *p.* 74.

ment, that it was ſo neceſſary to have Proteſtants deſtroyed, that it would be meritorious to attempt it, even in ſuch a way, as would ruin many Catholicks with them. *Cateſby* (with reſpect to the Powder-Plot, whereby many *Roman* Catholicks, and ſome of conſiderable Quality, were like to be blown up together with the Proteſtants) enquires of their Oracle, * *Whether it was lawful to ruin the Guilty and the Innocent together? Garnet* firſt anſwers in a private Houſe, *that it is lawful, if ſo much Advantage can be gained by it, as will countervail the Deſtruction of the Innocent.* Afterwards he tells them in the Fields, *That they may lawfully extinguiſh the Good and Bad together, and that it would be an Act of great Merit, if it would much promote the Catholick Intereſt.* Upon this Account we ſee how it might be meritorious to burn *London*, though the Houſes and Goods of many Papiſts were conſumed in the Flames; yea, and how the moſt deſperate Villains amongſt them might merit Heaven, and expiate all the Crimes of a moſt flagitious Life, if he could but fire the whole Kingdom; provided ſo many Proteſtants were thereby ruined, as would countervail the loſs of ſuch Catholicks, who could not eſcape the common Flames.

Whereby we ſee their Principles and Actings, both of them are grounded upon their Church-Laws, ſentencing Hereticks to Death and Ruin. The executing of theſe Laws is the exerciſe of a principal Virtue, *an Act of Juſtice*, and is upon this and other Accounts eſteemed meritorious. Execution muſt be done one way or other in order to it; they muſt and will do, what our preſent Circumſtances leave feaſible. They cannot now in a Biſhop's Court try and condemn us, and then deliver us to the ſecular Power to be burnt at a Stake; but they can ſtab, or piſtol, or poiſon us, or blow us up; and theſe are Acts of Juſtice upon Malefactors, which their Laws condemn to Death, no leſs virtuous and meritorious than the other; perhaps heroical in their Account, as being of more then an ordinary ſtrain. It is true, they want ſome *Formalities* of Law, yet are never the worſe for the want of that, which they cannot poſſibly have. But when once they have ſecured the Throne, we may expect they will proceed againſt us with more Obſervance of a judicial Proceſs, and burn us and our Children with all Punctilio's of Law, as they did under the laſt Popiſh Succeſſor.

But it is not probable that under ſuch a Succeſſor theſe Laws may not be executed.

If there were any Probability, that for a while they might not be thoroughly executed, yet our Condition in the interim would ſcarce be tolerable to an *Engliſhman*; to be diveſted of all Security by Law, for Liberty, Eſtate and Life; and to hold theſe *without*, nay *againſt* Law, only at the Will and known Mercy of Papiſts; even when they muſt count a Cruelty to themſelves to ſpare us, ſeeing both their Salvation and (which ſeems generally more minded) their Intereſt, is concerned in the Execution of theſe Laws. It ſeems highly probable to me that all Endeavours will be uſed to have them fully executed; for the Deſign of theſe Laws is to deſtroy Proteſtants. And thoſe *Romaniſts* that underſtand their Concerns, do make Account, that their main Intereſt lies in this; for neither can they recover their former Flouriſh and Greatneſs, nor can they indeed think themſelves *ſafe*, till this be done.

Accord-

* *Caſaubon, ibid. p.* 184.

Accordingly we may obſerve, that in all Countries round about us, who have been under Popiſh Princes, all Attempts have been made, and their utmoſt Endeavours uſed, utterly to root out Proteſtants. And it is meer Folly to expect that we ſhould fare better in like Circumſtances. Even in *France* the only inſtance alledged, to give any Hopes that Proteſtants may ſubſiſt under ſuch a Power, the Deſign of theſe Laws was vigorouſly purſued, in all Methods of pretended Juſtice, and plain Violence, in the Reigns of *Five Kings ſucceſſively*; by Confiſcations and Plunderings, by Fire and Sword, by Aſſaſſinations, treacherous Maſſacres, and open War. So that ſome Hundred Thouſands of them were deſtroyed, and in all Reaſon none of them had eſcaped, nor any more *Hugonots* had been left in *France*, than there are in *Spain* and *Italy*, if they had not ſtood upon their Defence, which yet proved a lamentable Expedient; for if we will believe Father *Parſons* (*o*), two Millions on both Sides were ſlain within the Compaſs of Ten Years in the Reign of one of thoſe five Kings.

Thoſe who would have us reduced to ſuch a Condition, wherein we cannot otherwiſe be ſecured than the *French* Proteſtants were, would either have us proſtitute our Religion, and all that is dear to us to the Will of the Papiſts, or elſe expoſe the Nation to Deſolation and Ruin.

Our Conſpirators have declared that they had the very ſame Deſign which thoſe gracious Laws engage them in, *viz.* the utter Extirpation of Proteſtants and their Religion, and were reſolved and prepared to purſue it with Fire and Sword. Of the former, they have given us a real Demonſtration by the Flames we have already ſeen; and of the latter, by their Army to be commanded by Officers of the Pope's Appointment. They were to begin with Aſſaſſinations, and our Sovereign was to fall with the firſt. In this all that have given any Evidence exactly agree, and all ſee, but thoſe that will be blind, and would have his Majeſty for Company periſh with his Eyes ſhut. When they had diſpatched the King, *a Maſſacre was to follow*, as is poſitively ſworn again and again by unexceptionable (*p*) Witneſs, and this ſignified to be the Method adviſed by the Conſpirators both in *France*, *Flanders*, and *England*; then to make clear Work, thoſe Proteſtants that eſcaped the Maſſacre, were to be deſtroyed by their Army. *Coleman* at his Trial would have us believe, that nothing was intended but the advance of Popery, by the innocent way of Toleration; that is no wonder, for he was then concerned, if ever, to diſguiſe their Deſign. But when he hath to do with thoſe who were conſcious to the Plot, and with Pleaſure could ſee the Bottom of it; then the Maſk is off, then it is in plain Terms *the ſubduing of a peſtilent Hereſy* (for ſo is the true Chriſtian Religion in the *Roman* Stile now-a-days) *and the utter Ruin of the Proteſtant Party*. To accompliſh ſuch a glorious Deſign, there muſt be no ſticking (as was obſerved before) to *kill an hundred Heretical Kings*, (Alas! one ſingle King was nothing to the Dagger of ſuch a Hero) or to *ſhed a Sea of Blood* (their own he means.) How many Seas of Proteſtant Blood do we think might have ſatisfied ſuch harmleſs Catholicks? Not an hundred we may be ſure, if all the Proteſtants in the World could have bled more. But this they were bound in Con-

(*o*) Mitigation, *p.* 130.

(*p*) M. *Dugdale* in Trial of the Five Jeſuits, *p.* 25.

ſcience to execute the Pope's Laws, they were at all Points ready to do it, they wanted nothing but a Catholick Prince in the Throne.

O but the Temper, or at leaſt the Intereſt of ſuch a Prince, would oblige him to forbid or reſtrain ſuch violent Executions in *England*.

I, but what if his Tempter be ſuch as to comply with ſuch violent Proceedings; or his Temper being better, what if it be overruled? What if he be perſuaded as other Catholicks are, that he muſt in Conſcience proceed thus? What if he cannot do otherwiſe, without apparent Hazard of his Crown or Life.

The Contrivement is ſuch, that Execution ſhall be done before he hath got the Reins of Government into his hand; and when he hath them, he is not to hold them alone, he will not be allowed to be much more than the Pope's Poſtillion, and muſt look to be diſmounted if he drive not according to order.

Let theſe Things be weighed, that we may ſee before it be too late into what Circumſtances we are running. If the Prince be zealous and reſolute, a *Bigot* in their way; if his Heat in embracing Religion at firſt, or promoting it afterward, tranſport him beyond the Senſe of his Intereſt; if it make him contemn ſuch Reaſon, or decline that Conſideration that ſhould have withheld him from it, or might moderate him in it; if he make it his Deſign, and count it his Glory, to ſubdue this Religion as a peſtilent Hereſy; if he give up himſelf to the Counſels and Conduct of ſuch, whoſe Words and Practices make it evident, that they intend Extremities; then there is a violent Preſumption, that he will not ſtudy any Abatement of the Rigour of theſe ruining Laws, after once he thinks himſelf firmly ſettled.

But if (as I had rather ſuppoſe) his Inclination ſhould lead him to ſome Indulgence and Forbearance, yet that muſt be controuled by Conſcience, and Conſcience muſt dictate what they ſuggeſt, who have the Conduct of it; and it will be readily ſuggeſted, *that it is a deadly Crime to favour Hereticks to the Prejudice of the Catholick Intereſt*, which can never be more effectually advanced than by their Ruin. Beſides, the *Law* (*q*) itſelf aſſures us, *that it is not in the Power of any Civil Magiſtrate to remit the Penalty, or abate the Rigour thereof*; and this alſo is declared by the *Bulls* (*r*) of ſeveral Popes. Nay, if the Prince ſhould ſolemly engage his Faith, and give as much Security as Papiſts can give by Oath, that he would not ſuffer ſanguinary Laws to be executed upon his Diſſenting Subjects, this would ſignify nothing: For they would ſoon let him underſtand, that *Contracts made againſt the Canon Law are invalid, though confirmed by Oath*, as *P. a St.* (*s*) *Joſeph.* And *that he is not bound to ſtand to his Promiſe, for the Liberty of Religion, though he hath ſworn to it*, as *Bonacina* (*t*); and that Faith is no more to be kept with Hereticks, than the General Council of *Conſtance* would have it. So that Proteſtants are to be burnt, as *John Hus* and *Jerom of Prague* were by that Council; though a Prince hath given his Faith and Oath for their Safety. The beſt that is pleaded in Defence of that General Council ſo openly *canonizing Perfidiouſneſs*, leaves Proteſtants as much expoſed, after all the Security the Prince can give, as if none at all were given them. The Emperor's Engagement, ſay they, *ſecured them againſt*

(*q*) Can. ut Officium.
(*r*) Vid. ſupra.
(*s*) De primo Præcepto. *p.* 94.
(*t*) De primo Præcepto. Diſp. 3. *q.* 2. *punct.* 8. *prop.* 3. *n.* 159.

againſt Secular Proceſs, but not againſt the Proceſs of the Church. So that the Church may burn us, when the Prince hath engaged all his Faith for our Safety. And to this Purpoſe it is obſervable what *Becanus (u)*, an eminent Jeſuit, delivers when he is endeavouring to vindicate their Council. The Council of *Conſtance*, ſaith he, decreed theſe two Things: Firſt, "That the "Secular Power can no way hinder the Eccleſiaſtical Power from its Legal Ex- "erciſe, and therefore if any Secular Prince do give ſafe Conduct to any Here- "tick, this ought not to hinder the Eccleſiaſtical Judge from exerciſing his "Office, that is, from trying an Heretick, and proceeding againſt him accord- "ing to Evidence. The Reaſon is, becauſe when there are two Princes, who "have diſtinct Judicatures and Tribunals, one of which is greater and ſuperior "to the other, the Inferior may not hinder the Superior, from executing his "Juriſdictions. And therefore the Security which he promiſeth to any, extends "not to the Tribunal of the ſuperior Prince, becauſe the Superior is not bound "by the Laws and Agreement of the Inferior, *(Caput, cum Inferior extra.)* "But now the Secular and Eccleſiaſtical Prince have diſtinct Tribunals (as is "well known) and the Eccleſiaſtical is ſuperior, *(Cap. Solita:)* therefore the Secu- "lar, when he gives ſafe Conduct to any, he cannot extend it to the Eccleſiaſtical "Tribunal; nor by the Security given, can hinder the Juriſdiction of the Ec- "cleſiaſtical Judge, *&c.*" *Molgnus (x)* alſo, who undertakes to excuſe this Council, ſaith, it is a general Rule with the *Romaniſts*, *That Faith is either never to be given, or never to be kept with Hereticks, for the Exerciſe of their Religion.* *Simanca (y)*, by the Authority of the Council, maintains this worthy Principle, *That Faith engaged to Hereticks, though confirmed by Oath, is in no wiſe to be performed.* He would prove it by Reaſon: *For*, (ſaith he) *if Faith be not to be kept with Tyrants, and Pirates and other Robbers, who kill the Body; much leſs is it to be kept with Hereticks, who kill Souls:* He confirms it with the Teſtimonies of *Salomonius*, and *Menochius*, *Placa*, &c. and of their *(z) Angelical Doctor*, the Oracle of their Schools, who ſaith, an *unteachable Heretick is to be betrayed to Juſtice, notwithſtanding Faith and Oath.* *Becanus (a)*, to vindicate the Doctrine of *Simanca*, tells us, that they all ſay as much as he hath ſaid. *Simanca teaches the ſame that we teach*, viz. *That Faith is to be kept with Hereticks in what is lawful and honeſt: but in no Caſe otherwiſe*, and ſo never in Caſe of Hereſy. So that the Faith of any Prince, however engaged, is ſo far from giving an Heretick any Security; as Hereſy is far from being a Thing lawful and honeſt. Upon theſe Principles (by which it appears that *Rome* hath changed *Faith* with *Carthage*, that being now worſe than *Fides Punica*; and is when ſhe would be counted *Chriſtian*, far more faithleſs than when *Pagan*) their Doctors, Jeſuits, and others, have inſtigated Kings to endeavour ſeriouſly the rooting out of Hereticks; aſſerting, *that an Oath in Favour of Hereticks*, is but *Vinculum Iniquitatis.* In fine, this is the Senſe of their beſt Authors, and we muſt believe it to be ſo, unleſs we will be deluded. By their Laws and Principles they are always under an Obligation utterly to exterminate Proteſtants; yet ſometimes they are concerned in Point of Intereſt, to forbear and diſſemble;

(u) Manual. *l.* 5. *cap.* 15. *n.* 15, 16.
(x) De Fide, *l.* 3. c. 27.
(y) Cathol. Inſtit. Tit. 46. *n.* 52.
(z) Sum. 2da 2dæ, *Q.* 70, *Art.* 1.
(a) Manual. *l.* 5. *c.* 15. *n.* 25.

pretending to engage their Faith when they do it not in the Senſe of thoſe wh rely on it, as the Council of *Conſtance* deluded *Jerome* of *Prague*, that they might (as they did) burn him: or engaging their Faith when they intend not to keep it, as our Queen *Mary*, *Charles* IX of *France*, and other Popiſh Princes, abuſed the Proteſtants to make them ſecure, that they might have the better Advantage to ruin them; and then that they may ſeem real, they may promiſe or ſwear that they will not proceed againſt us; yet notwithſtanding when they have an Opportunity to deſtroy us, though they were by ten Thouſand Oaths not to attempt it; yet they *ſin damnably* if they endeavour it not to the utmoſt.

But if there were neither *Law* nor *Conſcience* to hinder, yet in Point of Intereſt, he muſt not ſhew Favour to Hereticks, nor grant any Indulgence for their Religion, he cannot do it without apparent Hazard both of *Crown* and *Life*. For by ſhewing ſuch Favour, he in their Account depoſeth himſelf, and immediately loſeth Title to his Kingdoms.

An Emperor or a King, ſaith *Parſons*, *(b) if he ſhew Favour to an Heretick, for that he loſeth his Kingdom.* The Jeſuits have ſufficient Grounds for this Doctrine, how extravagant ſoever it ſeems. For the Council of *Lateran*, which *Bellarmine* calls their *greateſt and moſt famous Council*, decreeth *(c)*, that if *a Prince, upon a Year's Warning, doth not exterminate Hereticks, his Subjects are diſcharged from Allegiance, and his Dominions are to be ſeized on by other Catholics:* He thereby draws upon himſelf the Curſe and Excommunication of the Church, he is excommunicate *by Law*, that Council hath paſſed Sentence already, and he is *de facto* anathematized yearly by the *Bull of the Supper*; the former is *Excommunicatio Juris*, by the Law: and this is *Excommunicatio Hominis*, by the Judge, as ſeveral of their *(d)* Doctors will have it. So that it takes Effect preſently, *Ipſo Facto*, and is of no leſs Force, than if the Perſon concerned were excommunicated particularly, and by Name, though the Terms be general.

The Pope every Year doth ſolemnly excommunicate and curſe, not only all Hereticks, but every *Favourer* and *Defender* of them, and from this Sentence, none can abſolve any but the Pope himſelf, for it is a reſerved Caſe; and they generally declare him to be a *Favourer* of Hereticks, who hinders the Execution of the Laws made againſt them. Conformably hereto their Doctors teach, that *Kings and Princes when they are negligent, in rooting out Hereticks, they are to be excommunicated, and depoſed by the Pope.* So *Becanus (e)*. Another as I find him *(f)* cited, ſets it out more elegantly in a Metaphor, making Princes to be the Popes, their Shepherds Dogs (as they are wont to do out of great Reverence) and expreſſed himſelf ſignificantly to this Purpoſe. *If a Prince be a dull Cur, and fly not upon Hereticks, he is to be beaten out, and a keener Dog muſt be got in his ſtead.* Others *(g)* tell us, *he incurs more grievous Penalties than Excom-*

(*b*) Philopat. *p.* 109.

(*c*) Cap. Excommunicamus, de Hæreticis Sect. moneantur.

(*d*) Graff. deciſ. *l.* 4. *c.* 11. *n.* 6. Becanus de Fide. *c.* 15. q. 8. *n.* 6. *Soto* 4. *Diſtinct.* 25. Q. 1. *Art.* 1. Citing two Texts of their Law for it. *cap. ſicut de Hæreticis, & cap. ſiquis forte.* 24. Q. 1.

(*e*) Controverſ. Anglican. *p.* 131, 132.

(*f*) In Foulis. *pag.* 60.

(*g*) Zanard. Direct. Pars. 2 *pag.* 61.

Excommunication, as appears by the Breves of ſeveral Popes; though to be deprived of Kingdom and Life, to which this Sentence makes a Prince liable, one would think ſufficiently grievous. But there is no need to cite particular Doctors, ſeeing by the Decrees (*h*) of that Church, the *Fautors of Hereticks* are liable to the Penalties which are to be inflicted on Hereticks themſelves: and their Church-Law (*i*) determines again and again, that they are to be taken, for *Fautors of Hereticks, who omit what they ought to do, for the puniſhing of Hereticks, that they may ceaſe from their Error:* And in this they all agree, *Ita docent omnes*, ſaith *Suarez* (*k*). Sure he muſt have more Love for Proteſtants, than any true Papiſt can have, who will run ſuch Hazards, to ſhew them Favour.

He muſt expect alſo to be burdened with the Hatred of zealous Catholicks, and the Effects thereof. They deteſt ſuch a Prince, and damn that Political Prudence, which forbears the ſevere Execution of the Laws againſt Hereticks; as being the way *not only to ruin the Church, but ſubvert a Kingdom* (*l*). They count none worthy the Crown, who will not go through ſtitch with their Deſign, for extirpating Hereticks, and promoting the *Roman* Intereſt with Fire and Sword. Nay they count ſuch, though they be Papiſts, as *bad as Hereticks*, worſe than *Turks*, and unworthy to live; they will have a Price ſet on their Heads, and Aſſaſſinates hired to rid the World of them. So Dr. *Stapleton* (*m*), counted one of their greateſt and moſt ſober Divines. And theſe are not only Points for Speculation, they have been reduced to practice among thoſe who have the Repute of the moſt moderate Papiſts in *Europe*. *Henry* III. and IV. two Kings of *France* were aſſaſſinated on this Account. A Suſpicion that they favoured Proteſtants was the great Inducement to zealous Catholicks to get them ſtabbed. The two Kings ſince indeed have eſcaped better; no wonder, for they never provoked the *Catholic Aſſaſſinating Spirit:* They have given ſufficient Demonſtration that they hate the Proteſtants; for though they kill them not out-right, yet have they reduced them to ſuch Circumſtances, that their mortal Enemies may to their Satisfaction, ſee them die a lingering Death.

And which more concerns us, the Conſpirators in all Places having declared expreſsly, that if *RO. H.* do not anſwer their Expectation, for rooting out of the Proteſtant Religion, and extirpating thoſe that profeſs it, their Deſign (*n*) is to deſtroy him after they have killed his Brother. So that whatſoever Reſpect they have for him on the Account of his Religion, yet after they have ſerved their Turn on him awhile, he muſt expect nothing but Death, unleſs he will give Aſſurance that he will ruin the Proteſtants of theſe Nations.

Hereby we may judge, what Favour we may in Reaſon promiſe ourſelves, from the Temper or Intereſt of a Popiſh Succeſſor.

But may not Parliaments ſecure us by Laws and Proviſions reſtraining the Powers which endanger us?

There

(*h*) Cap. Excommunicamus, de Hæreticis.
(*i*) Cap. Error 83. Diſtinct. & *cap.* Qui alius, de Hæreticis.
(*k*) De Fide Diſp. 24. Sect. 1. *N.* 6.
(*l*) Ribadeneira de Principe, l. 1. *cap.* 15.
(*m*) Orat. contra Politicos, *p.* 15. & 24. in Hoſpin. Hiſtor. Jeſuit. *l.* 4. *c.* 1. *Sect.* 2.
(*n*) Dr. *Oates*'s Narrative, *pag.* 4. *n.* 5. *p.* 3. *n.* 4. *p.* 8. *n.* 13. *p.* 10. *n.* 16. *p.* 15. *n.* 13. *p.* 19. *n.* 29. *p.* 39. *p.* 64. *n.* 6.

There is nothing of this Tendency can in Reaſon be expected from Parliaments, *without ſecuring the Throne.* For if the Conſpirators once gain that, it may be they will have no Parliaments; a Government more arbitrary and violent is more agreeable to their Principles and Deſigns. It is apparent, that *Popery*, as it hath been by many Occaſions *ſublimated* ſince the Reformation, hath in a manner quite ſtifled the *Engliſh Spirit* in *Engliſh* Papiſts. They are for another Government, in which the *Pope* muſt be Supreme, and to which our Kings muſt be *ſubjected* or *killed.* And in Civils, they are for an *Univerſal Monarchy*, by which this and others muſt be ſwallowed up; and ſo they are ſtill ready to devote themſelves to that Prince who bids faireſt for it. So they did to the *Spaniard* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, and now upon that Account are wheeled off to the *French:* They have been forward upon all Occaſions, to ſacrifice the Honour of the King, and the Liberty of the Subject to the *Roman Moloch*; they are much more his Subjects than the King's; and they are no more to be truſted as to the true *Engliſh Intereſt*, than the *Italians* or *Spaniards.* They paſs for *Natives* indeed, being born among us; but are plainly *Foreigners* as to Government, Principle, Intereſt, Affection and Deſign. We may well believe on theſe Accounts they are no Friends to Parliaments, if they did not otherwiſe openly declare it.

But if the Neceſſity of their Affairs ſhould require a Parliament, there is no great Queſtion, but they may get ſuch a one as will ſerve their Turn: For ſo hath every of our former *Princes* in all the *Changes of Religion* that have been amongſt us. So did *Henry* VIII. both when he was for Popery, and when he was againſt it, and when he was partly both for it, and againſt it. So did *Edward* VI. when he was wholly Proteſtant. So did Queen *Mary*, when ſhe was for burning them alive. So did Queen *Elizabeth*, when ſhe run counter to her Siſter. There are *Engliſh* Papiſts enough already to furniſh both Houſes; and there will be more, if Popery were once enthroned. The ſtrongeſt Arguments, which diverſe have for their Religion, are drawn from the Throne. The Indifferency which is viſible in too many, ſignifies that they will be determined by their Intereſt, and their Eſtates are like to outweigh their Religion.

The warping of diverſe upon Advancement, and acting counter to themſelves when lower, ſhews, there is ſomething higher in their Hearts, than that which ſhould be ſupreme. The little Concern they ſhew for Religion, who in regard of their Station in the Church, ſhould have the greateſt Zeal for it, diſappointing and aſtoniſhing thoſe who eſteemed them Proteſtants, and great Supports of that Profeſſion.

The little Senſe of any Danger, (when our Religion was never in ſuch extreme Hazard, ſince we and our Fathers were born) the obſtructing in one or both Houſes, of all that is offered to ſecure us, or hath the moſt probably Tendency to it, by thoſe from whom it was leaſt expected. Thoſe greater Heats againſt true Proteſtants (differing from us in ſome ſmall Things) than againſt Papiſts, when repreſented by this horrid Plot in their own Colours, ſhews, that Popery is no ſuch formidable Thing to many, now under another Profeſſion; as it is, and will be to hearty Proteſtants, and ſuch as have effectually *received the Love of the Truth.* However by the Laws which will be in Force, when the Throne is Papal, all Proteſtants muſt be excluded from both Houſes.

For

For all these must then pass under the Notion of Hereticks, and as such, not only by the Constitutions of several Popes, but by the Decree (*o*) of a general Council, received as obliging in Popish Countries; they are *made uncapable of being admitted to any publick Councils, or of chusing any to sit there.* This is but a Branch of one of the last Penalties we must then lie under; and thus all Hopes of any Relief by *Parliaments*, under such a Successor, are quite blasted.

As for Laws, such as are, or may be made before-hand for restraining Popery, and securing our Religion under a Popish Sovereignty; they will then be judged Nullities, for they are no Laws which are against the common Good; but these will be counted mischievous Acts, of a pernicious Nature and Tendency; being for the Support of Heresy, against their Catholic Interest. They will be null and void also, without any formal Repeal, upon another Account, *viz.* because enacted by an *incompetent Authority:* For our Parliaments are now, and have been long constituted of such as they count Hereticks; and these by the Decrees and Principles of their Church have *no* (*p*) *Jurisdiction* at all, much less that which is *Sovereign* and *Legislative.* They have no right to proceed in Judgment upon Laws duly made, so far are they from all just Power to make any. And whereas no Laws can be made in these Realms without the Concurrence of every of the three States in Parliaments, they will not own any of them to be in a Capacity to concur therein.

The King being an Heretick, is with them *no King*, he is divested of all Prerogatives and Royalties; hath no Power to call Parliaments, or pass any Bills there tendered: He is no better with them then a private Person, nay in a worse Capacity than a good Subject; for by their Principles he may lawfully be killed by a private Hand.

The *Nobles* being Hereticks, their Blood is tainted by the highest Treason, the Attainder good in Law, (that Law which will then be of most Sovereign Obligation;) they have lost all Privilege of *Peers*, they have no Titles to *Baronies*, no Rights to be summoned by *Writ*, if there were any that had Right to summon them. They have forfeited what they had by *Descent*, though from Popish Ancestors; and what they had by *Patent*, is null and void. Since our Princes were Protestants, they are no more *Lords*, in the Sense of the *Romish Laws*, nor have more Right to sit as Peers in making Laws, than Laws of *Jack Straw*'s creating.

This is manifest by the first *Penalty* forementioned, and awarded against Hereticks by the Laws of the *Roman* Church; which takes Effect from the first Day of their supposed Heresy, before Sentence of any Judge.

The *Commons* being Hereticks are no Proprietors, and so have no Power, no Privilege due to the Commons of *England*, they are born to no Estates, if they be the Issue of Protestants; the Estates of their Fathers being confiscated before they were born, and so is all they have acquired since by Purchase, or otherwise. So that they have no Right to be chosen, nor have Protestants any Right

(*o*) Cap. Excommunicamus Sect. credentes. Tit. de Hæreticis.

(*p*) Juxta Constitutiones *Greg.* 9. Hæreticus privatur omni Dominio naturali, civili, politico. *Simanca Instit. Cathol.* Tit. 46. N. 74.

Right to chuſe them, being no Freeholders, nor having Title to any Goods or Lands, by any Tenure whatſoever. In ſhort, by the Judgment and Sentence of their Church, all Ranks among us are in a State of *Uſurpation*, we have no Right to Eſtate or Life (as we are like to find when they have Power;) much leſs any Authority to make Laws. What our Parliaments have enacted, or may do, for the ſecuring of our Religion, or reſtraint of Catholicks, is no more valid, no more obliging with them, than the Acts or Ordinances of meer Uſurpers, nor do they owe, nor will they pay them more Obſervance (when time ſerves) than to the Conſtitutions of ſo many Thieves and Robbers.

But ſuppoſe our Laws were valid, and enacted by a competent Authority, yet being againſt the Laws of the Church, the Sovereign Authority of theſe will ſuperſede the other: For ſo they determine, that when the *Canon* and the *Civil* Laws claſh, one requiring what the other allows not; the Church-Law muſt have Obſervance, and that of the State be neglected. The Law (*q*) provides for its Pre-eminence, in theſe Words, *Conſtitutions againſt the Canons and Decrees of the* Roman *Biſhops are of no Moments.* Their beſt Authors (*r*) are poſitive in it, and our own Country affords us Inſtances of it. The Statutes of *Proviſoes*, and others of like Nature, made in the Reigns of *Edward* I. *Edward* III. *Richard* II. and *Henry* IV. for the Relief of the Nation againſt Papal Incroachments: They were defeated by the Pope's Authority, and in Effect repealed, there being no effectual Execution of them till *Henry* VIII's Time. And if the Pope (the Throne being once at his Devotion) ſhould appear againſt any Statutes or Proviſions made for our Security, as Pope *Martin* V. (*s*) did againſt the Statutes of *Edward* II. and *Edward* III. that would be enough to null them as to the Conſciences of *Roman* Catholicks; or to lay them aſleep, and render them ineffectual to the Purpoſes they are deſigned for.

We may ſee hereby what Laws made now for our Security will ſignify, when ſuch a Succeſſor is in Poſſeſſion.

Upon the whole, our Danger as to all our Concerns, *Civil* and *Religious*, is very apparent, and looks upon us with ſuch a terrible *Aſpect*, as ſcarce any true Proteſtant can fully view it without Horror and Trembling. Our *Eſtates*, *Lives*, and *Souls* are in extreme Hazard, and what have we more? That which will not ſecure us is diſcernable by the Premiſes; what Expedient may be effectual to reſcue us and our Poſterity, who with us and all that is dear to both, are now in the very Jaws of Deſtruction, is humbly left to the Wiſdom of the Nation in *Parliament*.

(*q*) Conſtitutiones contra canones & decreta præſulum Romanorum vel bonos mores, nullius ſunt momenti. *Diſtinct.* 10. *c.* 4.

(*r*) Victoria relect. *p.* Navar. *c.* 7. *n.* 1. Fumus v. lex. *n.* 7. Bonocina. Tom. 2. Diſp. 1. *q.* 1. *punct.* 4. *n.* 17. Diana. Sum. v. inquiſitor. *n.* 10. after *Barboſa* and others.

(*s*) *Burnet*'s Hiſt. Reformation, *p.* 110.

PE-

PEREAT PAPA: or REASONS why a Presumptive Heir, or Popish Successor should not inherit the CROWN.

IT is conceived, and that very candidly, without Prejudice to other Judgments, or troubling ourselves by reflecting on that so often baffled a Cause called Popery, that a Papist, or one Popishly affected, ought not to inherit or succeed in the Management of the Crown.

Reason I.

In strictness of Law, because one so qualified, hath wilfully disabled or rendered himself uncapable of that Benefit, which the common Law (after the usual Course of Descent) doth positively require; for it is presumable, that he that succeeds in the Office of the Crown, should be legally adopted to execute so great a Trust; and therefore if *Minus*, *Idoneus*, be not sufficiently ballasted with the Notion and Intrigues of State, others are to govern in Aid of him, as in Case of Idiocy, Lunacy, or the like, and the Parliament is bound (as intrusted to redress Grievances, and secure the Nation) to place it where Religion and Property shall be adjudged most safe.

There are several Precedents of this Nature.

1. *Edgar Atheling* (as Stories agree) was the undoubted Heir, yet *William* the *Norman*, commonly called the Conquerer, was called in to oppose *Harold*, and invested with the Crown; and *Atheling* for ever an Exile, and disinherited.

2. After him succeeded his second Son *William Rufus*, and not *Robert* the Eldest.

3. King *John* not only laid aside, after *Plantagenet* his eldest Brother's Son; but likewise put him to Death.

4. In *Sicily* there was lately a great Contest between the two Sons of *Charles* II. *Mortelu* and *Robert*, and I find the Crown awarded to *Robert* the younger, as *Magis dignis ad Regnandum.*

5. *Alexander* was demanded to whom he should bequeath his Scepter, he said, the Worthiest, and to him whose Sword had the sharpest Point; meaning, whose Virtues were most luculent, and of the brightest Integrity: After the Disposition of *Jacob*, passing by *Manasses*, and conferring the Blessing upon *Ephraim* the younger, as more deserving, and acceptable to God.

6. The State of *France* rejected the King of *Navarre*, and appointed another to reign over them, because of his Religion. And when afterwards the said King of *Navarre* came to be *Henry* IV. of *France*, it was by his forsaking God, and complying with the Church of *Rome*, by means of which he thought to settle the Crown upon his Head, but was so much mistaken therein, that he thereby lost both Crown and Life together.

Reaſon II.

Can it be thought but that he that ſucceeds in the Crown ſhould not ſucceed *Concurrentibus his qui in jure requirunt*, as the Civil Law expreſſes it, that is in all the Concerns thereof, which are the Laws, principally thoſe that relate to Religion, and not for one Man led away with a blind Perverſeneſs, renouncing the Religion he knows not why (and ſo wilfully attainting himſelf) to inthral the Nation in Superſtition and Tyranny; for regularly in all Parts where Popiſh Lords are in the Church, there Tyranny (on courſe) rages in the State.

Reaſon III.

It is a Maxim amongſt Lawyers, that *Lex facit Regem*, and Maxims muſt not be denied; if ſo, then to ſpeak out after the true Intendment of Law, he that comes not to the Crown *fatiatim*, as the Law notifies and preſcribes, it is no lawful Succeſſion, but downright Uſurpation. And without ſcruple, it is the endeavour of every good Chriſtian to withſtand an Uſurper, it being undoubtedly more pleaſing to God to put one Man by, who thus wilfully diſables himſelf, and withal moſt ſhamefully uſurps, than expoſe Millions of Souls to Damnation, and the Streets to flow with Blood by ſuffering that Religion to creep in, whoſe Reformation (at the mildeſt rate) will certainly prove Fire and Faggot.

For this very cauſe *Maacha* was removed (from being Queen) by her Son King *Aſa*, for making an Idol in a Grove, incited thereunto by the Prophet *Azariah*.

Reaſon IV.

The Succeſſion of the Crown, and a common Deſcent much differ; for if an Heir that is a Subject prove looſe and debauched, it little damnifies the Publick, more deſerving Perſons may happily perchance ſtep into his Poſſeſſions, and be more ſerviceable to the Publick; the Damage is ſtill but private to his own Family; but in caſe of the Crown, there is none ſo ſenſeleſs but muſt needs conceive the Damage moſt fatal becauſe univerſal.

The whole Nation muſt inevitably ſuffer; Religion ſubverted, and Property deſtroyed, and the whole People in danger of their Lives. It is well known in a private Caſe, the Heir is uſually thrown off and diſinherited: If an Entail, it may be deſtroyed: And if Law juſtifies it, the like in the Publick. And therefore the grand Inquiſitors of State, and Conſervators of the Liberties of *England*, the Parliament, may for weighty Cauſes refuſe the Heir Preſumptive, and for the Safety of the Nation ſettle it where they in Honour and Prudence ſhall conceive moſt proper.

Reaſon V.

We read in Scripture (which is the Golden Rule that we muſt walk by) that *Libnah* revolted from *Jehoram*, becauſe he had forſaken the God of his Fathers; ſo we had better forſake Man, adhere to God in keeping our Religion, than truſt to Man, and loſe God, to be unavoidably deſtroyed here, and hereafter irrecoverably

irrecoverably damned in ſerving *Baal*, and parting with the Divinity now eſtabliſhed.

Reaſon VI.

When *Rehoboam* had prepared a great Army to reduce the *Iſraelites*, he was forbidden by the Prophet. *Thus ſaid the Lord, ye ſhall not go up, nor fight againſt your Brethren, for they are from me*; mark, he calls them Brethren, not Rebels.

Paſſive Obedience therefore is ſimple, and fit for ſuch that knows no better; now God has diſcovered the Snare and the Pit of Ruin that the Pope and the Devil has prepared for us, if we do not timely countermine it by cautionary Laws, to ſuppreſs thoſe that digged it, we may in a ſhort Space be thrown into it headlong, and none pity us.

But the right Line with ſome ſhallow pated Talkers, is a *Noli me tangere*, ſo ſacred (forſooth) that we muſt rather venture Body and Soul in ſubjecting ourſelves to all the Curſes imaginable that Hell itſelf can inflict on us, than in the leaſt alter or controul it; a very frivolous Caveat, and not to be heeded by us; for human Examples (as I ſhewed before) have been noted againſt it, and the Scripture warrants it. *Samuel* foretold in the Caſe of *Saul*, that he would be rejected for his Diſobedience, though not his Perſon degraded or depoſed, yet that the Kingdom ſhould be removed, both from his Line and Tribe, which was done accordingly, and transferred on *David:* This proves very fully, that the Heirs, or the next in Succeſſion, are not ſo immovably placed, but that they may lawfully (on juſt Cauſe) be diſplaced, if not legally qualified, and other put up for God's Glory in their Rooms. God raiſed *Jehu* to purge Idolatry againſt the Houſe of *Ahab*; all the Sons of *Ahab* were beheaded, and in a manner his whole Line cut off. For his good Service, he had a Promiſe of a ſpecial Bleſſing for his Iſſue to continue the Throne to the fourth Generation. Several other Inſtances I could give, but this may ſuffice.

In brief, there is no Reformed Church, from the firſt *Waldenſes* of *Lyons* and *Languedoc*, to this very Day, but have held it lawful.

Reaſon VII.

It is conceived by half-witted Stateſmen, that reſtrictive Laws may prevent all Miſchiefs, and ſecure the Proteſtants; a very vain Opinion, and moſt fallacious; for Laws will never bind, but more enrage; ſhackle him as ye will, and load him with never ſo many Laws when King, he and his Party will be reſtleſs, till they have ſet themſelves at Liberty, to have the Proteſtants under; for when King, he is not impeachable, and the *Poſt Regni* will be at his Diſpoſal.

When the Wolf is Shepherd, the Flock is very ſafe indeed, and like to be well looked after, all may devour that will; for if his Party commit ſuch Outrages, that no Age can parallel, what will they do then? Now, no Man is ſafe in his Bed, then none ſafe at all; they will adventure to murder People in their very Houſes; for they hold it no more Sin than to kill a Dog.

Reaſon VIII.

In fine, be ſure he and his Party (which will increaſe daily, and the Proteſtants decline) will ſoon get an Opportunity by either Stratagem, or open Force, to avoid all Laws, though they are never ſo ſtrong and wary, and therefore it will be impoſſible to be ſafe without a Proteſtant *Succeſſor*.

The laſt MEMORIAL of the SPANISH Ambaſſador. Faithfully tranſlated into *England*. 1681.

SIR,

DON *Pedro Ronquillo*, Ambaſſador of *Spain*, that by a Memorial which he preſented to your Majeſty the $\frac{12}{29}$ of *December*, he did ſet forth the Infractions which the *moſt Chriſtian King* hath made ſince the Peace of *Nimeguen* from the Month of *September*, after the Difference was agreed about the Title of the Duke of *Burgundy*, which was alledged for a Pretence to ſuſpend the Conference at *Courtray*, according to the fifteenth Article of that Treaty, in order to the adjuſting in an amicable Way all the Limits, Pretenſions and Differences of the two Crowns, which ſhould reſult from that Treaty; and your Majeſty was pleaſed by your Royal Order of the $\frac{Dec.\ 16.}{Jan.\ 6.}$ to order your Envoy Extraordinary at *Paris*, to put in Execution what was contained in the ſaid Memorial. By the laſt Poſt, the ſaid Ambaſſador received Letters of the $\frac{1}{11}$ Inſtant, from the Marquis *de la Fuente*, who is Ambaſſador at *Paris*, in which he gives him an Account of the Complaints he had made to the *Chriſtian King*, about the Exceſſes and Infractions which are committed againſt the Inhabitants of *Fuenta Rabia*, and in the *Low Countries*, and particularly about a Meſſage which the Governor of *Tournay* ſent to the Prince of *Parma*, pretending that not one Palliſado ſhould be laid at *Bovignies*, (which inconteſtably hath been a ſeparated State, and comprehended in the Country of *Namure*.) After many violent Conteſtations, the Anſwer of the *moſt Chriſtian King* was, *That he did not doubt but that the Catholick King would give Order to his Commiſſioner at* Fuente Rabia *to proceed in the Treaty, leaving each Party in the Poſſeſſion which at preſent they hold*, (as if a violent Uſurpation, under the Surety of the good Faith of the *Conference*, could in one Day be concluded to be an actual Poſſeſſion) *that for what relates to the* Low Countries, *he cannot abſtain from taking Poſſeſſion of that which he ſuppoſes doth appertain to him, according to what he ſhall declare at the Conference of* Courtray.

To this violent, as well as undecent Anſwer, the Marquis *de la Fuente* with the Strength of the undoubtful Juſtice and Reaſon which the King my Maſter hath, concluding he did not receive the ſame, not knowing how to impart it to his *Catholick Majeſty*, and that he beſeeched him to reſolve what was juſt; to which Reply it was anſwered, *That he would conſider it*. And at the ſame time his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* hath ordered his Forces to enter in the *Spaniſh Low Countries*, to hinder the fortifying of *Bovignies*.

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This Proceeding doth exceed all Limits, and cannot be reaſonably endured; for the *moſt Chriſtian King* will, by Force of Arms, be Arbitrator, and command in the Dominions of the *Catholick King*, thereby hindering him from fortifying a Place which is his own; when by the Article of *Nimeguen* it is allowed to be done by both Parties. And when the *French* King himſelf hath made uſe of the ſame Article in order to have the Courſe of the Waters ſtopped, that they may not hinder the fortifying his Towns, as it was more particularly done at *Mennin*, cauſing the River *Liſſe* to be lowered, that they might with more facility fortify that Town, a Place which was wholly open, and which the *French King* is fortifying and inlarging in Extent much more than it was before: So that now, *Sir*, theſe are not Infractions, but a declared War; the Deſigns of the *French* being publick, that they intend to beſiege *Luxemburgh*, and that from thence they will go to *Namure*, when the Fact of hindering the Fortification of *Bovignies* (which is upon the *Moſe* almoſt over againſt *Dinant*) makes it clear and paſt doubt, eſpecially the *moſt Chriſtian King* having poſſeſſed himſelf of all the Towns that are upon the River *Moſe* from *Charlemont*, and of the moſt Part of the Territory between that River and the *Sambre*, in ſuch a manner that they have gotten almoſt all the County of *Namure*, as well as that of *Luxemburgh*, and thereby thoſe two Provinces are left without Communication.

By theſe Infractions and clear Beginnings of War, the underwritten Ambaſſador doth apply himſelf to your Majeſty as a Mediator, that you would cauſe what was agreed by the Peace of *Nimeguen* to be obſerved; and as an Ally, that you would defend it, and reſiſt the Violence of *France*, your Majeſty being obliged to the one and to the other by the Treaties; in which Conſideration he cannot omit ſaying, That although the Frontiers of *Spain* by *Cantabria* and *Catalogna* are infeſted, and by the Treaty of *Caſſal*, between the *French King* and the Duke of *Mantua*, the Dominions of *Italy* are in apparent Danger, and no leſs the *Indies*, where Count *d'Eſtre* is with a Squadron of Ships, all which are the Countries that do compoſe the greateſt Power of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy; notwithſtanding this, his *Catholick Majeſty* has poſtponed theſe his greateſt Concerns, to the Defence of that little which remains to him in the *Low Countries*, although it be leſſened of a great Part of Territory, (which the *French* have violently poſſeſſed themſelves of, ſince the Peace of *Nimeguen*) which hath been the only Cauſe that we have not been able to keep that Country in better Poſture; for each unjuſt Uſurpation of the *French*, hath broken the Meaſures which were taken, and reduced us to ſeek others; and therefore his Majeſty hath already ſent conſiderable Supplies to *Flanders*, and appointed the Prince of *Parma* Governor thereof, as an experienced Soldier, and one who hath been Viceroy of ſeveral Kingdoms, thereby to encourage thoſe Subjects with theſe Endeavours, and that they may be governed by a Grandſon, and of the ſame Name of *Alexander Farneſe*, whom with ſo much Love they reverence.

All this, Sir, hath been done, in hopes that the Union and Intereſt of *England* with *Spain*, will produce mutual Effects of Conveniences to both Crowns; for no good *Engliſhman* can doubt, that if there be no Oppoſition made to the preſent great Power of *France*, it is impoſſible but that in few Days they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the *Low Countries*, and that the *States General* ſhould

ſubject

ſubject themſelves, by reaſon of the Impoſſibility of reſiſting the powerful. And afterwards your Majeſty and *England* ſhall be the firſt in perceiving this Miſchief, to remedy which, it will be then impoſſible; and at preſent nothing is capable to ſuppreſs theſe Evils, but the Power of *England*, at this time the only in *Europe* that can reſtrain the Torrent of *France*. The Differences which are at preſent in *England*, doth Occaſion theſe bold Attempts of the *French* King, and encourages him in the Continuation of his vaſt Deſigns; upon the whole ſo apparent already, that there is no clear-ſighted Underſtanding, but will apprehend them. All the Princes and Powers of *Europe*, as alſo his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*, are in Expectation of the Succeſs of this Parliament, and of the Agreement of *England*; the firſt to take Meaſures in order to ſhake off the Yoke which they are like to be made ſubject to: And the *moſt Chriſtian King* hath alſo for a Time reſtrained his Ambition, and at preſent nothing doth encourage him to deliver himſelf up to it, but the Differences which he ſees breaking out here, giving it out as well within as without this Kingdom, that he is aſſured they will not be reconciled; and that in the mean while he may make up the Conqueſt of the *Low Countries*, which is the Maſter-Key of the Univerſal Monarchy, and the firſt Door which he will open with it, ſhall be that of *England*, without further Trouble than that of maintaining the Difference, with great Promiſes, and with a ſmall Charge; and whatſoever he ſhall find moſt for his Advantage, will be firſt invaded by him.

That this Diſunion is the chief Encouragement of the Deſign and Enterprizes of the *moſt Chriſtian King* in the *Low Countries*, is apparent; and there are ſo great Proofs of this Truth, that it is Blindneſs not to ſee them: And the Ambaſſador will only acquaint your Majeſty with one late Inſtance which doth manifeſt the ſame, which is, that his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* ſeeing the *Emperor* is making conſiderable Levies, as alſo the Elector of *Saxony*, and other Princes of the Empire; that the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Brandenburgh* have declared, that they will not ſuffer his Proceedings againſt the Empire, and the Princes of the ſame, and that they will oppoſe it with all their Power.

His *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*, after ſo many violent Anſwers which he himſelf had made, and alſo his Miniſters, to all the Princes of *Germany*, he hath now anſwered the Emperor's Envoy Extraordinary, that he doth agree in appointing a Conference in one of the Imperial Cities, to decide and explain the ambiguous Points of the Articles of the Peace of *Nimeguen*, concerning the Poſſeſſions taken in *Alſatia*; and that as ſoon as the Commiſſioners are met, the Chamber of *Metz* ſhall ceaſe its Proceedings, and all manner of Novelty, and that they will hear ſuch a Perſon as ſhall treat for the Duke of *Lorrain*. And although it is evident that this is intended to lay aſleep the Minds, as well of the Emperor, as of the other Princes concerned, and that they may cool the Vigour of their Preparations which they are making for their Defence, it is alſo known that this is in order to work with more Safety againſt the *Low Countries*; for at the ſame time that he offers to ſuſpend the Attempts in the Empire, he continues in poſſeſſing himſelf of all the *Spaniſh* open Country, executing Acts of open War, by hindering the Fortification of *Bovignies*, which is the ſame Thing as blocking up of *Luxemburgh* and *Namure*; ſo that it is evident, that if he ſaw the Differences of *England* appeaſed, and united to its own Defence,

for

for ſuch ought to be reputed that of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and in particular that of the *Low Countries*, it is infallible and certain, that he would moderate his Deſigns, and limit his Reſolutions, as it appears he doth in *Germany*, ſeeing that the Emperor, and all the Body of the Empire, do unite for its Defence.

The Ambaſſador doth very well know, that the Agitation of this Kingdom is great, and that the Pretenſions ſeem to be diſtant; but he is ſorry, and it makes his Heart bleed to ſee, that there is no way opened to an Union; and as there is nothing impoſſible in human Things, his Pain doth increaſe, ſeeing there are no Steps made to quench theſe Heats: If *England* were not ſo much threatened with Ruin by the Exaltation of the *French*, as the *Low Countries* are, the Pretenſions and Rights might be followed to the uttermoſt Point; but running the ſame Fortune with the Monarchy of *Spain*, becauſe *Flanders* is a Battery to *England* and *Spain*, and the *Indies* the Treaſure of its Riches, and the chief Strength of its Commerce, beyond all Places where this Nation doth trade, and therefore it doth not allow that their Intereſt ſhould be conſidered as a Foreigner, nor that the Diſtractions in which all are now involved, ſhould be calmed by the ſame Methods which could be done in a ſecured Tranquillity; ſo that the Ambaſſador doth promiſe himſelf, that conſidering theſe Reaſons, and that *France* being at this Time a Gangrene, which doth penetrate the very Heart of *England*, all Grounds of Differences will ceaſe, and that it will not with its own Ruin involve the reſt of Chriſtendom in the ſame Fate.

Therefore the Ambaſſador doth pray your Majeſty, that as Mediator, or as Ally, you would effectually apply yourſelf to prevent the Loſs of the *Low Countries*, and conſequently of all the reſt, hoping from your Majeſty's great Prudence, that you will make choice of the moſt efficacious Means to that End, and to the eſtabliſhing the Quiet of *Europe*.

The Trial, Conviction, and Condemnation of POPERY, for High Treaſon, in conſpiring the Death, Ruin, and Subverſion of CHRISTIANITY. Who upon full Evidence was convicted, and received Sentence accordingly. 1680.

A COMMISSION of *Oyer* and *Terminer* being iſſued forth for the Trial of *Popery*, the Judges repaired to the Bench, and the Court being ſet, after Proclamation made for Silence, the Trial thus proceeded.

Clerk of the Court. Jaylor, ſet *Popery* to the Bar.

Popery, hold up thy Hand, here thou ſtandeſt indicted by the Name of *Popery*, late of the City of *Rome*, in the Province of *Babylon*; not having the Fear of God before thine Eyes, but being moved by the Inſtigation of the *Devil*, didſt of thine own free Will voluntarily create, make, and deviſe ſeveral damnable Principles, and diabolical Practices, contrary to the Word of God, pernicious to Mankind, and repugnant to human Society, and thou the

ſaid

ſaid *Popery* to further thy aforeſaid Devices, the Duty of thy Allegiance not weighing, did'ſt, as a falſe Traitor, againſt our ſacred and moſt illuſtrious Prince, counterfeit his broad Seal, and thereby with Force and Arms didſt ſeal up his Majeſty's Laws, both Civil and Divine: And didſt command Obedience to thy deviliſh Inventions; and thou the afore-mentioned *Popery*, thoroughly to accompliſh thy aforeſaid Deſigns, didſt with Force and Arms aforeſaid, uſurpatiouſly endeavour to exalt thyſelf, in the ſaid City of *Rome*, equal with God, blaſphemouſly ſaying, thou couldeſt pardon Sins, Damn, *&c.* And thou the ſaid *Popery* didſt with the Devil combine, by his Aſſiſtance to allure, entice, and inforce Kings, Queens, and Princes to retain thy damnable Religion, to the utter Deſtruction of their faithful Subjects; and whereas many Royal hearted *Chriſtians* ejected, and oppoſed thy erroneous Principles, thou the ſaid *Popery* didſt ſavagely and inhumanly invade their Nations, aſſaſſinate Kings, murdered Thouſands, burned their Cities, robbed their Houſes, againſt the Peace of our *Sovereign Lord the King*, his Crown and Dignity, and againſt the Laws and Statutes made, and provided in that Caſe. What ſayeſt thou for thyſelf, *Popery?* Art thou Guilty of theſe Treaſons, Rebellions, Murthers, *&c.* whereof thou ſtandeſt indicted, or not Guilty?

Pop. Not Guilty.

Cl. of Cr. Culprit, how wilt thou be tried?

Pop. By God, and my Country.

Cl. of Cr. God ſend thee a good Deliverance.

Cl. of Cr. Popery, theſe Men that thou ſhall hear called and perſonally appear, are to paſs between our *Sovereign Lord the King*, and you, upon Trial of your Life and Death; if therefore you will challenge them, or any of them, your time is to ſpeak, as they come to the Book to be ſworn; and before they are ſworn. *Cryer*, call *Holy Scriptures.*

Popery. My Lord, I except againſt him; there is a ſufficient Gentleman ſtands by, pray let him be put in his Place.

L. C. J. What is his Name?

Pop. Good-Works.

L. C. J. You muſt not be your own Chuſer, but that you may have as fair a Trial as can be, he ſhall be one.

No other being challenged, the Names of the Jury that were ſworn are as follows;

Righteouſneſs,	}	*Charity*,
Evangeliſts,	}	*Proteſtantiſm*,
Sacraments,	}	*Impartiality*,
Good-Works,	}	*Judgment*,
Hope,	}	*Fathers*,
Faith,	}	*Mercy.*

Cl. of Cr. Cryer, count theſe. *Righteouſneſs.*

Cryer. One, and ſo the reſt.

Twelve good Men and true, ſtand together and hear your Evidence.

Cl. of Cr. Cryer, make Proclamation.

Cryer.

Cryer. O Yes, if any will give Evidence for our *Sovereign Lord the King* againſt *Popery*, Priſoner at the Bar, let him come forth, and he ſhall be heard; for the Priſoner ſtands at the Bar upon his Deliverance.

Cl. of Cr. You Gentlemen of the Jury look upon the Priſoner at the Bar, and hear his Cauſe; he ſtands indicted by the Name of *Popery*, late of the City of *Rome*, in the Province of *Babylon:* Upon his Indictment he hath been arraigned, and thereunto hath pleaded Not Guilty, and for his Trial hath put himſelf upon God, and his Country; whoſe Country ye are; your Charge is to enquire whether he be Guilty in the Manner and Form that he ſtands indicted, or Not Guilty?

Att. Gen. May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, and you Gentlemen of the Jury, *Popery* ſtands here indicted of great and heinous Crimes, yet not greater than hath been by him committed: It is not unknown to us that he is of the Race and Progeny of *Cain*, and his Murthers are greater than have been perpetrated by any ſince the Creation of the World; that he might the more plauſibly commit his Villanies, he hath ſhaded himſelf under the ſerene Veil of Chriſtianity; what Name ſo lovely as Jeſus, yet whoſe Operations ſo odious as *Jeſuits?* He hath alſo ſtiled himſelf with *Iſtud nomen Blaſphemiæ*, Univerſal; which he ſays he derived ſucceſſively from St. *Peter*, though it will puzzle his greateſt Doctors to prove that *Peter* was ever at *Rome*. Thus having ſtrengthned himſelf in Iniquity, uſurping over Kings, and Princes; bringing People and Nations into Thraldom, and Slavery; though Nature had given him a perpetual Writ of Eaſe, and made every Part of the Chriſtian World feel his Tyranny. But as the *Jews*, who ſold *Chriſt* for thirty Pieces of Silver, came at laſt themſelves to be ſold thirty for a Penny; ſo ſhall he know the Arm of Vengeance hath been long lifted up, that it may now fall down the heavier upon him. To prove the Indictment, we might call many Witneſſes, but we ſhall call only ſome principal ones: and firſt, Sir *Naked Truth*, who hath been greatly perſecuted by him.

Cl. of Cr. Cryer, call Sir *Naked Truth.*

Cryer. My Lord, here is the Gentleman, which was thruſt out from being one of the Jury, deſires to know whether he may give Evidence againſt the Priſoner at the Bar?

L. C. J. Who? *Holy Scriptures?*

Cryer. Yes, my Lord.

L. C. J. Holy Scriptures, What canſt thou ſay againſt the Priſoner at the Bar?

Holy Scriptures. My Lord, *Popery*, now Priſoner at the Bar, hath broached many damnable Hereſies contrary to the Word of God, and particularly that it is not a Rule of Faith, but as a Noſe of Wax, to be turned which Way the Church pleaſes; whereas the Word of God ſaith, that *all Scripture is given by Divine Inſpiration*; yet he wickedly prefers his own carnal Traditions before it, as alſo his Principles are directly againſt the Ten Commandments: Againſt the Firſt, in making a God of the Bread in the Sacrament. Againſt the Second, in bowing down thereunto. Againſt the Third, by profane ſwearing by God, and the Saints. Againſt the Fourth, in preferring his Saints-days, which are of his

own Inſtitution, before the Sabbath, which is of Divine. Againſt the Fifth, in declaring that Children of his Religion owe not Obedience to their Parents, which are not of the ſame. Againſt the Sixth in maintaining the Lawfulneſs of robbing, plundering and endeavouring to ruin, by firing Houſes, or otherwiſe, all thoſe that are not of his Opinion. Againſt the Seventh, in ſetting up, and allowing of common Stews, *&c.* Againſt the Eighth, in bloody, and inhuman murthering and maſſacring of Proteſtants under the Names of Hereticks, and endeavouring to maintain the Lawfulneſs thereof. Againſt the Ninth, in making Leagues with Princes for his own Advantage, and then breaking them, ſaying, Oaths may not be kept with Hereticks. Againſt the Tenth, in a greedy coveting of Gold, he pretending to give out Pardons to commit all manner of Villanies whatever. Beſides, my Lord, there is ſcarce one Commandment of the firſt Table free from his Innovations; nevertheleſs he is not aſhamed to ſay, that a Man of his Religion may keep all the Commandments, contrary to the Word of God, which ſaith, that *there is not a juſt Man that liveth and ſinneth not*, and alſo, that *if we ſay we have no Sin, we deceive ourſelves*, &c.

L. C. J. Sir *Naked Truth*, What ſayeſt thou againſt the Priſoner at the Bar?

Sir *N. T.* My Lord, in the Year 110, *Popery* ſeeming as an univerſal Deluge to overſpread the whole Chriſtian World, I, with Sir *Conſtant Patience*, lived privately at *Lyons* in *France*; enjoying the glorious Goſpel, with many others of our honeſt Friends and Neighbours: but *Popery*, the Priſoner at the Bar, there found us, maſſacred and tortured many of us for confeſſing the Cauſe of Chriſt; put us to moſt exquiſite Torments, and exerciſed ſavage Cruelties upon us: from thence flying to *Germany*, paſſing through *Flanders*, we ſaw *Popery* preparing a Fire to burn ſeveral of our Adherents, which clave to Chriſt. One of our Friends there ſuffering, I remember, before he went into the Fire, took two Stones in his Hands, ſaying, when I ſhall eat theſe two Stones, our Religion ſhall ceaſe, not before. When we were come to *Germany*, we found no Reſt there, for *Popery* purſued us thither, and he going thro' *Bohemia*, murdered many of the Peers of that Realm. In *Germany* he commanded all to be killed, that were ſuſpected; ſaying God knows who are his. From thence we fled into *Spain*, where we were taken by *Popery*'s bloody Inquiſition, in this manner. A Meſſenger came to us, and told us, that the Lord Inquiſitors had ſomething to ſay to us, and therefore we muſt wait upon them. We being come, they enquired our Names, and ſent us to Priſon. We having entered the firſt Gate, the Jaylor aſked us, whether we had a Knife about us, and under Pretence to ſearch for one, took from us all our Jewels and Money, and thereby left us nothing to help ourſelves; then were we caſt into a ſtinking Dungeon, where we continued ſix Months, then being brought forth, *Popery*, the Priſoner at the Bar, endeavoured by all means to extort from us a Confeſſion, which we not doing, he ſaid we ſhould be racked. Being brought to the Rack, *Popery* ſitting on a Scaffold by the Rack, in come our Tormentor, and we being ſtripped, had our Hands bound with Cords; then they tied us to the Pully, and faſtening Weights to our Heels, they hoiſted us up by Degrees; thus hanging in great Torture, they bad us accuſe all we knew of our Religion, which we denying,

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they racked all our Bones out of Joint, and then ſent us to Priſon again, and at laſt diſmiſſed us. From thence we fled into *England*, but here was the like; and ſo we fled again into *France*, where we lived quietly for ſome Time, but at laſt *Popery* purſued us, and diſguiſed with a Vizard of Friendſhip invited us, with moſt of our Brethren, to a Marriage, but being come, he murdered in one Night above Twenty Thouſand. From thence we fled to *Ireland*, but *Popery* purſuing us thither, committed the moſt barbarous and execrable Murders, Villanies, ſparing neither Man, Woman or Child, ripping up Women with Child, raviſhing chaſte Matrons, drowning, putting to the Sword, *&c.* many Thouſands of innocent Proteſtants; from thence we again fled into *England*, where we were ſoon purſued, and though here, he ſet not upon us ſo openly as before, yet his Will was to do us the moſt Hurt. In the Year 1666, he burned down the famous City of *London*, and hath not ceaſed to endeavour to perpetrate his Villanies; only by many ſpecial Providences God of he hath been hindered; for we certainly hear he would here quite extirpate us to the utmoſt of his Power: Nay, I heard credibly, that he was reſolved not to leave one Drop of Proteſtant Blood; and like his other deviliſh Policy, could be glad to caſt theſe treaſonable Conſpiracies on the innocent Proteſtants. My Lord, he is ſo dangerous and ſo wickedly ſubtle, that we live in daily Hazard of our Lives, and when he may deſtroy us all, God only knows, if timely Courſe be not taken.

L. C. J. Sir *Conſtant Patience*, What can you ſay againſt the Priſoner at the Bar?

Sir *Con. Pat.* My Lord, It would be too tedious for me to rehearſe all that Sir *Naked Truth* hath ſpoken: We were Companions together in all that he hath declared, and I aver the Truth of what he hath ſpoken.

L. C. J. Are there any more Witneſſes?

Cl. of Cr. Yes, my Lord, *Light of Nature.*

L. C. J. Let him come up. What canſt thou ſay againſt the Priſoner at the Bar?

Li. of Na. My Lord, *Popery* did really combine with the Devil to promote his Deſigns, and hath been guilty of great Conjurations; I have ſeen him in the Woods in the Shape of a Boar, he hath alſo been a cruel Murderer; for I ſaw a Pond of his cleanſing, and thence taken out ſixty Childrens Skulls, and it is computed, that in about Fifty Years Time he hath maſſacred fifteen Millions of Proteſtants.

L. J. C. What ſayeſt thou *Popery?* Thou art now admitted to ſpeak for thyſelf?

Popery. My Lord, The firſt Witneſs, that is ſuborned againſt me, is pretended *Holy Scriptures*, which if I go to diſprove, you will ſay that I ſpeak againſt God's Word: Had I thought I ſhould have had a juſt Tryal, I would have prepared my Witneſſes, and made my Defence. But how can I expect Equity from thoſe in my Adverſity, which were always barking at me in my Proſperity?

L. C. J. You ſhall not be ſuffered to ſcandalize the King's Court of Judicature.

Then my Lord proceeded and ſpake as follows,

You Gent. of the Jury, you hear the Priſoner is indicted for contriving Hereſy, contrary to the Word of God; and to gain Proſelytes thereunto, he hath been guilty of Treaſons, Murders, and Blaſphemies; the firſt Part of the Indictment hath been largely confirmed by a Peer of this Realm, whoſe Name is *Holy Scriptures*. And the ſecond, by two worthy Knights: Alſo we have had a fourth Witneſs, which as the other hath fairly laid upon his Villanies; and he for his Defence hath only caſt foul Aſperſions upon the Juſtice of the Court: His Sins are great, and cry aloud for Vengeance; and if Juſtice be not executed againſt him, we may fear leſt we be Partakers with him of his Plagues. The Evidence is ſo clear, I think you need not withdraw.

Cl. of Cr. Gentlemen, are you agreed upon your Verdict?

Omnes. Yes.

Cl. of Cr. Who ſhall ſpeak for you?

Omnes. The Foreman.

Cl. of Cr. Popery, Hold up thy Hand: Gentlemen of the Jury, look upon the Priſoner at the Bar, how ſay ye, is he guilty of the Treaſons, Murders, &c. whereof he ſtands indicted, or not guilty?

Foreman. Guilty.

Cl. of Cr. Of all?

Foreman. Yes, of all.

Cl. of Cr. What Goods or Chattels?

Jury. He is made rich by the Kings of the Earth.

Cl. of Cr. Cryer, make Proclamation.

Cryer. O Yes: My Lord, the King's Chief Juſtice, ſtrictly charges and commands all manner of Perſons to keep Silence whilſt Sentence is pronouncing againſt the Priſoner at the Bar.

L. C. J. Popery, Thou haſt delighted thyſelf to make Bonfires of the Saints; and this thy deviliſh Nature, if thou mighteſt live here for ever, thou wouldſt ſtill retain, and ſtill act thy abominable Villanies, thou hardeneſt thy Heart, yea and now wouldſt, if it lay in thy Power, commit as bad on me, and every one of us, as thou haſt done heretofore againſt our dear Friends. Therefore the Sentence of the Court is, *Thou ſhalt go back to the Place from whence thou cameſt, and from thence ſhalt be ſlain and caſt into the Pit of* Tophet, *there to be tormented Day and Night, where the Smoak of thy Torment ſhall aſcend up for ever, and ever, and all thy Riches and Pomp ſhall with thee be burnt with Fire, and as thou haſt filled to God's Saints, they ſhall fill unto thee double.*

Then a great Shout and Acclamation of Joy made, the Trumpet ſounding, *Babylon* is fallen, *Babylon* is fallen, the Court aroſe.

Vox Populi, Vox Dei: or, *ENGLAND*'s general Lamentation for the Diſſolution of the Parliament. Printed 1681.

NO *Popiſh Succeſſor, no Popiſh Succeſſor*, is now the *Voice* of the *People*, and if the Prayers of moſt of the *Nation* be heard, it will be alſo the *Voice of God*, and *England* will be never ſo unhappy, as to ſee a Popiſh Idolater in the Throne. There is no Nation in the World ſo jealous of their Liberties as the *Engliſh*, and yet there is no Right or Privilege ſo dear to them, as their Religion. Their Conſciences ſway more with them, than their Purſes or their Lives; and the *Proteſtant Religion*, in which they and their Fathers have been ſo many Years bred, and under which they have ſeen ſo many happy Days, freed from the Tyranny and oppreſſive Yoke of the *Pope*, is become ſo dear to them, that the Apprehenſion only of the loſs of it, has of late put them into theſe dreadful Agonies, and apprehenſive Fears, by the plotting of Popiſh Traitors, to bring in their Idolatry, even by taking away the Life of the King, and ſubverting the preſent Government; and by the Proſpect they have, of all thoſe ſubſequent Evils, which are unevitably like to fall upon this Nation, by the means of a Popiſh Succeſſor. For this Reaſon, the People ſeem to cry out with one Voice, *No Popiſh Succeſſor*, no *Idolater*, no Queen *Mary* in Breeches, no Tyrant over the Conſcience, no new Perſecutor of *Proteſtants* in our Land.

That theſe Fears and Troubles might be allayed, that our Hopes might be renewed, of ſitting down every Man in Peace and Tranquility, being aſſured to enjoy our Religion undiſturbed, and our Conſciences unconſtrained, and that Traitors, Malefactors, pernicious and evil Counſellors might be puniſhed and removed, was all our Hopes in this *Parliament*, and that which made them ſo dear in the Eyes of the People, who of late thought that they might have applied to themſelves the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, *That God would turn our Mourning into Joy, that he would comfort us and make us rejoice from our Sorrow*, Jer. xxxi. 13. For indeed, the drooping Spirits of moſt of the People of *England*, were ſuddenly revived and raiſed from Trouble and Affliction, by the calling of this late *Parliament*, and they bleſſed God, and gave Thanks for the great Care and Kindneſs of his Majeſty, to and over his People: We were comforted, and we lifted up our Head with Rejoycing and Acclamations, to ſee the comfortable Beginnings of the King and his *Parliament*; and we began to think, that God and the King *had wiped away Tears from all Faces.*

But alas! how ſoon is our Day clouded! And how are we caſt down in a Moment! Our Truſt and our Confidence is broken, and God has *turned our Feaſts into Mourning, and all our Songs into Lamentation: Shall not for this the Land tremble, and every one mourn that dwelleth therein?* It is for our Sin and Iniquities that God ſuffereth this Calamity, that he permitteth our Hopes to be broken, and our *Parliament* to be diſſolved, and now, as if that Prophecy of *Zechariah* were fulfilled in us; *(In that Day ſhall be great Mourning in* Jeruſalem, *as the Mourning of* Hadadrimmon, *in the Valley of* Megiddon, *and the Land*

Land ſhall mourn, every Family apart) all the Faces of the People are filled with Trouble and Confuſion, and every one mourneth apart, and in ſecret, and they cry out, What ſhall we do to be ſaved from the fearful Apprehenſions of the Evil to come? How dejected are all our Hearts! How troubled are all People at this Diſſolution! How ſenſible are they of this ſo great Unhappineſs to the Nation! And with what Conſternation and Lamentation is it entertained! By what Counſel or Perſuaſion this comes about, we know not: We know the Hearts of Kings are unſearchable, we queſtion not the Wiſdom and Power of his Majeſty, we know that it is by *God Kings reign*, and that he turneth their *Hearts as the Rivers of Waters*; but however this cometh to paſs, we cannot but mourn and lament, to behold our Hopes ſo ſuddenly daſhed and confounded: It is for our Sins doubtleſs, that this Evil is come upon us, and therefore let us firſt proſtrate ourſelves humbly before the Lord, and then with one Conſent ſupplicate his Majeſty to eaſe us of the Burthen of our Fears, and to ſtop the Mourning and Lamentation of his moſt faithful Liege People.

Sure we have great Cauſe to lament and to mourn, to ſee *England*'s moſt worthy *Patriots* who were aſſembled for the Good of the King and the Kingdom, to be ſo ſoon ſcattered and diſperſed, before they had brought to Perfection their good Intentions, whilſt they were endeavouring to eſtabliſh the perpetual Happineſs of the Nation, in ſecuring our Religion, Rights and Privileges, and in taking away our Fears and Jealouſies: Such *Patriots* they were, as *Jethro* adviſed *Moſes* to chooſe, to judge the People of *Iſrael*; *Men fearing God, loving Truth, and hating Covetouſneſs.* How happy was our gracious King in ſuch a Council! How happy the People of *England* in ſuch Repreſentatives! A *Parliament* that, had they ſat, would in after Ages been called a bleſſed *Parliament*, a *Parliament* noted for four requiſite Vertues, *Religion*, *Wiſdom*, *Courage*, and *Induſtry*. That they were religious, or Men fearing God, appears, that before all other Things they begun with the ſecuring to this Nation, the true *Proteſtant* Religion eſtabliſhed by Law, and what in them lay, to prevent the ruſhing in of *Popery*, which, like an Inundation, is like to break our Banks, and to bring a Deluge of Deſtruction and Perſecution upon the Land. That they were Wiſe appears, becauſe they were Men loving *Truth*; for *Wiſdom* cannot ſtand without *Truth*. *Honeſty is the beſt Policy*, though an old Saying, is a true one; for to deal freely and ſincerely is a Sign of Wiſdom. They were ſuch as would take off the Vizard-Maſk of a moſt deteſtable Plot, as ever was hatched againſt a Nation, and that would have ſhewn the Truth of all, that yet lies lurking at the Bottom. And at laſt, had they continued, we doubt not, but that the Nations round about us, would have been forced to have ſaid by us as *Moſes* propheſied thoſe of *Canaan* ſhould ſay by the *Iſraelites*: *Surely this Nation is a wiſe and underſtanding People:* And if thoſe many wiſe Laws and Statutes which were under the Conſideration and Wiſdom of the late *Parliament*, had been brought to Perfection, they would then alſo have taken up the other Part of that Prophecy of that Law-giver and Prophet, *Deut.* iv. *What Nation is there ſo great, that hath Statutes and Judgments ſo righteous?* That they were Men of Courage appears, by their being no Reſpecters of Perſons, for that they ſpared no Man for his Greatneſs and Might, nor deſpiſed any one for his Meanneſs and Inability. They were bold Aſſertors of the Liberties of the People, and in the Ways

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of Righteouſneſs feared no Man. That they were Men *hating* Covetouſneſs, plainly appears by their Votes againſt a late Corruption of Penſioning: Gold would not blind their Eyes, and being Men of Eſtates, and abhorring Covetouſneſs, they endeavoured to take away the Temptation. And laſtly, that they were induſtrious, is manifeſted to all, by their Pains took, thinking it no labour Night and Day to ſerve their King and Country; and by the many uſeful and beneficial Acts, tending to the Good and Benefit of this Nation, which they were promoting with all indefatigable Pains and Induſtry.

Theſe are the Men that are diſſolved, their Power broken, and our Truſt, Hopes, and Confidence caſt down. It is for this *England* laments and mourns; the City is afflicted, and the Country in Trouble, and all good and loyal *Engliſhmen*, with dejected Countenances, ſad Hearts, and wet Eyes, bemoan their Loſs. It is now a Time of Trial and Affliction. *Calamitas vertabis occaſio eſt.* It is in Calamity that our Vertue will appear, let us not be afraid to petition his Majeſty in this our Diſtreſs, let him behold our ſad Hearts, and our Faces beſprinkled with Tears; let him know our juſt Fears, lay before him our Jealouſies and Diſtreſſes, let him hear our Complaints and Lamentations, and let us not be dumb; and withal, let every one endeavour to reform himſelf, and publickly call upon God, to defend and protect us: For *he is King of all the Earth; he is a God that doth Wonders; he hath declared his Strength among the People:* He is *a Sun and a Shield*; he will *give Grace and Glory, and no good Thing withhold from them that walk uprightly:* Therefore let us ſay with the Prophet *Iſaiah, We will truſt and not be afraid, for the Lord* Jehovah *is our Strength, he is merciful and gracious*; he will *at laſt hear the Groans of his People, and ſwallow up Death with Victory, and wipe away Tears from all Faces*, Amen. So be it.

A SPEECH ſpoken by ISAAC CREW, an Orphan of the Grammar-School in *Chriſt-Hoſpital*, to his Majeſty King WILLIAM III. in his Paſſage through the City of *London*, *November* 16. 1697. on his Return from *Flanders*, after the happy Concluſion of the Peace.

AMIDST the loud, repeated Acclamations of your joyful People; which, like the Voice of Thunder fly round our Iſle, vouchſafe (Dread Sir!) a gracious Ear to us poor Children, who, in ſofter Accents, but with no leſs Loyalty of Affection, congratulate your long deſired Return in Peace and Triumph, to this once more happy Nation: Whoſe antient Government and pure Religion, whoſe Laws and Liberties, whoſe Rights and Immunities, (Things dearer than our Blood, and always higheſt in the Eſteem of wiſe and good Men)

Men) your ſacred Majeſty, with utmoſt Hazard of your unvaluable Perſon, has ſo gloriouſly retrieved, and with ſuch matchleſs Gallantry continues to maintain. Nor doubt we, but ſo immenſe Goodneſs, joined with ſo great Prudence, is ſtill preparing a fairer Scene of Things, and new Joys for your People.

It is you, (Illuſtrious Sir!) who are the Support of all our deareſt Intereſt, the *Palladium* of our preſent Felicity, and the Pledge of our future. But your unparallelled Virtues are a Subject too lofty for our Praiſes, ſufficient to exhauſt the Vigour of the boldeſt Panegyriſt: Nor can the Stock of the whole inſpired Tribe furniſh out an adequate Encomium. Your great Atchievements fill our Hiſtories and Annals; and Fame, which has ſpoken ſuch mighty Things concerning you, almoſt Staggers in the belief of her own juſt Reports.

Go on, (Great Sir!) beloved of God and Man; and having ſurpaſſed all antient Heroes, be your own great Rival and Example.

Heaven ſmile on all your Enterprizes, and favour all your great Deſigns, for the Advancement of the Proteſtant Intereſt, the Proſperity of theſe Nations, and the Weal of *Europe*; and crown that Zeal with which your great Soul is inflamed towards the Publick, with ſuitable Succeſſes and Rewards.

May you long ſway the Scepter of theſe flouriſhing Kingdoms, in Security and Eaſe, bleſſed always with the faithful Counſels of the wiſeſt Senate, and the entire Obedience of a moſt loyal People. And amidſt all the Glories of ſuch Sovereign Greatneſs, vouchſafe to look down on us poor Orphans, and grace our numerous Foundation with your Princely Favour.

May no *Alaſtors* henceforth infeſt your State, no factious Jars diſturb the civil Harmony; but in an entire Accord, may all Orders apply to their reſpective Duties, and wiſely and thankfully enjoy their Happineſs, under the beſt of Princes, the beſt of Governments, in the beſt of Kingdoms.

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The ADDRESSES importing an Abhorrence of an Association, pretended to have been seized in the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Closet, laid open and detected. In a Letter to a Friend. 1682.

SIR,

I Perceive by your's of *March* the 4th, that the *Fermentation* which the Nation is put into, must be cherished by the same Ways and Methods that it was first occasioned and caused: For should the Heats and Animosities among Protestants be once suffered to asswage and abate, the *Romish* Designs against the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of *England*, would not only miscarry and prove abortive; but they who have been wheedled to betray God and their Country, by contributing ignorantly to the Promotion and Service of their Ends, would be the first to express their Indignation against the Papists, both as an Effect of their Resentment, for having been, through their Influence, thrown into a *Lunaty* and *Delirium*, and as an Evidence to the Kingdom that they are at last cured of their Distraction. And therefore the Operation and Efficacy of the *Declaration* against the two last Parliaments being wholly spent; I am not surprised to find an Advantage taken from a pretended Paper, importing an Unlawful *Association* against the Government; for the perpetuating Rancours amongst His Majesty's Leige People, and the casting those back again into a Fever, who were recovering their Senses, and coming to a Sedate Mind: And as all Men are worse upon Relapses than they were of their first Diseases; so we are not to think it strange, that People are more extravagant in their late Addresses, than they were in the former. But there being so many things to be said in return to your Letter, and being by Command confined to represent my Thoughts in one Sheet, I shall preface no farther, but apply myself to obey you in the most compendious Manner I can.

Nor shall I pronounce that of the late Addresses, which a celebrated Court-Author doth, concerning those made to *Oliver Cromwell*; namely, *That they were no other than Leagues Offensive and Defensive, between him and the Faction*; *and that while his Care was for engaging one Party, it was for destroying another*:* For though some little Folk, who officiously manage this Affair, may have such a Project, yet it is impossible that His Majesty should either propose or countenance so base and destructive a Design.

Nor will I say, That it had been but reasonable, That they who do embark in new Addresses, should have first seen the Fruits and Effects of their former: For whereas they seek to justify themselves in what they did, by the Assurances which they suppose His Majesty gave them of having frequent Parliaments, though he had dissolved Two or Three, without giving them Time to perfect those Important Matters which the whole Nation apprehended they were called for; so it would have been some Argument of the Candour and Sincerity of their Intentions in what they did before, if they had forborne their late Applications,

* Memento, 2d Edit. p. 29.

cations, till they had found, that they were not miſtaken in the Grounds upon which they think to vindicate themſelves for what they then did.

Neither will I inſiſt upon this, That it had become them to be well aſſured that there was ſuch a Paper, ſtiled an *Aſſociation*, found in my Lord *Shaftſbury*'s Cloſet, before they took upon them to talk ſo loudly of it, and vent themſelves in ſo ſtrange and unaccountable Expreſſions upon Mr. *Gwyn*'s bare Suggeſtion of ſuch a thing. For as it is moſt certain, that it was not the Foundation of my Lord's Apprehenſion and Commitment, ſeeing the Bag into which it was put, when ſaid to be ſeized in his *Lordſhip*'s Study, was not opened till after his Confinement in the Tower for High-Treaſon; ſo it is not impoſſible but that they who had the Confidence to impoſe other things upon this Noble Peer in the printed Relation of the Proceedings at the *Old-Baily*, than were depoſed by the Witneſſes in Court, might with the ſame Liberty, and for the ſame End, forge and invent this Paper, and aſcribe it to his Lordſhip. For whereas *Smith*, upon giving his Evidence at the Bar, ſaid, that the Earl of *Shaftſbury told him he was* ſorry *that the King ſaw not his Danger*, &c. they who undertook the communicating thoſe *Proceedings* to the World, make *Smith* declare upon Oath that the ſaid Earl told him, *he was* glad *the King ſaw not his Danger*.

Nor ſhall I inſiſt upon this, That it had been but congruous, and what became *Engliſh* Men, to have teſtified their Deteſtation of the many late *Sham Plots*, whereby our Enemies have been endeavouring to deſtroy loyal and innocent Proteſtants, as well as their declaring an Abhorrency of a pretended *Aſſociation* againſt the Monarchy; and the rather, becauſe the forging Crimes for involving guiltleſs Perſons in Danger, hath been real; whereas ſuch an *Aſſociation* as the late Clamour is raiſed upon, was, for what yet appears, only feigned and imaginary. We have ſeen ſome of the beſt Perſons in the Kingdom caſt into Priſons, and arraigned in Courts, upon malicious Subordinations, and Popiſh *Sham* Conſpiracies; but no Man can produce ſo much as a Name ſubſcribed to any Paper, whereby to perſuade himſelf or others of a Combination againſt His Majeſty and the Government. Nor can they be thought to bear any great Loyalty to the King, who have not ſome Regard for the Safety of his Proteſtant Subjects, and the Reformation of the Proteſtant Religion. And therefore while ſome are ſo buſy here and there to gather Hands to Addreſſes of another Nature, it were but a ſeaſonable Piece of Service to the King, and a Duty which all Law both Divine and Human will juſtify, for others to make an Addreſs to His Majeſty, that we may have the Benefit and Protection of his Government, and that our Lives and Eſtates may be defended from the Malice of thoſe, who by hiring and ſuborning mercenary Villains to ſwear forged Crimes againſt us, have been unweariedly deſigning our Ruin. And as it is not to be ſuppoſed that an Application of this Nature would be unacceptable to the King, the End and Aim of his Reign being not only to look after our Obedience to his Law, but to ſee that we are kept ſafe from the Wrath and Rage of our Enemies; ſo it would tend to the Honour of *London*, to lead the Way to others in ſo uſeful, and at this time ſo neceſſary a Duty.

Nor ſhall I do more but barely intimate, that it looks ill, and ſeems calculated for no good Deſign, to find Addreſſes for diſſolving Parliaments, and abhorring all *Aſſociations*, countenanced and promoted, while Petitions for a Parliament

Parliament were forbidden by Proclamation, and the Petitioners publickly reprimanded. For ſuppoſing that ſome one Paper, bearing the Name of an *Aſſociation*, was unduly framed and worded; is this a juſtifiable Ground to ridicule and abhor every *Aſſociation*, tho' never ſo well adapted for the Preſervation of His Majeſty's Perſon and Dignity, and promoted in a Parliamentary way, and not to take till it receive the Royal Stamp? How ſtrangely does it look in a well-governed State, to find ſuch a one as the Mayor of *Gl*— who was admitted into the Freedom of that City, *for the good Service which he did in fighting againſt* Charles Stuart *at* Worceſter (as the Words inſerted in their Town-Book bear) to be hug'd and embraced for advancing Addreſſes of one Complexion, while in the mean time many Loyal Gentlemen, who ſhed their Blood, loſt their Eſtates, and underwent Impriſonment and Exile for the King, are frown'd upon for offering to appear in Applications of another Figure. Men of Principles act always uniformly; whereas ſuch as are ſway'd by Intereſt are ready to engage with the ſame Heat in every thing that lies in Subſerviency to their Gain. Some People think it not enough to atone for their former Actions by their future Loyalty, but they ſeek to expiate their Crimes on one Side, by running into Illegal, Rigorous, and Mad Exceſſes on the other. And I heartily wiſh, that an eminent Magiſtrate in the City of *London* may not hope to make a Compenſation for having been a Clerk to a Regiment in the War againſt the late King, by complying with and purſuing whatſoever ſome Men about the Court, or ſuch who are influenced by tho'e that are, put him upon. But what is this Age degenerated into, that they who have ſerved themſelves of Diſſenters in order to their getting into Places of Truſt, by proclaiming what Bleſſed Opportunities they have enjoyed with that Sort of Men under this and that Non-conformiſt Miniſter, ſhould, inſtead of expreſſing a Concern for the Proteſtant Religion, anſwerable to the Care of it, and the Stations they are in, not only abandon, but from Weakneſs, Fear, or worſe Principles, ſubmit to be Tools to accelerate it's Ruin.

However, I am ſure the Government hath no Cauſe of apprehending Danger either from Fanatick Preachers or People, ſeeing ſome of the moſt famed amongſt them, after having been a hundred Times deceived and impoſed upon, are ſtill ready to be bribed by a Dinner or a Smile, or wheedled by a fair Word, to co-operate with their Enemies, and become inſtrumental of their own Deſtruction. And therefore it is to be deſired, that ſome of the Diſſenting Eccleſiaſticks would be contented with Grace, which is the Talent that God hath given them, and not pretend to Civil Wiſdom, ſeeing it is evident to all the World, that the Great Diſpenſer hath withheld it from them.

Theſe things being briefly intimated, it is now Time to advance thoſe Reflections and Obſervations, which we judge proper to be offered upon the Occaſion of the late Abhorring Addreſſes. Nor will it be amiſs, in the firſt Place, to take Notice how ſome Mens Opinions concerning theſe kind of Applications, do alter and vary according to, and in Correſpondence with the Deſign and Intereſts which Men ſerve. For the very Perſon that is not only principally employ'd, in framing the Draughts which are remitted into the Country, where Lieutenants, Juſtices and Curates, are commiſſioned to procure Subſcriptions to them, but whoſe Province it is to publiſh their Uſefulneſs to the Government, and to make the World believe what Security the State receiveth from them, in order

to it's Support, in the Purſuance of preſent Councils: I ſay, this very Gentleman had different Thoughts concerning Addreſſes ſome Years ago, when they came in Shoals to *Oliver Cromwell*, and with great Multitudes of Hands ſubjoined to them, from what he now hath.

For, ſays he, *Thoſe numerous and pretended Applications*, as they were but *an Artifice to piece up the Protector's broken Power, as far as well it could be, ſo they were but falſe Gloſſes upon his Power, and* Cromwell *was too wiſe to think them other. For being gained by Contrivement and Force, or at leaſt by Importunity, half a Score pitiful Wretches ſtiled themſelves the People of ſuch or ſuch a County, and there was the Total of the Reckoning.* *

But we may the leſs wonder at this Change of Judgment in ſome Men, as to the Significancy or Inſignificancy of Addreſſes, if we conſider, how much the Opinion of the Papiſts is altered from what it was 90 Years ago, as to the Right which the next in the Royal Line hath to inherit the Crown after the Ruling Prince. For whereas we have nothing from them now, but that it is an unpardonable Sin to exclude the Preſumptive Heir, be his Principles what they will, and our Danger from him, in caſe he ſucceed, never ſo viſible; they ſpake another kind of Language towards the End of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when they foreſaw that a Proteſtant was likely after her to aſcend the Throne; namely, *That Succeſſion to Government is neither eſtabliſhed by the Law of Nature, nor the Law of Revelation, but only by Human Sanctions, which Men may cancel and alter as their Intereſt determines them.* † For though they tell us now, of the indiſpenſible Obligations we are under, of ſubmitting quietly, in caſe His Majeſty ſhould die, to the Duke of *York*, albeit we cannot but think the Subverſion of our Religion, and the Extirpation of ourſelves ready to enſue thereupon; yet they were pleaſed to tell our Anceſtors, that no Free People were under Ties to the next of the Royal Line, but that they ought to put the Scepter into ſuch a one's Hand, under whom they might promiſe themſelves to live with Safety and Honour.

But, we may the more eaſily pardon the Papiſts for ſhifting Principles according to the Poſture which their Affairs ſtand in, if we will obſerve how the Proteſtants of this Age differ from thoſe of the former, in reference to the Duty of ſubmitting to, or debarring a Popiſh Succeſſor: For whereas heretofore not only the whole Clergy, but the Nobility and Gentry, Courtiers as well as others, derived their main Arguments againſt *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, from the Danger the Proteſtant Religion would be in, if, being in their Power, ſhe were ſuffered to ſurvive Queen *Elizabeth*: It is now come to paſs, that many of all Orders and Ranks, who pretend themſelves Proteſtants, are not only contented that a Popiſh Prince may be diſpenſed with as to his Religion himſelf, and live quietly amongſt them, but they ſeem uneaſy in having a Proteſtant King, and long to have one of Popiſh Principles to rule over them. ‡ How diſagreeable, as to a Popiſh Succeſſor, are the late Addreſſes, from the Petitions, Votes and Acts of Parliament, and the Carriage of the whole Kingdom in the 14th, 27th, 28th and 29th Years of Queen *Elizabeth*? Then an *Aſſociation* to revenge the Death of the Queen upon the Papiſts, in caſe ſhe came to an untimely End, was eſteemed a Piece of Loyalty, and promoted by the Chief Miniſters of State; but now the Abhorring not only an ill framed Paper

* See Mr. L'Eſtrange's Memento, p. 30. † See Doleman. ‡ See Bowe's Journal.

Paper bearing that Title, but all kinds of *Associations* of this Nature and Tendency, if His Majesty should fall by Popish Hands, is accounted the Character both of a good Subject, and a true Church-of-*England* Man. Do we live in the same Clime that our Ancestors did? or doth the like generous Blood run in our Veins, which did in theirs? Alas, by running counter to the Wisdom of our Fore-fathers, we proclaim ourselves a degenerate Issue, and are a Reproach to the Memory of them who begot us, and who transmitted the Protestant Religion and *English* Liberties down to us!

And as all Addresses of this Nature tend to render the King, who ought to reign in the Hearts of all his People, the Head merely of one Part, and that a very inconsiderable one, if compared with the Bulk of the Nation; so they only serve to publish to all the World the Distractions of the Kingdom, and to proclaim in the Face of the Sun the Weakness of the Government. What do the Foreigners say upon the Perusal of our *Gazettes*, but that either things are not managed in *England* according to the Laws of the Constitution, or that His Majesty of *Britain* reigns precariously, seeing his Ministers seek to support the Transactions of State, by courting the Applause of a few little Folks, here and there, through the Kingdom? Nor can any sort of Men do the King a greater Disservice, than to administer Grounds to our Neighbours Abroad, to entertain such Sentiments of us and our Affairs. I tremble to think what the Wisest among ourselves say of these Proceedings; for tho' all Men acquit His Majesty from any Intentions but what are Gracious as well as Just; yet, they cannot but judge that some ill Men are by these Addresses endeavouring to number the People, and to enroll Partisans for some hidden Design.

But the most fatal Effect and Consequence of these Addresses, is the depriving the King of that Security, which the Wisdom of the Parliament had provided for his Person against the Papists. For, as nothing is so dear to a true *English* Parliament, as the Life of their Sovereign; so the best Expedient which our late Parliaments could think of to preserve his Majesty from the Dangers which he was exposed unto from the Conspiracies of the *Romish* Crew, was the proposing an *Association* amongst the Protestants to revenge his Death. And as they could entertain no Friendship for the King, who advised him to dissolve the Parliament before that Bill was prepared and past; so it is apparent, that whosoever Countenanceth the Abhorrence of all *Associations*, does what in him lies to leave the King open and naked to the hellish Designs of the *Romish* Faction.

Nor is it unworthy the serious Consideration of all Loyal Persons, how they have both provided against the Revenge of the Nation, and for their own Establishment in Power, in case His Majesty should be taken off; for as they have excluded all Endeavours of Revenging his Death, by getting every thing *Ridiculed* and *Abhorred*, that lies in a Subserviency thereunto; so they have taken care for their own Safety, after the Perpetration of such a Villainy, by obtaining all Places Civil and Military to be filled with such in whom they may intirely confide. And as it is not long since the King of *Portugal* was laid aside, and confined to the *Tarcera's*; so it is remarkable, that it was effected without a Blow, and by this more than any thing else, That there were none in publick Employ but who were Zealots for his Brother, that supplanted him, and stept into his Throne.

But

But are ſuch as ſubſcribe theſe Addreſſes ſenſible whereabout we are, and how much the Popiſh Intereſt is advanced within theſe two Years? For, hath not the Duke of *York* intruded himſelf into the Adminiſtration of Affairs in *Scotland*, without taking the Oaths which the Laws of that Kingdom do require? Hath he not, at the ſame Time that he cauſed Proteſtant Diſſenters to be diſturbed and apprehended, permitted Maſs to be ſaid under the ſame Roof, or at the next Door? Hath he given any Security to Proteſtants there, for their Safety in the Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion, tho' he hath gotten himſelf excepted from all Teſts that relate to the Preſervation or Liberty of it? Are not the Papiſts in *Lancaſhire* arrived to that Boldneſs, as to murder his Majeſty's Officers in the Diſcharge of their Duty, and to reſcue Recuſants out of the Hands of thoſe that had taken them in Execution? Hath not the High Sheriff of *Northumberland* carried 'Squire *Riddel* and 'Squire *Claverine*, and divers other Papiſts who were Priſoners for the Popiſh Plot, to *Edinburgh*, to kiſs the Duke's Hand; and this both in Defiance of all Law, and againſt his Truſt? But it would require a Volume to recount all I know of this Nature; and therefore ſhall only add, That they muſt be prepared to worſhip the *Hoſt*, and wear Chains, who either promote or ſubſcribe the Addreſſes which are now carrying on.

I am, SIR;

entirely Your's.

A LIST of ABHORRORS: Or, the Names of ſuch Perſons as were lately under Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, for ABHORRING, and other Miſdemeanors.

Sir *Robert Yeomans.*
Mr. *Harnage.*
Mr. *Joſeph Pagett,* } Clerks.
Mr. *Rich. Thompſon,* }
Mr. *Edw. Brett.*
Captain *Caſtle.*

Mr. *John Hutchinſon.*
Mr. *Hen. Waldron.*
Mr. *Tho. Warre.*
Mr. *Edw. Strode.*
Mr. *Tho. Herbert.*
Mr. *Tho. Staples.*

Sir *Thomas Holt.*
Mr. *Arth. Yeomans.*
Mr. *Willi. Jordan.*
Mr. *John Lawes.*
Mr. *Hen. Aulnet.*

Theſe are the Contents. The Chapter follows.

MAGNA Charta, cap. 29. No Free-man ſhall be Taken, or Impriſoned, or be Dis-ſeized of his Free-hold, or Liberties, or Free-Cuſtoms, or be Out-lawed, Exiled, or any otherwiſe Deſtroyed. Nor we will not paſs upon him, nor condemn him, but by lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land, *&c.*

5 *Edwardi* III. *cap.* 9. *Item*, It is Enacted, That no Man from henceforth ſhall be Attached by any Accuſation, nor Fore-judged of Life or Limb, nor his Lands, Tenements, Goods or Chattles ſeized into the King's Hands againſt the Form of the Great Charter, and the Law of the Land: That is, according to the Statute 25 *Edwardi* III. *cap.* 4. by Indictment or Preſentment of good and lawful People of the ſame Neighbourhood where ſuch Deeds be done, in due Manner, or by Proceſs made by Writ Original at the Common Law.

28 *Edwardi* III. *cap.* 3. *Item*, That no Man, of what Eſtate or Condition that he be, ſhall be put out of Land or Tenement, nor Taken, nor Impriſoned, nor Diſinherited, nor put to Death without being brought in Anſwer by due Proceſs of the Law.

Fiat Juſtitia & Ruat Cælum.

If any Man be diſſatisfied with the Coherence of the Contents and the Chapter, let him read the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Coke*'s *Inſtitutes*, *Part* 2. *Chap.* 9. upon *Magna Charta*.

This may be Printed to prevent falſe Reports, the Fact and Law being both true.

I do appoint Mr. Benjamin Harris *to Print this, that it may appear to all true* Engliſh Proteſtants, *that he once Printed Truth.*

G. T.

A LETTER from a Perſon of Quality to his Friend, about ABHORRORS *and* ADDRESSORS, *&c.* 1682.

SIR,

I Received your's of the Sixth of *January*, and find your Biſhop and Lord Lieutenant are carrying on very furiouſly an *Addreſs of Abhorrence of the Aſſociation*, pretended to be found amongſt my Lord *Shaftſbury*'s Papers, and of *Ignoramus Juries*. I find alſo you are afraid not to be thought a Loyal Subject, or a good Son of the Church, if you do not join in it: And therefore you are pleaſed to aſk my Judgment whether the Signing of it can be of as much Prejudice to you, as the Refuſal evidently will. If I ſhall anſwer you according to the Rule of the Apoſtle, *Let every Man ſpeak Truth to his Neighbour*, you muſt expect Plainneſs and Freedom in my Reply, without which you may have Flattery, but cannot poſſibly attain Advice. As for your Gentlemen of Quality and Eſtate, that you find generally go theſe High-ways, and call it the Support of the Monarchy and the Church; when you conſider how many of them have been ſecretly converted to the *Romiſh* Faith, and remain as yet

yet Church-*Papists*; how many of them gape after Honours and Preferments from the Court; how many the Power and Dominion in their own Country, and the retaining the Office of Deputy-Lieutenant, or Justice of Peace, does inslave; and how many the sordid and vile Education they have had under the Clergy does corrupt, you will not wonder that the Yeoman and plain Countryman hath kept his Senses, when the greatest Part of the Nobility and Gentry have lost theirs. Are there so blind a Generation, as they that do not see how deeply the Churchmen have repented their departing from *Rome?* and how fix'd they are in Resolutions and Interests to return back again upon the first Opportunity. Is it possible for a Man without the Help of University Learning to imagine the *Protestant* Religion preserved under a *Popish* Prince, that shall not only have the Nomination of Bishops in his own Time, but hath had that and most Church Preferments in his Predecessor's? Consider when all Places are and shall be given, and all Honours and Advantages confer'd upon none but his Creatures, how long the dissolute and drunken Part of our Nobility and Gentry will hold out, as Confessors for the *Protestant* Church of *England!* The Steadiness of these worthy Gentlemen, and the Reliance that Men of Honour or Worth can have upon them, cannot be better demonstrated than by the great Zeal, and true Care of their Religion and Country, express'd by Sir *William Portman*, Sir *Nathaniel Napper*, and several others of the last *Oxford* Parliament, in their vigorous carrying on the Bill against the Duke of *York*; and yet no sooner sent home into their own Country and dissolved, but they address against themselves, calling themselves little less than Rogues and Traitors, and acknowledging the King's great Justice and Wisdom in sending them packing.

I would ask you, Should a *Popish Prince* hereafter have a Desire to hang any Man that was too busy in the *Protestant Cause*, whether he had more to do than to make a beggarly, necessitous, or bigot Gentleman, Sheriff of that County, and send down his private Orders to the Lord-Lieutenant, who shall return a Grand Jury of Lieutenants and Ensigns, that shall never find *Ignoramus*; and a Petty Jury of Serjeants and Corporals, before whom *Irish* Witnesses may be believed; especially if Care be taken that the Lord-Lieutenant be so good a Churchman as to take his Tutor in the University for Governor of his Affairs and Fortune ever after?

I would only ask you seriously, Whether, without the Experience you have had of this Age, you could have imagined the Gentry thanking the King and addressing to him for dissolving a Parliament, and acknowledging his Majesty's Goodness in promising to govern by Parliaments, when, in several Years of the greatest Distress and Danger of the Nation, they have been dissolved and prorogued so often, without their Advice taken? Could you have supposed a Judge of this Land bringing an Address from *Hereford*; and *Sandars* (an eminent Man in the Law) bringing another from himself and his Companions, directly contrary, not only to the Law of the Land, but to the Law of all Nations, common Sense, and Reason? They tell you of a Paper called an *Association*, found amongst my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Papers; this they set up as a Man of Straw and fight against it; and 'tis resolved that Addresses shall go round the Nation to this Purpose. What can this mean but to perswade the World that the *Protestants* have yet a Plot, which hath been attempted so often by the

[*Popish*

Popiſh and arbitrary *Party* to be made believed. But if theſe Gentlemen have read the Proceedings at the *Old-Baily*, *publiſh'd by Authority*, of that Matter, which is in many Places ſhort of, and different from the Truth; yet that tells the World, and them that read it, that it was not poſſible for the Judges, as well as Jury, to think the Earl of *Shaftſbury* guilty. We have always accounted the ſaid Earl among the Stateſmen of the Age, but we muſt put him into the Ideots College, if we can ſuppoſe that he ſhould make ſo infamous and mean Perſons his Counſellors, and talk Treaſon ſo freely to them. *Booth*, the moſt known and ſcandalous Villain the North-Country hath of late Years bred, is at firſt Daſh admitted to the Earl's ſecret Councils, who diſcovers all his Deſigns to him, and yet he was to be but a ſingle Trooper, that procured no other Man to the Party. The King and the Government have no Reaſon to apprehend any Danger, if the wiſeſt of thoſe they ſuppoſe their Enemies manage Affairs at this rate. *Dennis* is to raiſe all his Name, *Iriſh Papiſts*, for the Defence of the *Proteſtant* Cauſe: And if the old native *Popiſh Iriſh* will be for a Commonwealth, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* engages they ſhall get their Lands again; ſo kind is he to the *Papiſts*, to out his beſt Friends that are poſſeſſed of them.

As for their Paper called an Aſſociation, 'tis truly their own, and of their own making. Mr. *Gwyn* a *Yorkiſt*, a Creature of Mr. *Seymour*, an Enemy to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, comes by force into his Houſe, demands the Keys of his Cloſet, carries with him ſeveral other Perſons of his own Party, where they did what they pleaſed: And though the Earl of *Shaftsbury* deſired they would ſhew what Papers they took, and that a Liſt might be agreed on, yet they refuſed it; beſides, all the Papers they reſerved at the Council were marked by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Agents, either by Mr. *Wilſon* or Mr. *Starkey*; this only was marked by neither. And Mr. *Blathwait* refuſed to give a Liſt of thoſe Papers which they kept. But if the Paper were really found in the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Cloſet, does Mr. *Sandars* (the great Lawyer) think that it did affect him with Treaſon, or that the Grand Jury could have found a Bill upon it: Or why did he that had the chief Hand in drawing up the Indictment, ground no Part of it upon this Paper?

But I moſt wonder at Mr. *Sandars*, that being a Lawyer, he falls ſo heavy upon Juries, and will not allow them the Liberty that the Law ever gave them. They are of no Uſe to the People, if they are neceſſitated to obey the Judge's Directions: And if the wiſeſt, wealthieſt, and Men of beſt Repute of the City of *London* (as theſe Gentlemen were) have not the Liberty of finding, or not finding a Bill, we ſhould give little Thanks for being governed by ſuch Law. Does Mr. *Sandars* think they are obliged to find a Bill, becauſe four or five of the moſt infamous Villains in the World have ſworn the greateſt Improbabilities in Nature? If ſo, and that it be a true Doctrine, that the Credibility of the Witneſſes is not to be conſidered by the Jury, the Lord have Mercy upon all *Proteſtants:* For it is notoriouſly known, they may have forty *Iriſh* Witneſſes to any thing that may be deſired againſt them; every Day's Experience ſhews it in that Country, and they have now found their way over hither. And the *Popiſh* Agents are excellently ſkilled in ſupporting their Evidence with *Engliſh* Teſtimony, out of *Newgate* and the *King's-Bench*. I ſhould aſk Mr. *Sandars* two Queſtions, not whether he hath, or will take the Oath of Supremacy,

but whether he thinks the Evidence was full and ſufficient, in my Lord *Shaftſbury*'s Caſe, to cauſe the Jury to find the Bill? The other is, Whether, if this Paper of Aſſociation, granted to be as treaſonable as he pleaſes to make it, and to be found in this manner in my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Study, can be imputed to my Lord as any Crime, or what Crime it is; there being no Proof that he ever ſaw it, read it, or conferred with any about it? But Mr. *Sandars* hath laid aſide his Law, and is turned Hector for the *Catholic* Cauſe; hath lent his Name for a Job of Church-Work; and is to be recorded in the Paper Office for his great Merit, and endeavouring to render Juries uſeleſs to the People.

You cannot wonder, Sir, if you find ſuch Men, and ſuch Things, every Day appear more and more; there are ſuch powerful Influences on our Affairs, that this Popiſh Plot muſt, at any rate, be made a *Proteſtant* one. How many Inſtances have we had of this theſe laſt two Years, and when they will leave off, that are ſo well protected, God only knows: But you are not to ſet your helping Hand to ſuch Things as theſe, there is a God above that will certainly inquire after ſuch Matters; and if you have Patience but a while, the Wicked that thus proſper, their Place ſhall know them no more.

A LETTER from a Friend to a Perſon of Quality: In anſwer to *A Letter from a Perſon of Quality to his Friend*, about *Abhorrors* and *Addreſſors*. 1682.

My Lord,

FOR that's the Style I ſhall preſume to treat the unknown [*Perſon of Quality*] in, to whom this Letter is addreſs'd.

Yours of the 24th paſt, in anſwer to mine of *January* 6th, I have had the Honour to receive, wherein you are pleaſed to eſpouſe the *Aſſociation*, and *Ignoramus Juries*, as if they were *your own Project*, and *your own Creatures*; not troubling your Head about the fooliſh Scruples that I beg'd your Advice upon; to wit [*The Fear of loſing the Reputation of a* Loyal Subject, *and a* Good Son of the Church;] thoſe two Points being manifeſtly the leaſt Part of your noble Care throughout the whole Paper.

Your Lordſhip profeſſes [*Plainneſs and Freedom in your Reply*;—*without Flattery*:] And you acquit yourſelf to Admiration; for the *Engliſh Nobility*, *Gentry*, and *Clergy*, were never made ſo many *Drunken Sots*, *Brainleſs Coxcombs*, *Raſcals*, and *Hypocrites*, in ſuch a Way of *Openneſs* and *Liberty*, and under ſo little Caution of *Ceremony* and *Reſpect*, as in this *plain*, *free Letter* of your Lordſhip's; and all [*according to the Rule of the Apoſtle*] you ſay, [*Let every Man ſpeak Truth to his Neighbour*;] which wants only the ſubjoining of another Text [*not uſing your Liberty for a Cloak of Maliciouſneſs.*]

That

That which follows looks like a Slip of your Lordſhip's Pen; when, in ſaying that [*your Gentlemen of Quality and Eſtate GENERALLY go theſe Highways*,] you acknowledge the *Majority* of Men of *Value* and *Condition* to be *againſt* you; and yet (under Favour) in your *fourth Column*, you make [*the wiſeſt, wealthieſt, and Men of beſt Repute in the City of* London] *to be on the other Side*; for which Preference, many, *More*, eminent Citizens than thoſe there in queſtion will con your Lordſhip little Thank. And then the Expreſſion of *Theſe High* (you mean, Theſe *Arbitrary*) *Ways*, ſounds a little harſh, in the Caſe of *Proteſting* againſt *Downright Treaſon*, as if it were a *leſs Crime* to *aſſociate* in a *Conſpiracy* to *depoſe* the King, than to *join* in a *Reſolution* to *defend* him.

Your Lordſhip proceeds, after this, to a Diſtribution of theſe *Men of Quality*, firſt into [*Secret* or *Church Papiſts*;] at which rate, without proving or diſproving, your Honour may make e'en as many Papiſts as you pleaſe. But it is to be noted, that only *our ſecret Republicans* have had the Luck to diſcover *theſe ſame ſecret Papiſts*.

Your ſecond Diviſion, my Lord, is into thoſe that [*gape after Honours and Court-Preferments*,] which is a Reproach of the ſame Latitude with the other: But it is much better yet to *ſerve* the Government, upon a *Proſpect* of *Intereſt* or *Hope* of *Reward* (which is the very worſt of the Caſe) than upon a *Pique*, for a *Diſgrace* or *Diſappointment*, to break out into Tranſports of *Malice* and *Revenge againſt* it; of which we have had many Inſtances, to which your Lordſhip cannot be altogether a Stranger.

Your third Sort, my Lord, is of [*Thoſe that enſlave themſelves, for the ſaving or gaining of an Office or Commiſſion in their Country*,] which at the moſt comes but to this, That ſome would *honeſtly maintain* the Power and Intereſt that they have *got*, while others are at work, by *treacherous* and *unlawful* Means, to *recover* the uſurped Power that they have *loſt*.

Your Lordſhip is now pleaſed to conclude with thoſe that are [*Corrupted by a vile and ſordid Education under the Clergy*,] which reliſhes rather of the Soul of an *Agitator* than of a Peer; for here are *two Thirds* of the *three Eſtates ſtruck off* and *blaſted* already, and there wants but one Step more to bring all to a *Level*, and that Point comes on now in Courſe.

You tell the World, my Lord, that [*The* Yeoman *and* plain Countryman *hath kept his Senſes, when the greateſt Part of the* Nobility *and* Gentry *have loſt theirs*.] The good Gentleman at the *Old-Baily*, on the Night of Triumph, and the little *Querpo Levite*, when they waved their Hats and cry'd, *Shout, Shout Boys*, to the *Rabble*, could have done no more themſelves than this comes to: But, for *a Perſon of Quality* to ſet up *clouted Shoes* for the Oracles of *Law* and *Government*, turn the *Nobility* and *Gentry* to School in *Bedlam*, and *reprobate* the very *Religion* of the Church of *England*, as well as the *Churchmen*, all in a Breath, is to outdo the *worſt* of *Men* and of *Times*; to introduce *new Articles* of *Faith*, and of *State*; and, in effect, an *Appeal* from the *Privy-Council* to the *Bear-Garden*. What, with Submiſſion, could a *Maſſianello* or a *Wat Tyler* have ſaid more? Wherefore be pleaſed, my Lord, to recall your terrible Sentence upon the [*Generality*,] &c. which are no leſs than the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons aſſembled in Parliament*, and allow them to be Men that go ſoberly and temperately about their Buſineſs.

[*Are there any ſo blind* (you ſay) *as not to ſee how our Churchmen repent their departing from* Rome, *and long to be there again?*] Your Lordſhip muſt have better Eyes than your Neighbours to diſcover this; but it is a Notion calculated for thoſe that ſee nothing at all; and a Kind of *St. Anthony's Fire*, that is enough to infect the whole Maſs of the Nation with *Schiſmatical Scabs* and *Tetters*.

Your Lordſhip's Zeal, in the next Place, for the *Proteſtant Religion* muſt not be forgotten: [*What ſhall we do for our Siſter that hath no Breaſts?*] * Nor your *notable Remark*, that [*Without Univerſity-Learning none can imagine how it ſhould be preſerved under a Popiſh Prince, that chuſes Popiſh Biſhops, and under a King that favours That Popiſh Choice.*]

As for *Univerſity-Learning*, it may do much, 'tis true, towards the maintaining a *Paradox*; but the *Sophiſtry* of a *Cloſe-Committee* is able to put *Cambridge* and *Oxford* in a Bag, and prove *the beſt Reformed Church* upon the Face of the Earth to be *flat Popery*. Happy are they, my Lord, that have been brought up at the Feet of theſe *Gamaliels*: But *Popery* muſt down at laſt, under what Shape ſoever; and then there's no more to be done, but whatſoever your Lordſhip has a Mind to *put down*, to call it *Popery*; and, at any rate, *Delenda eſt Carthago*.

Your Lordſhip's following *Quære* is a very bitter one (but under a miſtaken Character) [*Conſider how long the diſſolute and drunken Part of our Nobility and Gentry will hold out as Confeſſors for the Proteſtant Church of* England:] Some Grains of Abatement, good my Lord, for the Weakneſſes of Fleſh and Blood: Or, however, caſt in *Treaſon*, *Sacrilege*, *Perjury*, *Murder*, *Oppreſſion*, into the other Scale. Set the Tranſlation of *l'Eſcole des Filles*, againſt *a Glaſs to the beſt in Chriſtendom*; *a Bottle extraordinary* to the *Confuſion* of his *Royal Highneſs*, againſt *another* to his *Health*; and in half a Word, the *Practice* of all *Martial's Bawdery*, againſt the *Crime* of *underſtanding* it. Upon this whole Matter, my Lord, you will need no Expoſitor.

Your Lordſhip is now pleaſed to reflect upon [*the Steadineſs of theſe worthy Gentlemen:*] (for MEN WORTHY I preſume.) He that's *ſteady* to what's *uppermoſt*, is as *ſteady*, in *one* Reſpect, as he that ſtands firm to his *Honour* and his *Duty* is *ſteady* in *another:* And your Lordſhip's Letter ſhews you too much a *Stateſman*, not to make *this Perſwaſion* an Article of your *Creed*.

You do well, my Lord, to drive the Nail of *Popery* home to the Head; and thereupon you ſay, That [*A Popiſh Prince need but to order his Lord-Lieutenants and Sheriffs to furniſh Military Juries, that ſhall believe* Iriſh *Evidence, to hang any Man he has a mind to, that was too buſy in the Proteſtant Cauſe; eſpecially if the Lord-Lieutenant take a Governor out of the Univerſity.*] Your Lordſhip, under Correction, has made another falſe Step here, in diſcovering, that *your Proteſtants* are againſt *our Univerſities*; and that your main Battery ſtrikes upon the *chief Supporters* and *Adminiſtrators* of the *Government*: But yet, ſetting the Contemplation of *Juries*, that may, *poſſibly*, *hang at Pleaſure*, againſt *other true Proteſtant Juries*, that do *certainly ſave at Pleaſure*, your Lordſhip might put into your Eye what you have gotten by this Suppoſition, and ſee never the worſe; for we are not now to learn, that your *Amſterdam*, *Queen's-Arms*, and *Nag's-Head Juries*, will do Wonders.

* *Whitlock's* Memor. p. 671.

Your

Your Lordſhip, perhaps, would have ſpared the *Iriſh Evidence*, but for want of a Friend at your Elbow to mind you *who they were that firſt brought them over*; what Inſtance was uſed for a *Pardon* for *a Man of Quality without a Name*; and *a blank Warrant for an unknown Perſon of undoubted Credit*, to prove the *Plot:* And this Man of Credit found, at laſt, upon further Information, to have had a Hand in a Matter of *fifty or ſixty Murders*.

I ſhall ſay little, my Lord, to your ſevere Animadverſion upon the *Addreſſors*, in the next Clauſe, only I wiſh you had not charged his Majeſty with *Abandoning his People in their greateſt Diſtreſſes*, in the ſame Period. *The Judge that brought up the Addreſs from* Hereford falls next in your Way: 'Tis Baron *Gregory* that you ſpeak of; and I ſhall only refer your Honour to Colonel *Birch* for *his Juſtification*. Mr. *Sandars* alſo lies under the Laſh for acting *contrary to Law*; but it is not ſaid contrary to *what Law*.

Your Lordſhip ſpeaks of [*the Aſſociation, as a Man of Straw ſet up to fight againſt; and of Addreſſes going round the Nation to oppoſe it.*] Firſt, the *Proof*, where it was *found*, clears it to be no *Impoſture* in the *Finders* of it: Secondly, the ſetting up of a *new Scheme of Government* is a great deal more, under Favour, than *the ſetting up a Man of Straw*, according to your Lordſhip's pleaſant Alluſion. And thirdly, as to going round with the *Addreſſes*, What can be more reaſonable than to *encounter* an *Oath* of *Conſpiracy* with a *Band* of *Allegiance?* But [*this is to perſwade the People* (I find) *that there's a Proteſtant Plot:*] And (by your Lordſhip's Leave) the *other* is to caſt a *Miſt* before their Eyes, that they ſhould not *diſcern* the *rebellious Aſſociation* to be a *Fanatical* one. There's a Scandal alſo upon [*the Proceedings publiſh'd by Authority*] but nothing ſaid either *where* or *what*. It is urged farther, that [*neither the Judges nor the Jury could think the* Earl *of* Shaftſbury *guilty.*] *The Judges* ſpeak for *themſelves*, in their *Charge*; and *Guilty*, or *Not Guilty*, was not the *Queſtion* before the *Grand Jury*. As to the ſaid Earl's being a *Stateſman*, his Lordſhip has in *all Times*, and by *all People*, been reputed one; and I have nothing to oppoſe, either to his Lordſhip's *Abilities* or *Innocence*; but yet, the criminating of *Witneſſes* does not at all evince the *Integrity* of the *Perſon accuſed*; for it many times falls out, that Men of Honour could ſpeak to the ſame Purpoſes, if they would; but there are certain *Tenderneſſes*, in the Confidence of *Hoſpitality* and *Converſation*, that Men will not depart from, but upon Terms of the *greateſt Neceſſity*.

The Calumnies of the next Paragraph [upon Mr. *Gwin's forcing my Lord's Houſe; and his and Mr.* Blathwait's *Refuſing my Lord, and his Agents, a Liſt of the Papers they took*] are expoſed over and over already, and every Step of the Proceeding made out beyond Contradiction.

A good Part of what Remains is, an *Expoſtulatory Invective* againſt Mr. *Sandars*, and only a Ventilation of *Popular Amuſements*, without *Citing* any *Authority*, or *laying* any *Foundation* [*Shall a Grand-Jury find a Bill upon the Oath of Villains that ſwear Improbabilities?*] Give me leave now to put it the other way: *Shall a Grand-Jury* refuſe *to find a Bill, upon thoſe Circumſtances, when, if That Improbability ſhould prove a Truth, the King's Life is loſt by it?* And yet again, my Lord, it ſeems to be a Plauſible Queſtion, put afterwards to Mr. *Sandars* [*How far this Aſſociation, taking the Matter of it, and the Finding of it in my Lord's Study, for granted, can be imputable to the Earl of* Shaftſbury?]

bury ?] It is utterly impoſſible, my Lord, to anſwer this Queſtion; becauſe *the Grand-Jury ſtifled the Preſentment, before it could be known whether it would affect my Lord, or not.*

Your Lordſhip does kindly, however, in taking Notice that Mr. *Sandars* is to be recorded in the *Paper-Office*, and lodged among the *Heroes of the Age*; as *Sequeſtrators*, *Decimators*, *Committee-men*, Mr. *Baxter*'s *Saints*, *Noble Peers*, and *True Proteſtants* without Number, that ſtand regiſtred there among the MEN WORTHY.

I am now coming, my Lord, to the Cloſe of your Letter; where you ſay [*If you have Patience but a while, the Wicked that thus proſper, their Place ſhall know them no more.*] I do moſt humbly beg your Lordſhip's Interpretation of this Paſſage, whether it be intended as a *Denunciation*, a *Prediction*, or a *Friendly Caution*; and whether this *Great Work* is to be done by *Fire* and *Brimſtone*, a *Maſſacre*, or a *Rebellion?*

A Second RETURN to the LETTER of a Noble Peer, concerning the ADDRESSES. 1682.

My Lord,

THE Favour you conferred upon me, to permit me to write to your Honour, with a condeſcending Invitation, occaſioned that of *March* the 4th, directed to your Hand; in which my Thoughts of the numerous *Addreſſes* ſeemed to me ſo plainly ſet down, that no Miſtake could enſue: Yet it hath otherwiſe happened, and your Anſwer, although not altogether differing from my Expectation, is not wholly ſuch, nor ſo ingenious, as I expected. I could have wiſh'd, that as you printed the Anſwer, you had with it publiſhed my Letter, which gave the Occaſion; that if any Knowledge of the Perſons between whom this Intercourſe is uſed, ſhould give the World Occaſion to repeat our Names, and deſcant upon our Judgments, I might not appear, after ſo much reſolute Conſtancy, now dotiſh and fluctuating.

But for your whole Diſcourſe, *Noble Peer*, I muſt be plain in telling you, that not I, but the Likeneſs of it to that Speech you made in the *Houſe*, which being publiſh'd the *Hangman* committed to the Flames, hath publiſh'd you the Author: And you do ſo mince this *Aſſociation*, and turn and wind it ſo tenderly, that it ſeems your own Projection, and a Brat ſo taking in your Affections, that every *Abhorrence* of it is a Dagger's Point at your Heart. You are much in Labour to have it believed never to have a Being, thinking that Way to ſecure it from the zealous Abhorrors, and yet at every other Turn your Fondneſs of it makes you break out into Commendations of it's pretty Features and Uſefulneſs. Indeed, your Shiftings ſhew you have ſomething of a debauch'd Modeſty left, and that you are aſhamed of what you ſo much love: My Willingneſs to excuſe what will bear it, ſaith this of you; but the Generality cry out upon your Impudence, in ſaying, *An Aſſociation pretended*

to

to have been ſeized in the Earl of Shaftſbury's *Cloſet*, when nothing was ever more exactly proved, nothing more unqueſtionable and free from Diſpute, nothing more defended by that Lord's *Clientage*, and even owned in the Court by two of his *Compurgators* (for they acted ſuch more than *Jury-men*) who looking upon it ſaid, *This is the ſame with that which we ſaw produced, and promoted in the Houſe of Commons.* And, by the way, you may take Notice what Juſtice was like to be done the *King*, when his Cauſe was in the Hand of Perſons guilty of the ſame Conſpiracy; for, ſhould they have found the Bill, they had directed the *Attorney-General* to draw up one againſt themſelves; as truly it is to be lamented, that they and all others ſhould eſcape free from Puniſhment, who in the *Houſe* ſaw and promoted this Damnable *Plot* of *Aſſociation*, and did not ſo diſcover it, as to have the *Projectors* and *Forwarders* rewarded with their merited *Rope*. The Authors of ſuch *Parliamentary Proceedings* ought to have their Heads advanced to the Houſe-top, to admoniſh their *Succeſſors* of *Modeſty* and *Allegiance*.

But to return; your Title, at the firſt Sight, made me merry with the Remembrance of your *Lordſhip*'s and that *Religious Party*'s, you ſo diligently ſerved, accuſtomed Activity, that out-run their Sagacity, *laying open* dangerous *Plots* and *Deſigns* before they were *detected*. As your *Lordſhip* hath been frequently termed a *Cat*, from your noted Skill in falling ſafely, ſo you further merit it from the Apology of the *Cat* changed into a Beautiful Woman, receiving a Change only in Form not in Conditions. You are by the exceeding Greatneſs of Royal Favour raiſed to very great Riches and Honour, not only out of a mean Fortune, but (pray Pardon my Plainneſs and neceſſary Freedom) an ill State (as you are too conſcious) that merited Severity: Yet all *Indulgences*, all immerited Additions of Luſtre and Fortune, cannot alter you, but you muſt be *Catting*, ſtill playing your Old Tricks, *laying open* before *detecting*. Your Wit hath, like *Galba*'s, very unſeemly Lodgings, and is no other than what may be conjectured to proceed out of ſo ill contrived a Frame, miſchievous and unlucky: It ſerveth to no eminent Counſel, but to impoſe upon the ſilly and credulous Multitude, who adore you as ſome Idolaters are ſaid to chooſe and worſhip their God for it's excellent Deformity. No Man, who makes a juſt and ſerious Inſpection into theſe *Addreſſes*, ſayeth any thing but what becomes generous and loyal Subjects, whom the Senſe of their own Duty, and the odious Practices of Men of your Principles, ſtir up to theſe Expreſſions of Fidelity on their own Part, and a moſt reaſonable Abhorrence and Deteſtation of the others.

And now, becauſe it is an Anſwer to my Letter, you lay upon me the Taſk of inquiring what this Monſter, which you have rip'd up and laid open, is?

You begin to tell me, that the *Fermentation* which the Nation is put into muſt be cheriſhed by the Ways that firſt occaſioned it, and that the *Romiſh* Deſigns againſt the *Proteſtant Religion* and *Liberties* of *England* would miſcarry, if the Heats and Animoſities between *Proteſtants* were not artificially fomented. Here the Tale you tell of the *Romiſh Deſigns* is ſo exceedingly ſtale, that it ſtinks abominably, and is rejected by moſt of the apprehenſive Diſſenters and Factious Party, who ſee it in vain to talk any more at that Rate, the Generality of the Nation being cured of thoſe Fits which the affrightful Noiſe of *Popery* put it into. For, as ſoon as honeſt and quiet Men hear any begin to blutter thoſe fuſty Diſcourſes, they leave them as Men tainted and ruſty, Tools (as you call them)

them) to your Trade of *Proteſtant Joinery*. And the Truth is, you all ſo torment and ſaw what you take in hand to poliſh, that it's great pity the *Maſters* of the Company are not hanged, for Company, with the *Journey-men*. It's Time indeed ſome End were put to the Lunacy the Kingdom hath been afflicted with, and I hope we may conlude it wrought, or near effecting; ſeeing the greateſt Part of what you ſtile *diſtracted* are recovered, and you are found not Lords of the Aſcendant predominant over Affections, but Witches and Jugglers that have held Men under ſome ſhort Surpriſal, but are delivered by *Divine Providence*, Preſident at the Council-Table. Even they who commend you do not believe you, and the reſt will never truſt you: Neither have you ſhot your Bolt any thing near the Mark, in ſaying, the Operation of the *Declaration* againſt the two laſt Parliaments being wholly ſpent, this againſt the Aſſociation is ſlipt in, and managed to *perpetuate Rancours*; for yourſelf (I fear to your Grief) find the contrary, both that the Efficacy of the *Declaration* is not ſpent, but hath produced this briſk and genuine Off-ſpring, the natural Iſſue of ſo incomparable a Conjunction as the *People*'s Affections anſwering their *Prince*'s Condeſcenſion and Love; and that it is ſo far from foſtering Animoſities, that it is the moſt certain Bond of Union that could ever have been framed; a *League* indeed *Offenſive and Defenſive*, not as your ſquinting Loyalty and unmannerly Compariſon would make it ſeem, between the *Prince* and a *Faction*, but between the *King* and all his *Subjects*, who conſcientiouſly reſpect their own Duty and the general Welfare. We never think or call that a Faction, which, compelled by the *Fear of God, honoureth the King*; but you, who of all Men living have the greateſt Provocations to admire and love regal Clemency and Bounty, do moſt wretchedly, after all the ſtricteſt Engagements to Loyalty, *turn back like a Dog to his Vomit*, and are pleaſed no otherwiſe, but during your Reſpect to that vile *Excreſcence of Government*, which hath been ſpewed out and abhorred, as your beloved Aſſociation is now, chiefly for it's Tendency towards the ſame.

After you have made a Citation of a Loyal Gentleman's Words, you will needs inſinuate from them, a Parity of his moſt excellent Majeſty's, and that baſeſt of Uſurpers *Oliver*'s Cauſe, and do in Effect deride all that out of Devotion worſhip the True God, becauſe ſome, out of Fear or Illuſion, have worſhipped the Devil. Uſurpers, conſcious to themſelves what Hatred their ambitious and tyrannical Invaſions merit, ſtudy Popularity, and are forced to fawn upon the worſt of Men, whom they intereſt to impoſe upon others, and always rule by Arts contrary to the Preſcriptions of legal and juſt *Monarchy*; They either affright or corrupt Men to obſequious Acknowledgements; Theſe, with majeſtical, but gracious Countenance, receive the due Tributes of voluntary Obedience, and encourage Fidelity, to the Shame and Terror of ſuch as aſſociate and conſult, by their *Kings* to diſturb the Publick Peace. Becauſe ſome unduly flatter'd *Oliver* (once your Maſter) therefore you will allow none to give our Lawful *King* thoſe proper Elogies and Thanks which his wiſe and excellent Government challenges from all, whom God hath bleſſed with Judgment to ſee and rejoice in their Happineſs, by and under him.

But this, with your Lordſhip, is *a Baſe and Deſtructive Deſign:* A ſtrong Affirmation, which you would have received, although you have forgotten to tell us the Reaſon. And ſo in Truth you have the Senſe which ſhould direct us to what you mean, in ſaying, *It would have been ſome Argument of the Addreſſors*

dreſſors Candour, and Sincerity of their Intentions, in what they did before, if they had forborne their hard Applications, till they had found they were not miſtaken in the Grounds upon which they think to vindicate themſelves for what they then did. Something your Lordſhip did here conceive, but being ill midwife'd, is ſpoiled in the Production. As to what you ſaid a little before, you are as unfortunate in your Expreſſions and Reaſoning: For theſe *Addreſſors* are not ſick of your Lordſhip's Megrims and Diſtempers of the Brain, that giddily rave and anticipate the Fruits of Royal Counſels before Maturity. They, as all Brave Spirits, are bleſſed with Humility, and meddle not with the *King's Prerogative*, neither take upon them to inſtruct him when a Parliament will be moſt ſeaſonably called, but leave it to his Wiſdom; from which, by God's Bleſſing upon it, they hope to reap the ſatisfactory Effects of theſe and their former *Addreſſes*, while your Lordſhip and your factious Adherents ſhall ſit in melancholy Poſtures, and enviouſly aſſiſt your Tormenting Angels in your own Vexation.

How you call Mr. *Gwyn*'s Oath *a bare Suggeſtion*, I underſtand not; neither what Credit you gain by ſaying this *Aſſociation was, for what appears, only feigned and imaginary*. Thoſe few Words upon this Account before ſpoken may (I think) ſuffice; for all your ſcrupulous Artifice will neither cover nor colour that Villainy. You may as well call in Queſtion, Whether that *Noble and Loyal Peer* was accuſed and indicted, as whether that Paper was ſeized in his Cloſet, or any where promoted by *Aſſociators*; you may as well queſtion, Whether that Lord ever was *Lord Chancellor*, and afterward made good his own Words in his Speech to Lord *Treaſurer*, and found His *Majeſty a Prince under whom the Unfortunate fall gently*; Whether afterward in the Houſe of Peers he made any Speeches in Oppoſition to a certain ſtrict Teſt for the Diſcovery of Popery, promoted in that Houſe; Whether he was ſince at *Oxford*, and afterward committed to the *Tower?*

Your Lordſhip thinks it congruous, that the *Addreſſors* teſtify their Deteſtation of the many *Sham-Plots*, whereby Loyal and Innocent Proteſtants have been endeavoured to be deſtroyed; and what is more evident, than that they do this, abhorring both the *Real* and *Sham-Plots*, which Bold and Bloody-minded Factions, under the Name (forſooth) of *Proteſtants*, were engaged in, to the Deſtruction of the *King*, *Religion*, and *Government?* This you are fierce and zealous to have done, yet being done, you diſlike and complain of it; and what's the Reaſon, but becauſe while you cry out of *Popiſh-plots*, and *Popiſh Sham-plots* only, theſe *Addreſſors*, the true Friends of the *Proteſtant Religion* and Peace of theſe Kingdoms, ſee you involved in the ſame Plots which you cry out againſt, and engage to defend the *King* and eſtabliſhed *Religion* againſt all Conſpirators whatſoever, whether Popiſhly, Schiſmatically, or Heretically affected?

But when all of you make ſuch a Dinn about *Proteſtants*, and name the *Proteſtant Religion*, why do you not ſet forth what this *Proteſtant Religion* is, that we may know it before we engage to defend it? The Religion eſtabliſhed in the *Church of England* we are ſure you would deſtroy, not preſerve; for this the Addreſſors promiſe and deſire to preſerve, which Promiſes only give you theſe Galls and Diſturbances. Neither will you own the *Preſbyterian* to be the only *Proteſtant*, nor with the *Presbyterian* the *Independent*, for then the other younger Brethren, *Anabaptiſt*, *Browniſt*, *Quaker*, *Fifth Monarchy Man*, and all the reſt of this large Family, will take it very ill to be rejected as ſpurious, and

unprovided of *Proteſtant Portions*. If you take all into your Politick Ark, whether feather'd or naked, cloven-footed, clawed, or hoofed, this Conjunction will make *England* in the next Generation ſurpaſs any Part of *Africa* for Monſtrous Iſſue, when thoſe of *Baxter*'s, *Vincent*'s, and *Jacomb*'s Holy Proteſtant Herds ſhall mingle with *Proteſtant Muggletonians*, *Proteſtant Quakers*, *Proteſtant Ranters*; and your Honour's, which is *Proteſtant Atheiſts*. Conſidering then the Impoſſibility of ſuch pretended Union in different Opinions, knit together in one Band of Religion, and yet that if any one or more Part or Opinion be rejected, the Project is that way inconſiſtent with what it throws out, and would ſeem, becauſe there's a Rupture made with the *Muggletonian* or *Ranter*, or whomſoever this holy *League* receives not, who yet hath as good a Title to that *Vocabulum* of *Proteſtant*, as *Jack Presbyter*, *Jack* of *Leyden*, *George* of *Munſter*, or *Hugh Peters*, when he came from *New-England*; therefore I find the League hits not upon the Score of Religion, but all theſe are *Proteſtants*, as proteſting againſt *Monarchy*, and the whole preſent Frame of Government, and that can no otherwiſe come under one Name of *Proteſtant*, than by joining with it the Word *Rebel*; and then, *Proteſtant Rebel* ſpeaks all the Parties together, *Presbyterian*, *Muggletonian*, *Anabaptiſt*, *&c.* being as the Colours of yellow, tawny, green, *&c.* by which the ſeveral Regiments are to be diſtinguiſhed. And theſe, you think meet, the City of *London* ſhould lead the Way to addreſs for their Protection, until they may conveniently be (as is aforeſaid) united and formed into a Body that can defend and ſet up for itſelf. But your Lordſhip is ſtill unfortunate, adviſing impertinently; for the *City*, ſeeing the Deſign, hath, in the *Lord-Mayor* and *Lieutenancy*, taken a truly ſafe, commendable, and contrary Way to your Preſcription, and ſo have bid your Honour good Night, wiſhing you to ſleep for more Wit.

And when *Parliaments* ſhall, inſtead of Endeavours to perfect the important Matters of the Kingdom, ſit down and ſpin out more Time in doing nothing, than other *Parliaments* have taken to diſpatch Multitudes of Affairs; or rather, in doing nothing but chalking out unwarrantable Rules for the Subjects to grow licentious, and act as in an authorized Diſobedience; what Reaſon is there, that good and peaceable Men ſhould not make to their *Prince* grateful Addreſſes, for his Care of them, in diſſolving ſuch *Parliaments*, and ſcattering the impending Miſchiefs which threatened Ruin to our Univerſe? As an Anniverſary Day of Thankſgiving for our Deliverance from the ineffable Calamities we ſuſtained by that traiterous Convention, called a *Parliament*, aſſembled under King *Charles* the Firſt, whom they deviliſhly perſecuted, unking'd, and murder'd, is appointed upon the Day of the Birth and happy Return of his *Sacred Majeſty* now reigning; it ſeems to me as reaſonable, that thoſe Days, whereon *his Majeſty ſecured the Liberty of the Subject*, by diſſolving the laſt *Parliaments*, be kept feſtival, in Commemoration of *our Deliverance from thoſe great and apparent Dangers, wherewith we were encompaſſed* while they were in Seſſion.

Neither are all *Aſſociations* (as either your nine-eyed Peruſal reads, or your diſtorted and grieved Fancy interprets them) abhorred in any of theſe Addreſſes, which deteſt only thoſe two Diabolical ones, the firſt, of *the ſolemn League and Covenant*, and this ſeized in the Earl of *S*——'s Cloſet, but are themſelves pious and loyal *Aſſociations*, *excellently adapted* (to uſe your Words) *for the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon and Dignity*, and the *Proteſtant Religion* now

by

by Law eſtabliſhed. But for your ſo juſtly *abhorred Aſſociation*, which you would inſinuate was to have had the Royal Stamp, pray tell me where and when thoſe audacious *Ruffians* (who would not allow their King, in the Management of his ſettled Revenues, the Privilege which the meaneſt Owner of a Chattel-Leaſe hath, in the Diſpoſal of it) did agree and conſent, more than in the taking the Covenant to aſk the King's Leave and Liking? Or rather, tell me whether you would not firſt have taken it, and have afterwards, upon the Point of a Spear, tendered it to him for his Approbation and Stamp, at *Holmby* Houſe, the Iſle of *Wight*, or *Hurſt-Caſtle?*

How ſtrangely (you ſay) it looks, that the Mayor of *Gl*——, who is recorded to have done Service againſt *Charles Stuart* at *Worceſter*, ſhould now be hugged for advancing theſe Addreſſes! From a Perſon of good Credit I am aſſured, that this *Gentleman*, now * Mayor of *Gl*——, was in thoſe Times, with all the Family, expelled that City, becauſe Perſons of known Loyalty. But if it be as you ſay, it is not ſo ſtronge to ſee deceived Men undeceived, which happening, none are wont to be more zealous Maintainers of the *Cauſe* which they once oppoſed. But it may be, you reflect on him, and the eminent Magiſtrate in the City of *London*, by reaſon of the Opinion received by many, That Rebellion is never truly repented of: But 'tis a Miſtake; for although it be rare, yet we have ſeen divers eminent Perſons, great in the rebellious Times, far greater in the *King*'s; as Col. *J*—— *B*——, and *D*—— *L*—— *H*——, one of the five Members, yet ſince a Privy Counſellor, and Ambaſſador, entruſted with the weightieſt Affairs of the Realm; and above all, the Earl of *S*——, whoſe Riches, Honours, and Truſts, were almoſt unaccountable: Yet, to ſay theſe were not *Men of Principles acting uniformly, but ſwayed by Intereſt, and ready to engage with the ſame Heat in every Thing that lieth in Subſerviency to their Gain*, what is this, but to upbraid thoſe pious, great, and wiſe Miniſters of State with Inſincerity, which muſt be an Inlet to all Villainy and Corruption; which, for you to think, or me to ſay, were a Crime never to be expiated? Therefore, if nothing in Men's Actions and Manners doth appear, but what ſpeaks them obedient, all good Men will rejoice at their Converſion, notwithſtanding the affrightful Blackneſs of their former Tranſactions.

As for your Brethren and Fathers of your Proteſtant Corporation and Intereſt, diſcourſe them as you pleaſe at your own Leiſure: But while your Zeal to the former Times tranſports you, no Wonder you miſtake Men and Buſineſs, and dream all Things tranſacted after the *Uſurper*'s Mode, as if the Country Gentlemen, Grand-Jurors, and chief Burghers of Corporations in theſe Days, are like your Upſtarts, who were indeed mere Tools, and muſt be managed like Puppets, 'e're they could ſqueek a pitiful Addreſs to thoſe Babies of Authority. And then, your mentioning the different Opinions of the *Papiſts* in our Days, from thoſe in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, in the Cauſe of Succeſſion, makes me wonder at your either Error or impoſing Confidence, if you either believe, or would perſwade others to believe, the whirling *Zealots* have not a Papiſtical Rule and Method for all they do and ſay, and change Senſe and Language as they are taught from *Rome*. You now all along ſay expreſsly the ſame which they then did; but the Doctrine introduced under the Title of *the whole Clergy, Nobility, Gentry, and Courtiers Arguments*, concerning the Succeſſion of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, is wholly falſe: For, whereas ſome of the

* Anno 1682.

Puritan Gang (which then began to be ſomewhat in eſteem with religious Time-ſervers) did preach up, and throw forth ſuch Diſcourſes as you mention, yet was it far from the Senſe of the *Clergy* or ſincere *Stateſman*, who would not alter from the Pattern of Loyalty ſet before them, and ſealed with the Blood and Sufferings of thoſe who drew it, in the Caſe of Queen *Mary*'s and the Lady *Jane Grey*'s Title to the Crown. Though they ſaw the Danger, yet they had learned to believe in, and rely upon the *Divine Providence*, which takes care for the Safety of the *Church*, and bleſſeth it chiefly, when the *Governors* thereof renounce the *Refuge* of *indirect Politicks*.

And then, what a Story you tell of *Aſſociations* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time? Which, had they been entered into without her Conſent, and of ſuch a Draught as this abhorred one, which you ſo much dandle, no *Ignoramus Jury* ſhould have reſcued the Abettors and Concealers from the Gallows. And yet you preſently deſtroy your own rare Tale in the following Paragraph, by prattling where the King ſhould reign, even *in the Hearts of his People*, which you would ſuppoſe he doth only of thoſe who ſubſcribe theſe Addreſſes, *an inconſiderable Parcel of Men* (you ſay) *if compared with the Bulk of the Nation*. Pray, my Lord, tell me, whether the Subſcribers in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time were a tenth Part of the Number? Yet were they a joyful Guard to her, who, having their Hands, was aſſured of the reſt of inferior Ranks, who were under the Subſcribers Command. And whereas you pretend theſe *Addreſſes* do proclaim the Weakneſs of the Government, you are out in that Note upon the Text, for they moſt certainly magnify it, rendering it glorious abroad and at home, in the Eyes of all who wiſh the Proſperity of it; being alſo a Diſheartening to its Enemies, whether Foreign or Domeſtick. Nothing can be imagined more to increaſe the Honours of Eſteem towards him in our Neighbours Affections, than to ſee the Readineſs of the King of *Great-Britain*'s Subjects, throughout the whole Kingdom, to aſſert the Royal Prerogatives, and give ſuch hearty Engagements to defend his *Majeſty's Sacred Perſon, Crown, and Dignities*, the *Religion* by Law eſtabliſh'd, and the Right of *Succeſſion*; which laſt is no leſs Reputation abroad and at home than the former, becauſe all Diſputes and Heart-burnings concerning his Succeſſor, diſturbing his People's Affections, make him uneaſy, and frequently proves of as ill Conſequence to any Prince, as if his own Title were in Controverſy; but that, ſettled and indubitable, ſtrengthens his Power, and blunts the ſharpeſt Edge of Malice againſt that *Prince* that hath ſuch a Revenger of any his Reproaches or Injuries. And when the Heads and principal Members of all Counties, Cities, Towns, and other Corporations, do with ſo filial a Reſpect purge themſelves of all ſiniſter Deſigns or Intentions towards the Crown, either in the preſent Fruition, or future Inheritance, and out of the Ardency of honeſt Affections abhor all ſuch vitiated and rotten Members as you and others, who are, and have been verſed in indirect and diſloyal Practices, not only foreign Malignity, but your's is hereby ſhattered in Pieces, and you, who pretend you tremble at others, are in an Agony with the Thoughts of this, and the co-operating Stings of Conſcience.

What your Lordſhip mentions concerning the *Portugal King* is foreign to the Matter diſcourſed, and more ridiculouſly introduced, than I ſhould a Petition that your Honour, as a Reward for your Oratory and Manners, ſhould be ſent to the Houſe of Correction.

To conclude, ſeeing your Lordſhip ſo great a Counſellor and fortunate Stateſman, as never to be believed or loved, never to attain to what you ſeek, becauſe your Mind is more changling than your unſightly Body gives us to ſuppoſe; and alway knowing, that you never ſpeak Truth but as the Devil did Scripture, to corrupt the Holy to Apoſtacy (our own Searchings having cauſed us ſtrongly to confide in the Duke of *York*'s Loyalty, and unparallel'd Love of his *Prince*, his untainted Candor and Sincerity towards all who faithfully reſpect their Duty and Allegiance) your forming ſuch terrible Dangers to the *King* and *Kingdom* by his Authority and Succeſſion, doth ſufficiently ſecure us from Fear: For, were there any real Danger imminent, you would never diſcover it, it being impoſſible but you ſhould have an Hand in it. And this Giant *Popery*, as it is magnified by your Opticks to us, is but a Dwarf: How much properer he may appear to ſome, when ſhewn from off your Monkey Shoulders, I cannot tell, and leave you to the Trial; whom I deſire to pardon for any Thing harſhly expreſſed, becauſe I hope it may prove beneficial to your Honour, and if ſo, it is the ſame to

Your Lordſhip's very

From *Newmarket*,
March 16*th*. *Friend and Servant*, &c.

A REPLY to the *SECOND RETURN*. 1682.

I Received your's in Print by the Penny-Poſt, and expected the Date from *Ruff*. Abbey, and not from *New-Market*, but I underſtand your Lordſhip hath given your Agents in this Town the Lye, and not retired to your Country-houſe upon the Duke's Coming, but have rather poſted down to *Newmarket*, with the new *Hoſanna* of *O Duke live for ever*, which was ſome Years ſince *O King live for ever*. I find your Lordſhip is no good Judge of Stile, for I can aſſure you the Letter was not the Earl of *S*——'s, and therefore you do ill to take this Occaſion of railing at him, unleſs you are reſolved to ſave Charges, and do that in your own Perſon, which others are ſo unſucceſsfully hired to do. It is a notorious falſe Teſtimony to ſay that Earl was raiſed from a mean Fortune, when 'tis well known his Father in 1630, long before the Troubles, had a Revenue of between 8 and 9000*l. per Annum:* And I have heard him often ſay, He would yield himſelf to be the worſt Man alive, if he in the King's Service got his Maintainance, or did lay up above half his Paternal Revenue; and I think ſo able a Man may be allowed at leaſt to be maintained in ſo great Employments. Neither do I underſtand that malicious Hint of *merited Severity*; it was never applied to any Man that had one of the chief Hands in reſtoring a Prince to his Kingdom, as I know he had; and without whoſe Courage and Dexterity, ſome Men, the moſt highly rewarded, had done otherwiſe than they did; therefore I have heard him ſay often, That the Act of Oblivion was an Act of the King's Honour and Juſtice, *but not of his* Mercy; it being a Treaty and Agreement, much more ſacred than any Act

of

of Parliament can be; and I muſt tell your Lordſhip, and your Friends the Papiſts, that if you conſider what Promiſes, Declarations, and Engagements the diſſenting Proteſtants had, both of his Majeſty, his Lords, and his Biſhops, at the Time of his coming over, and how they have been ſince uſed, and with what Submiſſion and Loyalty they have carried themſelves, you will not find a parallel Inſtance.

But your Lordſhip's Buſineſs is, to keep your Hounds in full Cry againſt the pretended Aſſociation; for ſince you cannot find one really in being, a Red-herring from your own Kitchen muſt be hunted, and trailed through the Kingdom, to make a Noiſe.

The Malice is more than the Wit in the Matter. You have broken down your Gates in the Chace, and made ſo many——Gaps in your own Hedges, that your Cattle are broke out and come to the Pound; and what Sort of Beaſts you trade in will be diſcovered. 'Tis an Impudence beyond the Jeſuits, to ſay that nothing was more exactly proved, nothing more unqueſtionable and free from Diſputes, than that the Aſſociation was ſeized in the Earl's Cloſet; *Gwyn* himſelf neither does nor dare poſitively ſwear it, and 'tis judged in that great Caſe of Monſieur *Fouquet*, that a Man is not anſwerable for Papers ſeized, when he is refuſed to deliver them upon Inventory. *Fouquet*'s Enemies were not more bloody and inveterate than the Earl's, nor the Concern of State againſt him higher; and yet the Law of Nature and Reaſon can never ſubject a Man to ſo unreaſonable a Danger. Beſides, was it ever heard that any Man was queſtioned for a looſe Paper without any Hand to it, found in his Study, that cannot be proved to this Day, nor ever will, that he ever ſaw, read, or conferred with any about it; neither is it to be proved, notwithſtanding all this Popiſh Clamour and Abhorrors, that ever any one Man did ever ſign, or act upon it, or any thing like it. But your Lordſhip is very plain in the Matter, and would have the Parliament-men in the Houſe of Commons, who promoted the Aſſociation, have their Heads advanced to the Houſe-Top. I do not doubt but your Lordſhip and your Friends the Papiſts (*whoſe Religion you have lately taken up, and mean to uſe while it is convenient*) are of that Mind; but 'tis for ſome other Votes they then made of declaring Enemies to the King and Kingdom, for otherwiſe your Lordſhip, and ſome of your Friends, are as much guilty, as any of the Houſe of Commons, of the Aſſociation; it being to be proved that the Aſſociation, and the baniſhing the Duke for ever, was your Lordſhip's Propoſition in the Lords Houſe in the laſt *Weſtminſter* Parliament. The firſt utterly diſliked by the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, as no Expedient they could truſt in, ſince your Lordſhip, and others of your Make, could not be kept from being in the Head of it. But thoſe eminent and worthy Perſons of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Jury muſt be railed at, at any rate: Yet where your Lordſhip found that two of the Jury ſhould ſay, *This is the ſame with that which we ſaw produced and promoted in the Houſe of Commons*, I cannot tell; I am ſure there is no ſuch Expreſſions in the Proceedings at the *Old-Baily*, publiſhed by Authority: But, between the Veracity of a condemned Jeſuit in *Newgate*, and that of a Stateſman mark'd out by a Vote of the Houſe of Commons for an Enemy to the King and Kingdom, I ſee there is no great Odds. Your Lordſhip hath great Reaſon to be angry, for I confeſs they ſpoiled the beſt Deſign that was ever laid, by a damned Popiſh Party. The Government according

according to Law, with the Help of *Iriſh* Witneſſes, and well-choſen Juries, ſhould have delivered you from all the honeſt, worthy, and conſiderable Proteſtants of *England*, for it is plainly confeſſed by your Lordſhip how far you meant to go; 'tis a thouſand Pities that the City Charter were not gone, and that your Lordſhip and your Fellows might not have the naming of Sheriffs for *London* and *Middleſex*, as well as the reſt of the Kingdom, and then 'tis plain what Juſtice we ſhould have for our Lives and Fortunes; the Maſters of the Companies would then be hanged with the Journeymen, and Sheriff *Pilkinton*'s conſcientious *Surry* Jury would be found at every Aſſizes; eight Hundred Pound Damages given to a Fellow, that proved not a Penny Damage received, or poſſible to be received by it. But ſince your Lordſhip and your Friends have had ſo good a Deſign ſpoiled, I cannot blame you to be angry; but I would very fain gueſs what you would next be at, or whether your Patience will hold out till the City Charter be taken away, which I aſſure myſelf will be long before it be done. I fear you will reſort to back the Pattern in the Mount, and follow the Precedent of your bloody Predeceſſors, the *Guiſes* in *France*, *cut our Throats and condemn us after*, ſince we will not quietly be condemned firſt and hanged after; I am ſure this is the next Step can reaſonably be expected from Men of your Conſcience, and from the Principles and Intereſts you are carrying on: Neither let any one blame me for minding you of it, for I know it hath been long in your Mind and often in your Debates, and therefore I thought it more neceſſary to warn others of what you are moſt likely to do. And ſince you talk ſo much of the Duke of *York*'s Loyalty and Love to his Prince, I pray God preſerve the King, and keep him out of your bloody Hands.

I beg to know to what Purpoſe your Lordſhip recites that my Lord *S——y* was Lord Chancellor; do you quarrel at any of his Decrees or Actions then? or wherein did he not execute that Office as a great and good Man ſhould? And what doth your Lordſhip mean by the certain ſtrict Teſt for the Diſcovery of Popery, oppoſed by that Lord in Parliament? The Teſt that was paſſed againſt Popery (which every Officer is obliged to take) is notoriouſly known was principally promoted by him: If your Lordſhip mean the other Bill of the Teſt which he oppoſed, 'tis the ſame with what the Duke of *York* hath paſſed lately in *Scotland*, and is a great Step to the Deſtruction of the Proteſtant Religion. The Truth is, there are ſo many of theſe downright Popiſh Touches in your Paper, that I ſometimes doubt whether it be your Lordſhip's or no, *ſince you are but a Papiſt of two Years ſtanding*, and yet they ſay young Proſelytes are the fierceſt; but this Paper muſt come from a Papiſt, or voted Enemy to the King and Kingdom, ſince you tell us, that you would have the Days of Diſſolving the two laſt Parliaments kept Feſtival, Anniverſarily, in Commemoration of your Deliverance from thoſe great and apparent Dangers, wherewith you were encompaſſed, whilſt they were in Seſſion: None but ſuch Fellows and their Faction being then in Danger. But I find your Lordſhip extream angry at the Word *Faction*; ſince you will pleaſe to have it, that your worthy Abhorrors and Addreſſors are not a Faction, but the Total of the King's Subjects, who conſcientiouſly reſpect their own Duty and the General Welfare. Pray, my Lord, let us examine this excellent Poſition of your Lordſhip's, ſetting aſide your Heat and Railing. Does your Lordſhip think that the Choice of Sheriffs,

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the great Care in returning Select Men for Grand-Juries, the Arts that were uſed to draw many of them into theſe Abhorrences, are not well known to all the Nation? We never doubt but you have Choice of Gentlemen to make Sheriffs fit for your Turn, and they have Rogues to make Under-Sheriffs in every County; neither is it doubted that Seventeen or Eighteen Men may be found in moſt Counties, for your Turn (altho' in ſome, and thoſe great Counties, you could not find above Thirteen, and in ſeveral other Countries you have failed abſolutely) and yet all this will not ſpeak your Party the hundredth Part of the Nation. Hath your Lordſhip found out another Way to make a Diſtinction between the Senſe of the Nation and that of a dangerous Party, than that of the Houſe of Commons? Will you tell me that a Parliament, choſen againſt all the Oppoſition, Induſtry, Power, and Money of the Court, is not the Senſe of the greateſt Part of the Nation? Will your Lordſhip affirm that this is a Faction, and your Lordſhip, the Papiſts, the Duke of *York*, and his Creatures, are the only Loyal Subjects to the King and Government? And what Sort of People theſe make up, may be gueſs'd by what you profeſs yourſelves for: A Government infinitely worſe than that in *Turkey*; wherein the Law ſhall be of no other Uſe, but as a Maſk to the Prince's worſt Actions and Tyranny; and our Religion, Eſtates, Lives and Liberties, ſubjected to the moſt Arbitrary Will of the Prince, who, being a Man, is as capable and liable to be extremely ill as any other: (Beſides, what Law you allow to this King, who is an excellent Prince, as your King, muſt be allowed to the next, though he be the worſt in Nature:) And yet you will find out a Way, that by naming Judges, Sheriffs and Juries, all things ſhall certainly go as the Court and Great Men order; 'tis already ſo compleat in *Scotland*, where the Proverb is *Shew me the Man and I will tell you the Cauſe.* This is a Way that no ſober or honeſt Men were ever for in any Country. The Zeal of your Lordſhip to preſerve your Greatneſs, of your Duke to get a Crown, and of the Papiſts to introduce their Religion, hath outgone, by many Steps, all that ever went before you.

I acknowledge it the King's Prerogative to call Parliaments, but *Edward* III. tells us he was ſworn, by his Coronation Oath, to provide Remedy in Parlialiament upon *great Emergencies.* And our Laws have been very careful to fix the Frequency of them: And 'tis that only Court that can keep all the reſt uſeful to the King and People. They are Brave Spirits indeed, and bleſſed with a Popiſh Toriſh Humility, or rather ſtupid Folly, if not wicked villainous Deſigns, that are unconcerned when a Parliament ſhould be called, and leave it to the Prince, whether he pleaſe to have any or no. The Law hath given us a Right (nay 'tis our chiefeſt Birthright, and without which we have nothing left us, but are mere Slaves) to Parliaments within ſuch a Diſtance of Time: The Prince hath the Prerogative of appointing the Day, and diſſolving when the Buſineſs is done; but the Prince is obliged that we have Parliaments within our Time, and continued ſo as may be of Effect to provide Remedies for the emergent Evils. His Prerogative of appointing the Day ought not to deprive us of our Right of having them in ſuch a Time, neither ought his Power to diſſolve them, to render them uſeleſs to us.

I am heartily ſorry your Lordſhip is ſo ill inſtructed in the Proteſtant Religion, that you aſk what it is; but you profeſs that yourſelf, and your Fellow Addreſſors, Abhorrors, are zealous for the Religion by Law eſtabliſhed in the Church

Church of *England*; ſo then you do not know the Proteſtant Religion, but the Religion by Law eſtabliſhed you are well acquainted with. What Security will your Lordſhip give, that when your Army is compleated, and your Militia Abhorrors and Addreſſors muſter'd, that you will not tell us, that the Religion eſtabliſhed by Law in the Church of *England* is the Old Popiſh Religion ſettled by *Magna Charta*, which is not repealable by any future Act. For this good Old Cauſe, your Lordſhip and Friends *at Court* have nurſed up the King of *France* to the height he is now in Chriſtendom, and all *Europe* is abundantly in your Debt for it: *Quantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum!*

I own myſelf a Friend to the Diſſenting Proteſtants, untill your Lordſhip can find out an infallible Decider of Points of Faith.—I can give Men Leave to differ from me in Opinion, whilſt they live ſoberly and honeſtly by me. —— There are none I know ſo inconſiſtent with Government as the Papiſt; who owns a Foreign Juriſdiction, and diſſolves all Natural Religion to introduce his own.—And though your Lordſhip is pleaſed to add the Word *Rebel* to the Name *Proteſtant*, yet it will agree much better with the Papiſts, whoſe Religion is Rebellion; and 'tis impoſſible to find one true Subject of them in the World (to any but the Pope) if they believe their own Religion.

I find your Lordſhip is very kind to Court Converts, and would paſs over the Blackneſs of all their former Tranſactions; and you have great Reaſon, ſince you are ſo lately one yourſelf: But, be not deluded, the Papiſts think not as you think; they never forgive paſt Offences.—*Argyle* cannot be forgiven the being his Father's Son.—Nor the Duke of *Lauderdale* will not be forgiven the having brought the Covenant into *England*.—*Tweedale* will find hereafter, that 'twill be remember'd he ſat in *Oliver*'s Parliaments. And I ſhould tell your Lordſhip, that you will ſuffer hereafter by a Halter of the *Duke of York*'s providing, but that my Skill in Aſtrology hath told me, a Garter of your own uſing ſhall prevent it. The Jealous Churchmen that govern the Popiſh Intereſt never forgive, eſpecially Men capable of thinking and judging other things than they would have them.

Your Lordſhip is extreamly out, when you tell us the Aſſociations in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time were entered into with her Conſent and Privity; when the Queen herſelf, in her Speech to the Parliament, in the twenty-eighth Year of her Reign, *did proteſt before God, that ſhe never heard or thought of ſuch Matter, being wholly ignorant of it, till a great Number of Hands, with many Obligations, were ſhewn her at* Hampton-Court, *ſigned and ſubſcribed with the Hands and Seals of the greateſt in this Land.*——But you are pleaſed to call ſeveral Parliaments, that about that Time ſo extremely oppoſed the Succeſſion of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, a Puritan Gang, and have found out a Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry in the Clouds, that were of another Opinion. No Queſtion there were ſome and great Store of Papiſts in thoſe Days, but I am ſure the Parliament were violently againſt her Succeſſion, as appears in the Rolls; nay, and againſt her Life too, for it was then daily experienced, that the Queen was not ſafe, whilſt the Head of ſo deſperate and bloody a Religion as the Papiſts was in being.

Pray, My Lord, let me aſk you freely if this is not the very Caſe now? 'Twas the Opinion of our Parliaments, and the Truth appears every Day more and more. Can your Lordſhip make a Difference between the Caſe of Queen *Elizabeth* and her *Popiſh Succeſſor*, *Mary* Queen of *Scots* (which yourſelf have ſo

wiſely inſtanced in, and brought upon the Stage) and the preſent Caſe of our *King*, and the Duke of *York*. Have the *Papiſts appeared leſs bloody* in their Deſigns ſince that Time? Have they leſs Paſſion for introducing their Religion? Did the Queen of *Scots* diſcover more Ambition for the Crown of *England than our Duke hath?* She was a Priſoner in the Queen's Hands and in Cuſtody, and had not the tenth Part of the Opportunity the Duke hath, whoſe Friends and *Creatures* poſſeſs all the Governments and Commanderies both by Sea and Land, fill the Courts and Councils, *ſo eaſy and unwary (pardon me if I ſo ſay)* hath our King been. But the Duke of *York*'s Loyalty is not to be diſputed! Though I remember the Time when he got the Fleet from his Brother the Prince, and ſwore it to himſelf: And I appeal to the King, whether he knows not of ſeveral Attempts that were made, to ſet up the Duke of *York* before his coming over; and the Tranſactions in the Duke's Name of the Duke of *B——m* and Colonel *Banfield*, for the reſtoring the Duke to the Crown, and not the Elder Brother, are ſufficiently to be proved. We are all Witneſſes of the King's Marriage, by the Duke's Father-in-Law, to a Lady of great Birth, but ſuch as the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador then undertook to prove could have no Children: And immediately upon this Marriage, the Duke (as if ſure of the Matter) ſets up with Guards, the Prince's Lodgings at Court and Seat in Parliament, and all the Eſtabliſhment of his Houſe exactly ſuitable to the Prince of *Wales*. His unparallel'd Love to his Prince appears in all this, and in nothing more than the Civil Treatment the King at this Hour receives from him and his Party; the Throngs that attend the one, whilſt the King walks the Streets with two or three Pages of his Back-ſtairs. Our King is the firſt Inſtance *that was ſo willing to ſettle indubitably the Title of his Preſumptive Heir, and to ſtrengthen his Power gives it all up to his Succeſſor:* But he goes far that never turns, eſpecially in ſuch perilous and unſafe Ways. Our King is not only an excellent well-bred *Gentleman*, but a Man of great Abilities and Courage, *three things his Brother wants*. Whenever the King will think of his own Intereſt, he will not want hundreds of thouſands to die at his Feet: Multitudes would adore him, that hate and fear the Religion and Temper of his Brother. Pray God bleſs the King, and give him yet more and more the Spirit of diſcerning his Intereſt and Friends, and the Courage to deliver himſelf from the Hands of ſuch unworthy baſe Traitors, as we have Reaſon to fear he is now encompaſſed with; which ſhall ever be the hearty Prayers of,

Your's, &c.

A Seaſonable ADDRESS to both Houſes of Parliament concerning the Succeſſion, the Fears of Popery, and Arbitrary Government. By the Earl of HALLIFAX. 1681.

IT was the *Egyptians* Practice, before Phyſick was reduced into Art or Profeſſion, to carry forth into the Roads and Highways the Diſeaſed, and to inquire of all Paſſengers concerning the Cauſes and Remedies of their Diſtempers; out of whoſe Preſcriptions their Friends ſelected and applied what they judged moſt proper.

What was then done for the Natural is now as neceſſary for the Body Politick of this Country, ſick, almoſt unto Death, of *Fears* and *Jealouſies*, the Plots and Devices of the Wicked and Ambitious; expoſed to all Travellers, among whom Good-nature and Self-preſervation have at length, after two Years ſilent Compaſſion, prevail'd upon me to give my Opinion of the Cauſes and Cures of our Evils, which I will offer without Fear or Favour of Party or Faction, of Court or City; inquiring how far our Apprehenſions of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*, that have ſo long diſcompoſed us at home, and made us contemptible abroad, are juſt and reaſonable.

Tho' I confeſs 'tis ſaid, *There never was Smoak without ſome Fire*, yet at firſt Sight it ſeems hard to believe that ſober Men ſhould ever attempt Innovations, ſeldom or never advantageous, always hurtful, becauſe neceſſarily attended with the ſad Effects of *Civil War*; a Calamity that has ſo lately proved fatal to the Kingdom in general, to the Prince and to the Subject. Whence it may be reaſonably preſumed, when our Paſſion is over, and we have fully conſider'd the Riſe, Progreſs and Event of the laſt Rebellion, we ſhall grow calm and wiſe, permit the King to enjoy his own Prerogatives, and content ourſelves with our juſt Rights and Privileges. 'Twill be Time enough (when theſe are invaded, if Religion even then will allow it) to oppoſe, or ſtand upon our Defence; and to offer at it ſooner is Madneſs and Folly, Rebellion and Impiety.

For the better coming to our Point, 'tis neceſſary we take a Review of the Times preceding *Forty-One*, when from the End of King *James*'s Reign the People were, as now, full of Murmurings, Repinings and Diſtruſts againſt the Government. At laſt the ſmother'd Embers burſt forth into a Flame; and after ten Years Violence, War and Confuſion, and near as many more of Uſurpation and Tyranny, the Commonwealth was ſo far from being better'd, by any of the many Changes and Expedients, that the Re-calling our King from his unjuſt Exile was found and unanimouſly agreed to be the only Way to prevent it's utter Ruin. Our gracious Sovereign, merciful beyond Example, pardons his rebellious Subjects, the Murderers of his Royal Father, and the Uſurpers of his own Crown and Dignity; loads, even among them, with Offices and Honour, ſuch as ſeem'd penitent, and were capable. He then proceeds, firſt to the Re-ſettlement of the Religion of the Church of *England*, like Virtue ſeated in the Middle, and equally endanger'd by the two Extremes of *Popery* and *Preſbytery*; and after, to that of the State in Peace and Quiet, which we enjoyed to the Envy of our Neighbours. This Happineſs occaſioned a War with *Holland*, *France*, and *Denmark*, to their great Loſs, and the Renown of *England*, ending in a League of Friendſhip and Amity, for the general Good of *Europe*. Not long after the King was adviſed to grant a Toleration for the Eaſe of tender Conſciences, and the Advancement of Traffick and Manufacture. This was preſs'd with Arguments, That the Want of it occaſioned *Venner*'s Inſurrection; the Plot in 1662, for which ſeveral ſuffered at *Tyburn*; that in 1663, begun in *Ireland* and carried on in *England*, for which, in 1664, divers were executed in *Yorkſhire*, as were others afterwards in *London*, *April* 1666, who confeſſed at *Tyburn* a Deſign of ſubverting the Government, ſeizing the Tower, and firing of *London* the *September* following; and withal declaring, there were thoſe behind of their Party, that would ſtill effect that Deſign, which (as to that Part) was too evident. This is notorious from the Hiſtorical Account publiſh'd in

Octavo, and confirm'd by the *Gazette* ; and therefore I cannot but wonder at the Commons Vote of laſt *January* the 10th, * " That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, that the City of *London* was burnt in the Year 1666, by the Papiſts, deſigning thereby to introduce Arbitrary Power and Popery into this Kingdom." It would be a great Satisfaction to the World to publiſh the Grounds of this Opinion, becauſe that otherwiſe conſidering they did not purſue it, nor any Reaſon aſſign'd what ſhould have hindered, it will hardly gain more Credit than the Philoſopher's Paradox, that Snow was black. I have read of ſome, who never wanted Opinions, could they but find Arguments to make them probable, for which their being at a loſs made them ridiculous with the ſober Part of Mankind.

The King conſents, and at the ſame time declares War againſt *Holland*, whoſe Inſolence and Injuſtice in Point of Trade and Honour was become inſupportable. Soon after the Parliament convened, and apprehending the Indulgence might in Time prove deſtructive to the eſtabliſh'd Religion, prayed it might be revoked ; the King, contrary to the then Miniſters Advice, anſwer'd their Deſires. Hereupon they grow peeviſh, and thenceforward vow and ſtudy all the Methods of Revenge and Confuſion, tho' with the Hazard of the Publick. Ever ſince we have been continually alarmed with Libels againſt the Government ; and at laſt a Diſcovery is made of a Popiſh Contrivance, ſifted as far as poſſible by the King in Council, and after earneſtly recommended to the Parliament's further Conſideration. This is purſued, but ſome Men laying hold on it, deſign to drive it to further Purpoſes, and under Pretence of defending the King's Perſon, and expelling Popery, ſet up Preſbytery, and pull down the Monarchy. But there being too ſtrict a Bond of mutual Love and Loyalty between the King and that Parliament, Means are now uſed, upon a great Miniſter's being impeachd, to have it diſſolved : An Act that anſwer'd not his Expectations. A new one is called, who exceeding the Bounds of Prudence and Moderation are quickly ſent home. A third is ſummon'd, and the King having to this, as to the former, over and over preſs'd the impartial Examination of the Plot, the Trial of the Lords, and the Care of the eſtabliſh'd Religion, wherein by all juſt and lawful Ways he often declared he would not follow, but heartily go along with them. But alas ! they intended no ſuch thing. The Plot muſt be kept on Foot, elſe they would be defeated. The King perceiveing they ſtill neglected the Good of the Publick, breaks them, and ſummons a fourth at *Oxford* ; where I wiſh they may be inſpired with Softneſs and Prudence, anſwerable to the Deſigns of the Place and the Needs of the Kingdom.

After this ſhort Account, is it poſſible to believe thoſe who inſinuate the King himſelf is in the Plot, is a Papiſt, and intends Arbitrary Government ? Oh ! ridiculous, nonſenſical Fancy ! If the Plot be againſt his Perſon and Government, and contrived by Papiſts, and among them (as *Bedlow* has ſworn) none in *England* but have received the Sacrament upon it, and he be of the Number, he muſt join with others to cut his own Throat, ſtab, ſhoot, or poiſon himſelf. But there's ſome Myſtery in this pretty Invention, *Charles Stuart* conſpires againſt the King ; this imitating the Long Parliament in his Father's Time, who fought for the King, for his Politick Capacity, againſt himſelf, his Natural, his Perſon. But if he were a Papiſt, would he have paſs'd into Laws every Bill tender'd him by both Houſes, as well before as ſince this Plot,

* Anno 1681.

Plot, in their Disfavour? And yet we know one of the godly Party was lately fined 500 *l.* for saying, the Duke of *York* was a Papist, and the King little better; a Saying no longer minced nor whisper'd, but now loudly and plainly spoken every Day. Could he have been wrought to a Change of Religion, in the Time of his Banishment, he had not withstood the Offers of Foreign Princes, and the Solicitations of a fond Mother, to re-instate him in his own Dominions with absolute Arbitrary Power. But he was too much a Christian, and too good a King, not to prefer Continuance in Exile, to the Designs of enslaving his Subjects, either in their Souls or their Bodies. Must he now, in an Age desirous of Rest and Quiet, be upbraided with such Purposes, that had resolved against them in the Heat of his Youth, the great Spur of Ambition? Now when to compass this wicked and ridiculous Project is as impossible, as before it was the contrary; when after his Restoration, besides Foreign Assistance, offer'd at any Rate, and to any Purpose, he had an obsequious General, a victorious Fleet and Army, and a Parliament whose Zeal and Devotion seem'd in nothing to be bounded but by the Limits of his own Pleasure; when to the immense Treasure he was possess'd of, bestowed among his People with equal Bounty as it was given, he might have added vastly by the Confiscations of more than half the Estates and Wealth of the Three Kingdoms. But instead of this he often press'd his Parliament to expedite the Act of Oblivion, disbanded his Army, and enlarged the Fleet, by making one Squadron of more Value than all three in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, and disabled, in all his Dominions, without Exception, all Papists, from bearing any Office Civil or Military. Has he not pass'd the Bill, excluding for ever all Popish Lords out of the House, to which his Father could never be persuaded? Has he not likewise curtail'd the Royal Power by two other Acts, that of the *Habeas Corpus*, and against Quartering of Soldiers? Three Statutes, for which he might have had as many Millions, had he insisted on a Bargain, or known how to distinguish between his own private Interest and that of the Subject, or the truckling way of Bartering, when the Good of his People was concern'd. Why did he, but for the Sake of the Protestant Religion, refuse the elder Daughter of the Crown to the Dauphin of *France*, and marry her to the Prince of *Orange?* And this without putting his Parliament to the Charge of a Portion, or a much greater Sum, which they would have gladly given, had he made the Proposition. And no other could be the Motives of recalling his Troops from *France*, raising an Army for the Defence of the *Netherlands*, at the Expence of above 200,000 *l.* more than was given, and his prohibiting Trade with that Crown. These things put a Stop to the Progress of that victorious King's Arms, occasioned his quitting *Messina*, and clapping up a General Peace, when he was just at the point of his proposed Conquests. If our Prince intended an Arbitrary Government, why, besides his former neglecting the Opportunity, would he disable himself for the future, by parting with one of the greatest Instruments for that Purpose, the Court of Wards and Liveries, Tenures *in Capite* and Knight-Service, Purveyance, *&c.* And what did he receive for this Excess of Bounty, for the chiefest and most useful Flower of the Crown, but a Trifle, a Feather, half the Excise, not above a Fourth of the other's Yearly Value. And after all this, Knaves invent, and Fools believe, he is now setting up for Tyranny and Popery, when his Years are past the Heat of Ambition, his Coffers empty, *France* disobliged, and his own People alarm'd, and

and bent againſt it with all imaginable Reſolutions of Oppoſition. Can any Man imagine that a Perſon, who diſarms himſelf, intends to fight?

Beſides, what one illegal arbitrary Act has he done in his twenty Years Reign? Whom has he defrauded of an Ox or an Aſs, of Life or Poſſeſſion? Where has he in any one Inſtance invaded *Magna Charta*, our Rights, Properties, or Liberties? What Bill tender'd by Parliament, for the Security of our Lives or Fortunes, has he rejected? He paſſed all without Exception. As for the Bill for entruſting the Parliament with the Militia for a limited Time, Reaſon then, and Experience ſince, has proved it was a needleſs Encroachment on the Royal Prerogative, without the leaſt Proſpect of publick Good; and to have parted with that Power but for a Moment, was for ſo long to unking and diveſt himſelf of a Power he could not be certain would be ever reſtored. As he has freely paſſed all Laws, has he not as chearfully offered to enact any Thing that was agreeable to Juſtice and Reaſon, for our further Security in Religion, Liberty, and Property?

From theſe Conſiderations, nothing will appear more vain and idle than our *Fears* and *Jealouſies*, our factious and ſeditious Reflections on the Government. I will not ſay, without great Caution, but we may run into thoſe very Things we ſo much dread, and would avoid, *Popery* and *French Government*, or (which is equally deſtructive of our Birth-rights and Happineſs) *Presbytery* and a *Common-wealth*. This will be no groundleſs Surmiſe, if we look back and obſerve, that the Leaven againſt the eſtabliſhed Conſtitution, both in Church and State, has ſower'd almoſt the whole Lump; the Poiſon of *Presbytery*, formerly known by the Name of *Puritaniſm*, hatch'd at *Franckfort* and *Geneva*, grown to a Head in *Scotland* with the Reformation, has infected the Generality of the Kingdom, the common Traders and Dwellers in Cities and Corporations, and the unthinking and illiterate Part of the Gentry, with Hatred againſt Monarchy and the Church of *England*. This was certainly the Invention of *Rome* to overthrow us, by thus ſowing Diviſions; they well foreſaw our Kingdom and Church, in itſelf divided, could not long ſtand. All the Antimonarchical Principles are the ſame in both, the one as well as the other deny Supremacy in the King; the *Jeſuit* will have the *Pope*, and the *Presbyter Jeſus* his Head. King-killing and depoſing Doctrine is diſowned by all honeſt *Papiſts*, as the Author even of *Plato Redivivus* does confeſs, though two or three *Jeſuits* have privately aſſerted the Opinion as problematical, for which themſelves and Writings were cenſured and condemned as falſe and damnable; but 'tis juſtified both by Books and Practice of the whole *Presbyterian* Party; 'tis ſo plain and freſh in our Memories, I need not inſtance in the Authors. St. *Peter*'s Chair is not more infallible than that of an Aſſembly of *Presbyters* in a National Claſſis or Synod. Men of theſe Antichriſtian Principles ſtirred up the *late Rebellion*, and being active and diligent, drew in many unwary honeſt Men beyond the Power of retreating. Did not the Faction here tamper in *Scotland*, where the Promoters of the Covenant, *that godly Inſtrument*, applied to the Crown of *France* for Protection, as appears by the Letter found with the Lord *Lowden*, therefore ſent to the Tower?

But what was the Iſſue of this Contrivance, but Confuſion and Miſery through the three Kingdoms; the *Presbyterian* Party overpower'd by the *Independents*, and theſe again by the *Army*; a Commonwealth ſet up, and ſoon after turned into

into a perfect Tyranny under *Oliver Cromwell*, after more Money had been illegally squeezed from the Subjects by Ordinances and Loans, Sequestrations and Decimations, Excise, and other Impositions, than was ever known before or since? The People (weary) call home their Prince, who by an Excess of Mercy and Clemency, sparing to root up Men of these Principles, gave Way to their infecting others with the same Humour of Discontent. 'Tis to be observed, that the Year 1535 is remarkable for the *Geneva Reformation*, and the spawning of the *Jesuits* Order, and that our unlucky home-bred Divisions were fomented, if not first set on foot, under-hand, by Directions from the Court of *France*, as well as from *Rome*, the Interest of that State as well as of the Church depending on our Distractions; to which End *Richlieu*, that great Minister, employed many Pensioners in *Scotland*, as did also his Successor *Mazarine* in *England*: And therefore there is nothing more inconsiderate than to think we are not now acting and promoting *French Designs*; 'tis their Business to divide us, and yet so to manage the Ballance, that they let neither the King nor Parliament have the better, or ever come to a right Understanding: They can no otherwise obtain the Western Empire, and 'tis directly against their Interest ever to suffer *England* to be either a perfect Monarchy, or an absolute Commonwealth. Those that roar most against *French* Counsels and Measures, under-hand Bargains and Agreements between both the Kings, know they belye their own Conscience, and that the *French* have us in the last Degree of Contempt. This the E. of *D*—— printed in his own Vindication, perhaps not ignorant that some of their Ministers did, in the Years 1677 and 1678, before the breaking out of the Plot, declare, "That Monsieur *L*—— had greater Interest and more Friends in *England* than the D—— of *Y*——: That the K—— had need be on his Guard, for he was in great Danger of running the same Risque with his Father." When it was likewise inquired, "What Interest among the People two great Peers had, who have since the Plot been the great Pillars of the Protestant Religion, though neither was ever reputed to have any, were Ministers and Advisers in 1670 and 1671, very good Friends to *France* and Popery, Enemies to the Triple Alliance, and to *Holland*, &c." It was also said, "That 300,000 *l.* a Year, bestowed in *Scotland* and *England* among the Factious and Discontented, would better serve the Interest of *France*, than any Bargain they could drive with the Ministers." 'Tis too well known, that the greatest of these two Noblemen made a secret Journey into *France* some Weeks before the *Plot*, after some private Transactions here with others, among whom were Sir *E*—— *L*——, famed for Religion and Morality, Major *W*——, and *H*—— *N*——, as notorious for the same Perfections, and their Love of Monarchy and Hatred of a Commonwealth; nor did *A*—— *S*—— want his Share in the Consultation, a stout Asserter of Prerogative, witnessed by his and others living out of this Kingdom ever since the King's Restoration, until they saw some Likelihood of a Change, the one returning about the Time the D—— of *B*—— and the other Lords were in the Tower, and the other a few Months before the breaking forth of the *Popish Conspiracy*; which no sooner came before the Parliament, than some of the great Lords of the Committee, for the Examination of the Plot, kept their Consultations, and managed much of that Affair at *Wallingford-House*, Major *W*—— their Secretary, where they concluded to take hold of this Opportunity for the carrying on some long-

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hatch'd Deſigns of their own. Nor is it to be forgotten that in *June* before, a Letter was wrote by an eminent Perſon of the Faction, and can be now produced, "That very ſhortly ſomewhat would be diſcovered, that would prevent our much longer walking in the dark; and that one of the greateſt Lords ſent to an Aſtrologer, to know whether he was not in a ſhort Time to be at the Head of 60,000 Men." The Methods agreed upon in *France*, and purſued here, were to make a Court and Country Party, to ſow and diſperſe *Jealouſies* between both, and widen the Gap with all poſſible Devices; which Reſolutions ſome here were the ſooner induced to embrace, upon this Conſideration, *That they ſhould not live to ſee the Iſſue, and were unconcerned for what ſhould come after:* But yet I am ſo charitable to think, if we have any *French* Agents at home, they are impoſed upon by their own Unwarineſs, and the others Cunning, to act, rather againſt than with their Knowledge, a Part ſo much contrary to the Intereſt of *England* and the Duty of a Chriſtian. But however it be, I am morally aſſured we are doing their Work; and if we are not Knaves and Penſioners, we are Blockheads and Fools, that are blind and beſotted like Men prepared for Deſtruction: *Quos* Jupiter *perdere vult, hos dementat.* If any one talks thus, he is preſently called *a Papiſt and a Tory*; every true Son of the Church of *England*, and loyal Subject, is branded with Nick-names, and run down by Noiſe and Faction; and he that oppoſes *Popery*, if he defends not *Presbytery*, is but a *Proteſtant in Maſquerade*; if he commends *Monarchy* and our legal Conſtitutions, to the Diſcredit of a *Commonwealth*, he is *a Raſcal, a Villain, and a dangerous Perſon*, not conſidering that we are made Tools and Inſtruments for *French* Purpoſes, betrayed by their Cunning and Addreſs to forward and act with our own Hands our Slavery and Ruin. Shall we be ſtill blind and deaf to Reaſon and Demonſtration? Can we not reflect upon the *French* Double-dealing in our late civil Diſtractions, and remember what the Lord Keeper *Puckering* tells the Parliament in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Days, *That the Puritans, even at the Time of the* Spaniſh *Preparations for Invaſion, were urging and preſſing inteſtine Commotions*; where he largely ſets forth their being as dangerous to the Crown and Mitre as the others, and therefore that both were to be equally ſuppreſſed, *Papiſts* and *Puritans.* I cannot find that either have ſince altered their Principles, and conſequently cannot but wonder why the Papiſts ſhould be perſecuted and the other countenanced, even againſt Law and former Statutes. 'Tis ſurely very imprudent to expect your Houſe will be warm by ſhutting a Window, and ſetting open the Doors; and therefore, becauſe in this I can freely agree with *Plato Redivivus*, that the Fear of Popery is not the Cauſe of our preſent Diſturbances, I ſhall, without Regard to Religion, conſider the Papiſts and Preſbyterians as two Factions in the State, like the *Arminian* and *Lovaſtein* Parties in *Holland*, and as ſuch pronounce that both are to be ſuppreſſed, or neither; becauſe, by emptying only one of the Scales the Ballance is broken, and the Court or Monarchical Party is firſt weakened and deſtroyed, and after, the whole Form of Government altered into that of a Commonwealth; and I am fully convinced, if that had not been that Author's Deſign, as to an ordinary Reader is paſt doubt, he would have ſet down this as one of the Remedies of our preſent Evils. But the contrary was his Purpoſe, and in order to do it, he cunningly, to preſerve the Monarchy, would ſet up a plain *Democracy*, and for an *Engliſh* King obtrude upon us a *Doge* of *Venice*; for

for he tells you at large, that the ancient Power of the King is fallen into the Hands of the Commons, and therefore to keep up the former illuſtrious Splendor of the Crown, he would have all its Jewels taken out, and ſet about the *Speaker's Chair*, the King made a Cypher, and diveſted of all Power but the Name, to keep up the three ſeveral and diſtinct Shares in the Government, King, Lords, and Commons. 'Tis an ingenious Way of arguing, but we are not yet, I hope, ſuch Fools to have it paſs, to venture at Play, and not know how to diſtinguiſh falſe Dice.

Oh! but ſays a *factious Petitioner*, that takes the Houſe of Commons (ſufficiently proved by the learned Anſwer to *Petyt*'s Book, to have had no Share in the Legiſlative Power) to be the Parliament; all their Votes, how wild and unreaſonable ſoever, as we have lately, as well as formerly, ſeen in Print, to be the Senſe of the Nation, and have the Force of Laws, and yet deny any Authority to the King's Proclamation: This Scribler (ſays he) is Popiſhly affected, a *French* Deſigner, a mere Tory; not conſidering that there is not leſs Hazard in ſplitting upon a Rock, than upon a Sand-bank; that if I muſt be a Slave, and forfeit my Liberty, 'twere at leaſt as good to do ſo under a ſingle Perſon as more; the Tyranny of many is much more intolerable than that of one. 'Tis equally deſtructive of my Liberty, whether the King or the Houſe of Commons take away *Magna Charta*; I am ſtill againſt arbitrary Government, ruling according to Pleaſure, not the Laws and known Conſtitutions of the Land, whether aſſumed by King or Commons; if there be any Choice, the Odds is againſt the latter: And to ſpeak Truth, by what has paſſed ſince the Plot, any one in his Wits would believe the King is invaded, not an Invader; that his frequent Prorogations and Diſſolutions have been his legal defenſive Weapons, uſed as much for his Subjects Security as his own Honour; that arbitrary Power is a delicious Thing, and therefore aimed at by our Demagogues and Tribunes of the People, bad and to be decry'd only while in the Sovereign. 'Tis very convenient to cry Whore firſt: *Solomon* tells us, *He that appeareth firſt in his own Cauſe ſeemeth juſt, but his Neighbour cometh after and proveth him.* If the People in an Iſland are alarmed that an Invaſion is deſigned, and that only at one Port, and they become ſo fooliſh as for the Guard of that to neglect and expoſe all others, they do but make the eaſier Way for their Enemies to land and overcome. Thoſe who are the Watchmen, the Centinels of our Safety, ought with *Janus* to have two Faces, one behind and the other before, and many Eyes like *Argus*, there being otherwiſe no Security againſt Surpriſe. I remember in *Thucydides*, that the *Grecians* beſieging a ſtrong City, found no Means but Stratagem to become Maſters, which they thus contrived — After they had purchaſed ſome Penſioners within, they kept the Beſieged awake, and put them into great Diſtreſs by continual falſe Alarms, and, as deſigned, prepared to believe nothing more was intended than Amuſement and Diſtraction. The falſe Citizens within, taking this Advantage, affirmed they ought for the future to make it Death for any Watchman to give the Alarm. This decreed Notice was given to the Enemy, and without the leaſt Reſiſtance the Beſieged were taken and undone, when and where they leaſt ſuſpected; whereupon this Proverb was taken up, *Amyclas perdidit ſilentium.* I wiſh we may never run the ſame Fate; the Application is too eaſy and natural to be dwelt upon.

And yet I cannot but take Notice how the late Houſe of Commons have aſſumed to themſelves a Power extraordinary, and by a Vote, without Proof or Conviction, made eminent Men and known Proteſtants, guilty of Popery and *French* Deſigns, made them Adviſers and Counſellors according to their own Fancies, impriſoned ſeveral *during Pleaſure*, ſeized Cloſets and Writings without Information, and contrary to *Magna Charta*; voted Acts of Parliament, made for the Preſervation of the eſtabliſhed Religion, uſeleſs, and their Execution grievous to the Subject, againſt the Proteſtant Intereſt, and an Encouragement to Popery, *&c.* and among theſe, which is moſt wonderful, a Law made by the Darling Queen *Elizabeth*, who cannot well be ſuppoſed to have been a Friend to Popery. If theſe be not odd and arbitrary Proceedings, I know not what are, nor why that ſhould be tolerable or lawful for them, which is not for any, no not for our Sovereign. Conſidering Men are afraid the Abettors of ſuch Practices are not Friends to Peace and Quiet, but rather factious and dangerous, willing to enſlave us to foreign Invaſions or domeſtick Encroachments; whatever may be ſaid to the contrary, theſe Actings are but too good Grounds for ſuch Apprehenſions. The cunningeſt Whores ſeem moſt devout, and inveigh very bitterly againſt the Lewdneſs they daily ſtudy and commit. Your rooking Gameſters abhor, if you will believe their Shams and Oaths, the Uſe of falſe Dice and the un-gentleman-like Trick of Cheating. However, none but Cullies, who want Wit or Years to make Obſervation, can be wheedled and drawn in by ſuch Pretences.

Before the Diſcovery of the Plot, our Miniſters were reflected on, as deſigning Popery and Arbitrary Government, by many ſcandalous Pamphlets, and one in particular called *An Account of the Growth of Popery*, &c. as if the People were to be prepared to believe the whole Court were Popiſh; that while they were alarm'd againſt that Party, they might be unprovided to defend themſelves againſt the other. The *Presbyterian* true Blue, who, like *Æſop*'s Cat, tho' transform'd into the beautiful Shapes of Court-Employments and Honours, will ſtill be hankering after the old Sport of Mouſing; they will ever be Lovers of a Commonwealth, and Enemies to Monarchy. This is plain from former as well as later Proceedings, ſince the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, when they began to ſhew themſelves in their proper Colours, when they cry'd not only the Court but the Church was Popiſh, and all that are for the eſtabliſhed Government. You cannot now be loyal, unleſs you are factious; nor a Proteſtant, if no *Presbyterian*. But pray obſerve that none tell you this, but the Spawn of thoſe ſeduced or concern'd in the late Rebellion; Men turn'd out of, or that would get into Court-Employments, that account themſelves ſlighted or diſobliged; Men of great Ambition, or of deſperate Fortunes, who make all this Noiſe and Clutter, to be taken off. To what Purpoſe elſe did the late Houſe of Commons make the Vote againſt the Bargain or Hopes of Court-Preferment, but that ſuch a Deſign was driving between ſome leading Members and Courtiers? Can they, after ſuch a Diſcovery, pretend Zeal for Religion and the Good of their Country? For Shame! let not Faction and private Intereſt make Men forgetful of the Publick, of the Peace and Quiet of the Nation: Let them ſecure our Conſtitutions againſt the Encroachments or Invaſions of any, whether *Presbyter* or *Papiſt*; and remember that the moſt forward in the *Long Parliament* were ſoon turn'd out by others; and becauſe *what is Sauce for a Gooſe is Sauce for a Gander*, this of Courſe will be the Fate of thoſe who

who now glory in being *Ringleaders of Faction*, to thwart and oppoſe their Sovereign: Nay, it may poſſibly be worſe; the Gentlemen, the Knights of the Shires, may be kick'd out by Mechanicks, by Citizens and Burgeſſes, for he who practiſeth Diſobedience to his Superiors teacheth it to his Inferiors. Sir *W*—— *J*——, Sir *F*—— *W*——, Col. *T*——, *&c.* all know were diſobliged, and if taken into Favour, the Employments and Honours they covet, would ſtand up for the Court, as much as now they do againſt it. Whether the petitioning Lords be not of the ſame Temper, will beſt appear from the Story of every ſingle Perſon. One of them has the Humour conveyed with his Blood: His Father was a Gentleman that appear'd zealous in the Long Parliament for the Good of his Country, being the firſt that brought in the Complaint of Ship-Money; but ſoon after, when he was made a Lord and a Courtier, he changed Notes and ſang another Song, no Man was more for the Monarchy, in its Defence he loſt his Life, and at his Death publickly repented his Actings againſt the Earl of *Strafford*: His Son was made an Earl upon the King's Return, ſent Embaſſador Abroad, and made Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to get which Command he deſpiſed not the Courtſhip and Aſſiſtance of Col. *T*——, tho' a Roman Catholick, and a Creature of his Royal Highneſs, to whom he made no ſlender Profeſſions: Not being ſatisfied with gaining vaſtly in that Station five Years, he grows peeviſh, in hopes of being ſent the ſecond time; nay, rather than fail, he is content to be Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, in hopes that by the Courtſhip and Intereſt of ſome Women, no matter what Religion they are of, he may come to be Lord Treaſurer: But not like to gain the White Staff, and perhaps not caring to govern an empty Exchequer, he bent his Thoughts again towards *Ireland*; then ſlighting the Treaſury he is outed, and grows more diſcontented, and at laſt turn'd out of the Council; the next Day he repeats a Speech of the E—— of *S*——'s making, and unaſk'd preſents a Piece of Counſel and Advice to his Sovereign, pretending as a Peer it was his Duty. I am ſorry his Zeal made him forget, that Peers have no Right of adviſing the King, but when he makes them of his Council, or by Writ ſummons them to Parliament. And what is very odd, he adviſes juſt the contrary to what he and the other noble Earl had done the Year before, when Courtiers. This Nobleman's Life would make a comical Hiſtory; he knows how to put on all Shapes, and in the late Times was not ignorant how to make an Apple-tree ſupply the Place of a Pulpit; he knew how to ſerve himſelf in all Turns and Changes, and has not failed, ſince 1640, to have been often out and in with the ſeveral Higher Powers. To give him his Due, he is a Man of extraordinary Parts; but, if one of theſe Lords ſaid true, when he was a Courtier, and the other newly removed, they are all fitted and turn'd for confounding and amuſing, but not for extricating out of Difficulties. He wants not Wit to hold forth in the Houſe, or in the open Air, upon Occaſion; nor is he meanly ſkill'd in the Methods of Court Pleaſures as well as Buſineſs. He muſt have an ill Memory that forgets who adviſed the breaking the Triple-League, and making an Alliance with *France* and a War with *Holland*, pronouncing in the Language of the Beaſt, *Delenda eſt Carthago*, that a *Dutch* Commonwealth was too near a Neighbour to an *Engliſh* Monarch; the Shutting up the Exchequer; the granting Injunctions in the Caſe of the Bankers; and, laſtly, the Source of all our preſent Misfortunes, the general Indulgence. Theſe Things being found of ill Conſe-

quence, and the Miniſters removed, as Deſigners of *Popery*, *Presbytery*, *Atheiſm*, *Irreligion*, *Arbitrary* or *French* Government, muſt any of ſuch Principles aſſoon as turn'd out of Court be received into the Country, as if theſe two had different Intereſts? Whoever ſay there is more than one Commonweal in both, are Deluders and Incendiaries, and Betrayers of the Nation. Thoſe that ſtrive to divide the King and his People are to be look'd upon as Penſioners of *France*, and ought to be moſt ſeverely puniſhed. There are that can tell Tales, what great Man ſince the *Plot* offer'd a Reconciliation with the D——, and for a Reſtoration to his former Power and Greatneſs would be his Servant to all Intents and Purpoſes. But the D—— could not be perſuaded, that one who had as often changed Parties, as *Proteus* his Shapes, and the *Cameleon* his Colours, could be true to any Intereſt but his own, and therefore rejected his many Meſſages on this Subject. Another Peer, whoſe Son in the Lower Houſe is the great Tribune of the People, would have had a Dukedom added to the *Garter*, to make both ſing to another Tune. A fourth would fain be a Privy-Counſellor in Reverſion. A fifth not long ſince, at any Rate of Purchaſe, would have been Maſter of the Horſe to the Duke. Strange! that a Proteſtant Lord ſhould think of ſerving a ſuppoſed Popiſh Prince, and afterwards hope, though thus mounted on horſeback, to get to Heaven. It would be tedious to give particular Accounts of all; only by the way obſerve, that a young Lord, newly come to Age, owned himſelf to his Majeſty diſobliged, becauſe after a Voyage to *Tangier*, his great Valour there ſhewn, *and ſpending his Youth in his Prince's Service* (theſe were his own Words to the King) another was preferred to the Command of Lord *Plymouth*'s Regiment. I cannot but commend this Nobleman's Ingenuity in owning the true Cauſe, and not pretending, as others, Conſcience and publick Good for his Motives. But I am ſorry he ſhould forget not only the Obligations of Gratitude, which he is under for his Bread and for his Honour, but alſo who ſays, *appear not wiſe before the King, and give not Counſel unaſked.* He has Learning enough to underſtand the Meaning of *in Conſilium non vocatus ne acceſſeris.* It is to be hoped he may repent, and with more Years his Wit may be turned into Wiſdom.

As for the D—— of *M*——, I believe him perfectly drawn in by deſigning Politicians for Ends of their own, who never intended him more than as an uſeful Tool, afterwards to be laid aſide. It is no Wonder that one of his Youth and Spirit ſhould be tempted with the Baits and Allurements of a Crown, the Splendor and Gaiety of Power has blinded many elder Mens Underſtandings. But that they never had him in their Thoughts for K—— appears from the Author of *Plato Redivivus*; and indeed if they had, they went the wrong Way to Work. They ſhould not have engaged him ſo far, as to deſerve to be turned out of his Command as General; a Poſt, that would have beſt enabled him to ſeize upon and make good any Pretence to the Crown, after the Death of his Majeſty. I am apt to believe his Grace is ſorry for what is paſt; I am certain it were his Intereſt to throw himſelf at the King's Feet, and quit the Counſels of thoſe Men, who, intriguing for themſelves, puff him up with falſe Hopes, and yet ſufficiently diſcover that nothing is farther from their Hearts than his Exaltation, or what is ſo much in their Mouths, publick Service to the King and Country. It is much better for him to be content with the ſecond Place in the Kingdom, than by pretending to the firſt, againſt all Manner of Reaſon, and the Obligations of Gratitude, forfeit all, his Fame and Honour, Life and Fortune.

The Petition being already anſwered, I will only obſerve, that his Majeſty, intending to turn them out, ſent Mr. *Secretary* to the E —— of *E* —— for a Liſt of the *Papiſts* he mentioned in the Guards; but the *noble Peer* had none to give, ſo may be ſuppoſed to have taken the Story upon Hearſay, from ſome that had the Malice to invent it. And now muſt the Nation ſuffer themſelves to be rid by any *Faction*, becauſe (deſigning particular Advantages) they gild all with the ſpecious Pretences of *Religion* and *Loyalty*, particular Reſpect for the Church of *England* by opening her Doors to all Diſſenters, and for the Monarchy by cliping the King's Power to prevent the Papiſts Contrivances againſt his Perſon? Examine whether the zealous Sticklers for the Proteſtant Religion have any at all; or if they have, whether it be not as far from that eſtabliſhed by Law, as Popery? Whether if the King would grant all their Deſires, receive them into Offices and Power, they would not ſtand up in Juſtification of the Court as fiercely as now they do the contrary? What has been before may well be expected again. He that conſiders this, and that Malice never ſpoke well of any, will give the Factious little Credit; eſpecially when againſt Reaſon and Senſe they would impoſe upon us, that the King himſelf is in the *Plot*; or as one of the Members in a printed Speech tells the Houſe, *the Plot is not ſo much in the* Tower, *as in* White-Hall; *there it is to be ſearched for, and there to be found*: And all this becauſe he will not unking himſelf, and put his Crown into their Hands, and againſt Law, his Coronation Oath, and Brotherly Affection, paſs *the Bill of Excluſion*, to the Prejudice of himſelf and the whole Kingdom. This is not a ſingle or private Man's Opinion, but the Judgment of the ſupreme Tribunal of *England*, the Houſe of Lords; where upon the firſt Reading it was thrown out, with the Odds of Sixty-three againſt Thirty-one; for which Reaſon their Lordſhips are called maſquerading Proteſtants, Tories, Papiſts, or their Adherents; as if the Lords muſt not be allowed the Privilege the Commons take with any of their Bills, without Cenſure and Affront. But why for their Act muſt his Majeſty be loyally libelled and aſperſed? It had been Time enough, one would have thought, to have called him Papiſt, *&c.* had he rejected the Bill after it had paſſed both Houſes. Oh! then who could have doubted, but his doing more againſt the Papiſts than any of his Predeceſſors, had been promoting their Intereſt, that his pardoning no Man condemned, nor ſtopping the Execution of any Law againſt Recuſants, was making it no Plot, and that paſſing the Teſt was letting in Popery by wholeſale? He that can believe theſe Things is prepared for any Thing, to ſay a Lobſter is a Whale, or a Whale a Lobſter; that the Moon is a green Cheeſe, and the Sun a round Plate of red-hot Iron; and then, I preſume, it may not be decided whether we are Fools or Madmen. Let us not thus idly and unjuſtly belye our Conſciences, and publiſh to the Nation and all the World, that nothing can ſecure us againſt Popery, but the Shaking and Alteration of the Monarchy, by the Bill of Excluſion; an Act in itſelf unjuſt and impolitick, both for the King and People. No Man is to be puniſhed *ex poſt facto*, by the Law of this and all other Countries. Beſides, why ſhould the Duke, more than any *Fanatick* of *England*, be outed his Birth-right? The Scripture ſays, *you muſt not do Evil, that Good may come of it*; and Prudence will tell us, *that this is an Evil, that muſt be attended with greater*: For the Minute that it paſſes, the Duke is at Liberty to recover his Right by ſecret or open Violence, Force foreign or domeſtick; he is declared an Enemy and a Traitor; condemned without

without Trial or Conviction. This Piece of Injuſtice muſt be defended by an Aſſociation or an Army; this Army muſt be entruſted in the Hands of the King or a General; either may make himſelf abſolute and arbitrary; and therefore if People are now afraid of Slavery from the Government, what may then be their Apprehenſions? And if they are jealous of the King, what General will they find to entruſt? Thoſe meanly ſkilled in Hiſtory know that Commanders of Armies have at Pleaſure ſubverted Commonwealths and Kingdoms: *Agathocles* from being General became Tyrant of *Syracuſe*, *Piſiſtratus* of *Athens*, *Sforza* of *Milan*, the *Medici* of *Florence*, the *Cæſars* of *Rome*, and (not to go ſo far off) *Cromwell* of the three Kingdoms. Moſt of the *Roman* Emperors were dethroned by their Generals; and therefore this cannot but make the King as unwilling as the People, to entruſt this great Power in any Perſon. And yet without ſuch a Truſt the Act of Excluſion is not worth a Straw; nor with it can we be ſecured againſt Slavery, whether the Duke conquer or be overcome. The Duke will ſtill find a Party, at leaſt if he out-lives the King, in the three Kingdoms to fight his Quarrel; and if he comes in by Force, he may well uſe us like *a conquer'd Nation*, break our old, and give us what Laws and Religion he pleaſes; whereas if we attempt no ſuch Thing, we ſhall not run the Hazard of a *Civil War*, the King being as likely to out-live, as to be out-lived by his Brother. If he ſhould chance to ſucceed peaceably, he cannot be preſumed to offer any Alteration in Religion ſo much againſt his Intereſt; and who never forwarded any in his own Family, ſuffers his Children to continue in the Church of *England*, knowing that Chriſtianity forbids Compulſion for its Propagation. To ſay he would be Prieſt-ridden, is ridiculous; why he more than the *French* King, who openly oppoſes the Pope's Uſurpation, and aſſumes to himſelf the Cognizance even of Church Affairs? This is but a Pretence to impoſe upon the Ignorant and the Credulous: If there be not Laws enough already, new ones may be made to prevent any ſuch Intention. When all Offices and Power are in the Hands of Anti-papiſts, I cannot ſee where can be our Danger.

But this, if granted, would not be all, the Monarchy is hereby made elective, and the Poſſeſſor may as well be removed as the Succeſſor debarred. In order to this, is there not a Hiſtory of the Succeſſion publiſhed, ſhewing that the Monarchy is rather elective than hereditary? Of which here I will only ſay, that the Writer is a notorious Plagiary, and ſteals all out of a ſeditious Book wrote on the ſame Subject by *Parſons* the Jeſuit, under the Name of *Doleman*, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, with a Deſign of diſtracting the People, and makeing Way for a *Spaniſh* Conqueſt and Inquiſition; the *Preſbyterian* Tranſcriber proves himſelf of the ſame Jeſuitical Principles, and with equal Honeſty purſues the ſame Ends, Uſurpation and Slavery. 'Tis not to be doubted, but that there has been frequent Interruptions of the Succeſſion of the Crown, but no Title but that of the Sword was ever put in Ballance with Proximity of Blood, and he that will oppoſe Fact to Right is very unjuſt, and argues not upon the Principles of Morality, nor the Laws of Nations. Much ſuch another good Chriſtian is the Writer of *The Appeal to the City*, who tell us, If we ſet up a King with none, or a crack'd Title, we ſhall have the better Laws; and inſtances that *Richard* III. an Uſurper, a Murderer, and a Tyrant, made excellent Statutes. But he might, had he been juſt, have found the Laws of that King outdone by thoſe of our preſent Sovereign, whoſe Title none can queſtion.

And yet it is not unreaſonable to ſuſpect a Deſign on foot of ſubverting the Monarchy, if it be conſidered that the paſſing the Bill againſt the Duke will not alone ſatisfy his Adverſaries, who further expect that all thoſe now firm to the King be removed, and their Truſt put into confiding Hands; and thus when they had him in their own Power, it would be no hard Matter to act their Pleaſure. The Speech diſowned by the Proteſtant Lord, and burnt by the Hangman (a Fate the Author does certainly deſerve) tells us in plain Engliſh, *We muſt have a Change, and a King we may truſt, and well affected Counſellors*, with much more treaſonable and ſeditious Stuff. Theſe Things, and the frequent mentioning the Fates of *Edward* II. *Richard* II. and *Henry* VI. cannot but alarm his Majeſty, and reſtrain him from ever complying with ſuch Perſons againſt his only Brother. He has ſo often affirmed the Bill ſhould never paſs, that he cannot now, without Diminution of his own Honour as well as Safety, alter his well-grounded Reſolution, taken upon the Senſe of Conſcience and Duty, the preſent and future Good of himſelf and People: An Act that would be the higheſt Violation of *Magna Charta*, that ordains none ſhould be put by his Birth-right and Inheritance, but by the Law of the Land and legal Proceſs: And therefore, I hope, what cannot be ſuppoſed to be granted will no longer be inſiſted on, leſt the Conſequences prove fatal.

One Thing I cannot but admire, that the Duke ſhould be abſolutely excluded on Suppoſition of being a Papiſt, for otherwiſe he is allowed by all to be a Prince of incomparable Virtues and Endowments, leaving no room for enjoying his Right, in caſe he become Proteſtant. Do they ſuppoſe an Alteration of Opinion impoſſible? That's falſe and fooliſh. There are Inſtances of Men that have changed often, and to mention no more, the Duke's Grandfather *Henry* IV. twice altered his Opinion. Beſides, it is unjuſt, and contrary to their own Practice; for L—— *B*—— was an impriſoned Plotter, but as ſoon as he became a Convert, without further Proceſs or Trial, he was innocent and acquitted. We do in this exceed the Papiſts of *France*, and condemn our Proteſtant Anceſtors, and all others abroad, who accuſed them as Antichriſtian and Rebellious, for oppoſing their lawful King *Henry* IV. on the Score of Religion; for the *Pariſians* loved his Perſon, and ſtood upon no other Condition than his turning Papiſt, to receive him for their Sovereign; as all the other R—— C—— of that Kingdom had done before. And therefore I very much ſuſpect we are grown weary of Monarchy, and with an Inconſtancy natural to *Iſlanders* affect a Change, though for the worſe. To this I am induced by many Reaſons, and not a little from a Proteſtant Lord's Speech the laſt Seſſions, *That the People of* Athens *were ſo fond of good King* Codrus, *that they reſolved to have none after him.* But to attempt this Piece of Folly and Wickedneſs, will inevitably embroil us in a civil War; and of that the Event is ſo uncertain, that we ought to dread the Loſs of all, by ſtriving to enlarge our preſent Liberties. This Madneſs ordinary Prudence will carefully avoid, becauſe in all Probability the King would get the better; his Condition is not like his Father's: He has ſtanding Troops, which the other wanted, to guard his Perſon; he has the Militia in his own Hands; he has no *Scotch* nor *Iriſh* Rebellion, to divide or diſtract his Forces; and above all, he has the Parliament in his own Power, to let them ſit or not ſit, at his Pleaſure and

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their good Behaviour: And 'tis happy he has this Power to ſecure himſelf from popular Fury, at this Time eſpecially, when whatever the Papiſts have done, we daily ſee others run into Clubs and Cabals, diſtinguiſhing themſelves by green Ribbons, by General-Committees and Sub-Committees, where all Tranſactions of Parliament are firſt deſigned and hammered, Collections made, a common Purſe managed, and Agents employed in every County to prepare and influence the People, write and diſperſe falſe News, Libels againſt the Government, Addreſſes made and ſent into every Shire and Borough, and if the Members do not go down to their Elections, they can print for them ſuch Speeches as ſerve their Purpoſe; witneſs one my Lord *Vaughan* ſpoke at his Election, though his Lordſhip was not out of *London*. I have not heard before that Sir *Samuel Morlan*'s Speaking-trumpet could convey a Voice a hundred Miles Diſtance: But this is nothing with our *true Proteſtant Intelligencer B—— H——*, who printed an Addreſs from the City of *Colcheſter*, that never was ſeen nor preſented by any of the Inhabitants, as by an Inſtrument under the Town-Clerk's Hand does plainly appear: For though Swearing be, Lying is not againſt the Intereſt or Practice of the Godly, the *Presbyterian*, true Off-ſpring of the *Ignatian* Fathers, who outdo them in the Doctrine of *Piæ Fraudes*, as well as in all other their immoral and *Antimonarchic* Principles.

And now, conſidering that none that have any Thing to loſe can ever get by a Rebellion, and that there is no juſt Pretence for one, our Liberties and Properties not being broken or invaded; the Rich, unleſs they are mad, will never begin, and yet with or without their Aſſiſtance a Riſing of *Jack Cade* or *Wat Tyler*, inſtigated by greater Perſons, will but enlarge the regal Power, and enrich the Crown: And for theſe and many more Reaſons I look upon the Threats or Fears of Rebellion, as idle and vain as our Jealouſies and Apprehenſions of *Popery*, never poſſible in *England* but by a Civil War, ſince their Numbers here are but as 1 to 230, and by an exact Calculation in the three Kingdoms, the whole Number of *Papiſts* is but as 1 to 205 *Non-Papiſts*, and their Wealth and Poſſeſſions is not 1 to 300. If their Power had been ſo terrible, they wanted not ſince the Plot Provocations to make us feel as well as hear of it. But theſe Noiſes are like Armies in Diſguiſe at *Knights-bridge*, and Regiments of Horſe hid in Cellars under Ground, and blowing up the *Thames* to drown *London*; Artifices formerly uſed to draw in the Eaſy and the Credulous. But it is to be preſumed, the ſame Trick will not paſs twice upon us in one and the ſame Age, while the bleeding Wounds of the laſt are ſtill ſo freſh in our Memories. To remedy and compoſe our preſent Madneſs and Diſtractions, and prevent future Evils, muſt without Doubt be the hearty Endeavour of all honeſt Men, who expect this will be a healing Parliament that will make up all our Breaches, and unite our Diviſions by the Methods of Prudence and Diſcretion; weighing the true Cauſes, and applying fit Remedies, without Regard to Faction or Intereſt, Heat or Paſſion; reflecting how unreaſonable it is, to ſuſpect in the King or his Miniſters any Deſign of introducing Popery and arbitrary Government; a malicious and idle Invention, ſet on foot with Purpoſe to enflame the Kingdom, by Men who are outed, or deſirous of Court-Employments, diſobliged Perſons, or *French* Penſioners: That the Bill of Excluſion is not like to paſs either the Lords Houſe or the King, becauſe in itſelf unjuſt, impolitick, and dangerous, not only to the Prince but to the Subject: That all other legal Ways for preventing Popery and Preſbytery are

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to be taken by those who design the Preservation of the established Monarchy and Religion: That this is already, or may with Ease be secured against the Attempts or Power of any Popish Successor: That our Fears in this Point are groundless, and at best founded upon Accidents that may never happen: That 'tis the highest Imprudence to run into real, present, to avoid possible, future Evils: That Innovations of this Sort would be against the Prince's Interest, who, having not a fourth Part of the Revenue necessary for the Support of the Crown, must be under a Necessity of complying with his People in Parliament; and that his Temper, Practice and Declarations, secure us against Impositions of this Nature: That it be considered, whether the unquiet Apprehensions from the Plot may not be laid by a speedy and impartial Trial and Execution of all the Accused and Convicted, and the King's afterwards granting a General Pardon, with such Exceptions as have been usual. The doing this will beget a right Understanding between the King and his People, defeat the Contrivances of our Adversaries, restore us to Peace and Quiet at home, rescue us from Contempt and Danger abroad, and make the Name of *Parliament* as famous and renown'd, as some Libellers endeavour to make it base and odious. How this is to be compass'd, you yourselves are deservedly made the Judges, and therefore I will not, like the foolish Orator, teach *Hannibal* the Art of War. *Fiat Justitia, & ruat Cœlum.*

Miracles Revived, in the Discovery of the Popish Plot by the late Reverend Doctor of *Salamanca*. 1682.

IT is a Vulgar Error, that *Miracles* are ceased in the *Reform'd Churches*. To confute which *Paradox*, we shall here produce some (among many) such Demonstrative Arguments and Instances, taken from the acknowledged miraculous Discovery of the *Popish-Plot*, made by that famous Minister of the Gospel, and learned Doctor of *Salamanca*, *T*—— *O*——, as none but *Papists*, and *Popishly affected*, can have the Confidence to deny.

I. The Doctor (out of pure Zeal to discover *Popish Intrigues*) profess'd himself a *Papist*; renounced the *Protestant Religion*; adored, and received the *Consecrated Host*; took *Dreadful Oaths*, even upon the *Sacrament*, to practise and pursue *most helliſh and bloody Designs* for divers Years together; yet all this while remained (as he says) a real, sincere, and constant *Protestant*. * *If this be not a* Miracle, *the Devil's in it.*

II. The Doctor (good Man) to save his Majesty's Life, had wheedled the *Jesuits* out of all their Secrets. † He knew the very Time when *Groves* and *Pickering* laid daily wait to shoot the KING; he hourly expected the horrid Effects of Sir *George Wakeman*'s Poison; he was privy to the design'd Assassination of the KING at *Windsor*; he was certain, the *Ruffians* were actually upon the Place; he saw the Money sent them for Expedition, and every

* Stafford's Trial. † Oates's Narrative.

Moment waited to hear the fatal Blow was given; yet (ſee the wonderful Strangeneſs of the Thing) neither the Doctor warn'd the KING of his imminent Danger, nor did the KING all this while (God be thanked) ſuffer any the leaſt Harm. *This is Miracle upon Miracle.*

III. The Doctor aſſures us, * there were huge Armies of *Engliſh Papiſts* (beſides *Wild-Iriſh* and *Spaniſh Pilgrims*) raiſed for immediate Service; yet ('tis ſtrange) not one Man of them ever appear'd: Theſe Swarms of *Papiſts* were to be arm'd with *Swords*, *Guns*, *Black-Bills*, *Fire-Balls*, &c. yet none of theſe *Magazines* could ever be found. *Oates* ſaw, and deliver'd, not a few *Patents*, *Bulls*, and *Briefs*; he read whole Buſhels of *Letters* and *Packets*, all containing *Damnable Treaſon*; nay, he could punctually recite upon his Fingers-ends the expreſs Words of almoſt every Letter; yet (ſtill more ſtrange) neither he, nor any one for him, could ever produce one ſingle Patent, one Letter, one Scrip of Paper, whereby to teſtify the Truth of the reſt. *Here is a whole Heap of Miracles!*

IV. The Doctor immediately before his Diſcovery, though he had both the *Purſes* and *Lives* of the *Conſpirators* at his Command, † yet at the ſame time was ready to ſtarve, and beg'd at the *Papiſts* Doors for Bread. *This is as ſtrange as if it were a Miracle!*

V. The Doctor before the King and Council ſwore he never knew nor had ſeen either Mr. *Coleman*, or Sir *George Wakeman*, until he then ſaw them there preſent at the Council-Board: ‖ The like Ignorance of Mr. *Corker*, or his Concerns, he atteſted at the taking of *Pickering* in the *Savoy*; yet at their ſeveral *Trials* he knew them all, and had been their intimate Acquaintance and Boſom Counſellor. *This ſurely is no ſmall Miracle!*

VI. The Doctor was perſonally in *London* and at *St. Omer's* at the ſelf-ſame Time; he ſaw and ſpoke with Mr. *Ireland* in *London*, that very Moment *Ireland* was in *Staffordſhire*. ‡ Nay, if this be not ſufficient, he was really preſent, diſputed, and *took Degrees at Salamanca*; yet never was ſeen or heard there. *Theſe are ſwinging Miracles!*

VII. The Doctor ſwore before the *Houſe of Lords*, he had declared all he knew againſt any Perſon of what Quality ſoever in *England*; § yet afterwards he accuſed one of the Beſt and Higheſt Perſons in *England* ** of the blackeſt Crimes *Hell* and *Malice* could ever invent. *This, if it be not a Miracle, is at leaſt a monſtrous Prodigy!*

VIII. The Doctor once depoſed, Mr. *Bury* was a very honeſt harmleſs Man; ‡ yet afterwards when the ſaid *Bury* gave Evidence againſt him, he ſwore he was a notorious *Prieſt* and *Jeſuit*. †† *This is a Miracle the wrong Side outwards!*

IX. The Doctor formerly ſwore *Abſolute Impoſſibilities* againſt the *Papiſts* in Behalf of the *King*; ‖‖ now he ſwears *Moral Improbabilities* in Behalf of the *Diſſenters* againſt the *King*. *This is a Preſbyterian Miracle!*

X. The Doctor is a *Preacher of the Goſpel*, yet no Chriſtian; a *Prieſt*, yet not baptized. *This is little leſs than a Miracle!*

XI. The

* Oates's Narrative. † Stafford's Trial. ‖ Coleman's and Wakeman's Trials. ‡ Five Jeſuits Trial. § Stafford's Trial. ** The Queen. ‡ Coleman's Trial. †† Caſtlemain's Trial. ‖‖ Colledge's laſt Trial.

XI. The Doctor ſwore, that Mr. *Elliot* (a Miniſter of the Church of *England*) having been a circumciſed Slave, had poiſoned his *Patron*; yet, *(O Wonder!)* the ſame *Patron is now alive again*, and ready to atteſt the direct Contrary. *Now we hope none will deny, but that the Raiſing of the Dead is a Grand Miracle!*

XII. The Doctor preach'd a Sermon, wherein he affirm'd, *The Crucifixion of Chriſt was not available to Salvation*, &c. * This indeed is not a *Miracle*, but it is a Piece of the neweſt and moſt refined *True-Proteſtant-Reformation*, ever yet come to Light ſince the *Primitive Times of Blaſphemy and Atheiſm*; and may juſtly give a Luſtre and Credit to all the other *Miracles* here atteſted.

If it be objected againſt theſe ſolid Proofs; That, for a *Profligated Wretch* of a loſt Conſcience and a deſperate Fortune, allured by Gain, and encouraged by *Indemnities*, to ſwear palpable Contradictions and Nonſenſe, is no great *Miracle!* It is anſwer'd; the leſs the *Miracle* is in ſo *Swearing*, the greater ſtill the *Miracle* is in being *Believed*; eſpecially, when *Sodomy*, *Buggery*, *Felony*, nay, and *Perjury* too, proved upon him by his own Supporters, *D*——, *T*——, and *S*——, † ſhrewdly diminiſh the Credit of his *Evidence*. *This is a* Miracle *with a* Witneſs.

Thus I have in ſhort (omitting Hundreds of Arguments more of the like Nature) clearly demonſtrated, not only that our Renowned Doctor *and* Swearing-Maſter *hath wrought* Grand Miracles; *but alſo that the Magnitude of the* Miracles, *and Holineſs of the* Saint, *bear equal Proportion.*

Ex Ungue cognoſce Leonem.

Plain Dealing is a Jewel, *and* Honeſty the beſt Policy. In Anſwer to a Letter received by a Gentleman in *London*, from his Friend in the Country. 1682.

SINCE the Arguments I have uſed for obtaining your Excuſe have been ſo far from prevailing, that on the contrary you are pleaſed, by your laſt, poſitively to command my Sentiments of the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs, and Thoughts concerning thoſe ſcandalous Reports induſtriouſly ſpread throughout the Kingdom, of his Majeſty's having had (for many Years paſt) a Deſign carrying on (and which is ſtill kept on foot) for the introducing arbitrary Power, ſetting up Popery, invading Liberty and Property, and extirpating (if poſſible) the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed by Law.

I ſhall with Sincerity recount to you my Judgment, and offer ſuch Reaſons as I hope will convince all ſober and unbiaſſed Readers to be of Opinion, that theſe Reports are all falſe and malicious, having nothing of Truth in them, but occaſioned as followeth:

* Before the Company of Weavers. † Colledge's Trial.

There are a Sort of Malecontents amongſt us, moſt of them Men of mean Fortunes, turbulent and reſtleſs Spirits, who deſign Troubles and Commotions in the Kingdom, in hopes thereby to gain Advantage to themſelves by the Miſeries and Sufferings of others.

Theſe make it their whole Buſineſs to create in the Minds of the King's Subjects, Fears and Jealouſies of his Majeſty's deſigning to govern arbitrarily, introduce Popery, extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, and invade Property, by ſetting up Abbeys and Monaſteries, and reſtoring to them their ancient Lands and Revenues, now diſperſed into the Hands of moſt of the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom.

In Proceſs of Time, by theſe (and ſuch like) evil Practices, the ignorant and unthinking Mens Minds (whoſe Capacities will never give them Leave to examine whether theſe Reports be true or falſe, reaſonable or unreaſonable to be believed, poſſible or impoſſible to be accompliſhed) are become greatly diſturbed, and ſuch Jealouſies are riſen in them concerning the King, as hath abated the Fervency of their former Affection to his royal Perſon, and their Zeal for his Service and Government; occaſioned ſuch Diviſions, Animoſities and Contentions between Subject and Subject, put their Spirits upon ſuch Fermentations, divided and ſub-divided them into ſo many ſeveral Parties, Factions and Intereſts (each diametrically oppoſite to the other) that unleſs Almighty God in his infinite Mercy, Goodneſs and Wiſdom, pleaſe to direct a ſpeedy Way for the uniting them in Love together, I fear the Conſequence may in a ſhort Time prove pernicious (if not fatal) both to King and People, which it is dreadful to conſider ſhould be the Effect and Conſequence of ſome Mens Credulity on the one hand, and others impudent Falſity on the other.

Pardon me Sir, I beſeech you, if I happen to differ from you in Opinion, when I poſitively affirm, that by all my own Obſervations, and the Scrutiny I have made by inquiring of and converſing with others, I never yet found the leaſt Ground to believe his Majeſty had ever really any Deſign (as is falſly ſuggeſted) to ſet up arbitrary Power or introduce Popery, nor is there any Shadow or Colour for the Fears and Jealouſies of this Nature with which Mens Minds are ſo ſtrangely poſſeſſed.

If his Majeſty had ever deſigned ſo to govern, ſure it would have been ſhewn at his firſt Return into *England* to take poſſeſſion of his royal Crown and Government; for having lived moſt Part of the Time of his horrid Sufferings, under an illegal and unjuſt Baniſhment, in thoſe Countries where the Government was abſolute, or neareſt to abſolute (their Laws being enervated and depreſſed by their Princes) it might have been reaſonably expected he would then have brought over (conſidering how barbarouſly his Royal Father had been murdered, and himſelf and the whole Royal Family had been dealt with in their Exile) a Scheme of ſuch Government with him, the which if he had done, no Prince in Chriſtendom ever had ſuch an Opportunity to have accompliſhed the ſame, as our King then had.

Was he not, upon his Return to his Kingdoms, abſolute Lord and Maſter of all his Subjects Lives and Eſtates by the Law of the Land, occaſioned by their own Forfeitures, either by open acting, or ſilent acquieſcing under the late Rebellion, Services done for, or Taxes paid to the late Uſurpers, whereby they were all guilty of High-Treaſon, and ſtood in need of his Majeſty's Royal Pardon?

Might not his Majeſty, after his Reſtauration (when all his Subjects either adored or feared him) being brought in with the Hearts and moſt zealous Affections of his People, have had at that Time any Thing from his Parliament that he could have demanded?

If therefore he had then had a Deſign ever to govern arbitrarily, there never was ſuch an Opportunity for accompliſhing thereof, as when he firſt came over; when he could not have aſked that Sum of Money for his preſent Supply, or annual Revenue for the future Support of his Royal Prerogative and ſuch his intended Government, but it would have been granted by his Friend in hopes of Reward, and durſt not have been oppoſed by his Enemies (though never ſo unreaſonable) for fear of being called to account for their Treaſons, no Act of Oblivion being then paſſed, of which the meaneſt Subject ſtood in need, and could not have been long ſafe without.

So that if his Majeſty had any Intention ever (though not at that Time) to ſet up for arbitrary Government, he loſt it for want of aſking, for his Majeſty well knew, that the Intereſt he then had in his People was ſuch, that he need but to have demanded, and it would certainly have been given to him; notwithſtanding all which, to ſhew his Subjects that he valued reigning in their Hearts and Affections, much more than to be Maſter of their Lives and Fortunes, forfeited to him as aforeſaid, he was graciouſly pleaſed himſelf to preſs his two firſt Parliaments to paſs a general Act of Indemnity (which they did with great Regret) and threw himſelf upon his Parliaments for ſuch Supplies as they then thought neceſſary for the preſent Support of the Government, without making any Bargain, or entering into any Capitulation with them, as he might have done, for a conſtant and certain Revenue for the future.

Nor did his Majeſty (if he had any ſuch Deſign) deny himſelf in this Reſpect only, but in many others that were in his Power, whereby he might have enriched himſelf, and brought immenſe Sums of Money into his Coffers, to have been kept in readineſs (whenever he had been pleaſed to ſet up for ſuch a Government) wherewith to have defrayed the neceſſary Charges thereof. As for Inſtance:

His Majeſty might have taken all the Church Lands into his own Poſſeſſion, where the Incumbents were dead (and there were very few living when he came firſt in) all the Rents belonged by Law to him till he filled up the Vacancies, and he might have renewed all their Leaſes, and taken the Fines to himſelf, (without doing any Wrong) and was offered 850,000 *l.* for ſo doing, as alſo that the yearly Revenue of the Church ſhould be doubled, and every Purchaſer in *England* ſatisfied (which would have been a great Security to his Government) notwithſtanding all which, he could not be prevailed with to accept of, or cloſe with that Offer.

Again, if his Majeſty ever had any ſuch Deſign, how eaſy had it been for him to have taken the ſame Courſe that *Henry* VII. and other Princes formerly did; and if he had ſo done (when the Parliament, in a few Years after his Reſtauration, had given him above five Millions of Money to carry on a War with *Holland*) how eaſy had it been for his Majeſty to have cloſed a Peace, got vaſt Sums of Money for ſo doing, and put up that, and the greateſt Part of what the Parliament had given him, into his own Coffers; whereby, and by Means afore-

aforementioned (had he been parcimonious, and designed Miſchief to his Subjects) he at this Day would have had all the Coin of the Kingdom in his Exchequer, and therewith might have governed his People, and commanded their Liberties and Properties at his Pleaſure.

But our King's Deſign and Practice hath been hitherto ſo far from taking this Courſe, that his Subjects have taken Occaſion rather to condemn him for expending ſo great a Treaſure as hath been given him, and yet at the ſame Time rejoice, and pleaſe themſelves with the Conſideration that it is gone, accounting nothing a greater Security againſt arbitrary Power, than their Prince's being under a Neceſſity to fly to his People in Parliament for Supplies, upon the leaſt extraordinary Accident or Emergency of State; and though they know, and are well aſſured, this is the King's preſent Condition, yet moſt maliciouſly would they impoſe upon his Subjects, and force them, contrary to Reaſon, to believe that he deſigns to govern arbitrarily, when at the ſame Time they are well aſſured it is impoſſible for him ſo to do.

For no Prince can govern arbitrarily without a Force, nor raiſe and maintain ſuch Force without Money, nor come at that Money without Credit; nor can our King, if he would ſo govern, raiſe ſuch Force, and get Money to pay them with, but by the Conſent of his People in Parliament, neither can he change our Government here, but by a long Tract of Time.

Wherefore, no wiſe or conſidering Perſon ought or can ever believe (whatever they ſay) that his Majeſty (who hath never attempted any ſuch Thing ſince his Reſtauration, notwithſtanding the many Opportunities before mentioned, which he had to have facilitated the Work) eſpecially coming in after the greateſt Tyrant that ever reigned, finding an Army raiſed, which would not only have ſerved him, but made his Government more tolerable (being agreeable to the Pattern left by *Oliver*, who raiſed and kept them on foot) if his Majeſty, I ſay, has neglected ſuch Opportunities as theſe of ſetting up arbitrary Government, in the Vigour of his Youth, when newly married, in Height of Reputation, beloved and feared of all both abroad and at home, in Expectation of Iſſue of his own to ſucceed him, and having a Parliament to aſſiſt him, ſuch as never any King of *England* before had (a Parliament that would have deny'd him nothing he ſhould ever have deſired of them) how can any rational Man think or imagine he will attempt it now, when his Exchequer is empty, his Reputation (by the horrid, falſe and ſcandalous Miſrepreſentations aforeſaid) low, and himſelf grown in Years, and without Iſſue of his own to inherit, eſpecially at this Time, when his Kingdoms are awakened and on their Guard to oppoſe it?

The rather ought we not to believe this, if we ſeriouſly conſider what moſt Men certainly know to be true, which is, that our King is a Prince of a moſt peaceable Diſpoſition, merciful in his Nature, hating Cruelty, Oppreſſion and Trouble; a Prince *under whom* (as the Author of that Saying moſt truly ſaid, and by Experience hath ſince found) *the Unfortunate fall gently*; if ſo, then ought no Man eaſily to believe that he ſhould now diveſt himſelf of his Glory, by changing his Nature and Diſpoſition, to live the Remainder of his Time in Confuſion and Trouble, and paſs from that Eſtate of Happineſs and Security which he now enjoys in the Affections of his People, to a Neceſſity of being afraid of all Mankind, and beholden to the Aſſiſtance of an Army for his future Security,

Security (which is the Height of Slavery) a Prince under their Guard and Protection being as unſecure as his People, and as much at their Mercy as the *Roman* and *Ottoman* Princes ever were.

Neither can ſuch vain Fancy enter into any Man's Mind that hath common Senſe, ſo as to create in him a Belief thereof, when he ſhall conſider what Laws his Majeſty hath paſſed for ſecuring the Liberty of the Subject againſt the Bugbear of arbitrary Power, which ſo many pretend to be afraid of.

I. To wit, The Petition of Right againſt quartering Soldiers, by which all Right of marching with an Army, without Money wherewith conſtantly to defray their Quarters, is taken away, and without an Army there is no Danger of arbitrary Government.

II. The Act for taking away the Courts of Wards and Liveries, and that for the Sale of Fee Farm Rents, before which moſt Subjects held their Lands of the King, and were obliged to do him Suit and Service, and their Children, during their Minority, liable to be his Wards, from all which they are now diſcharged.

III. The *Habeas Corpus* Bill, in paſſing whereof his Majeſty hath in a Manner at once diſcharged all his menial Servants from his Royal Protection, and put it out of his own Power to impriſon any ſuſpected Perſon, ſo as to hold him long, though for Treaſon itſelf.

Theſe were the Acts the Wiſdom of our Parliaments conceived beſt for the Security of the Subjects againſt arbitrary Power and Government, and theſe Acts the King moſt readily condeſcended to paſs; and now to imagine he ſhould deſign a Change of Government, were to conclude, he follows Counſels and takes Meaſures unknown to all Ages before, and contrary to all former Examples; and it argues great Puſillanimity in his Subjects, to be afraid of that which (morally ſpeaking) is in it's own Nature impoſſible.

The rather for that his Majeſty might (as I ſaid before) have carved out a ſtanding Revenue at his firſt Reſtauration, ſufficient to have ſupported ſuch a Government as we fear; but to ſhew he had no ſuch Intention he contented himſelf with a Revenue, the greateſt Part whereof is only for his Life (as the Cuſtoms) and accepted of the Hereditary Part of Exciſe, amounting but to 300,000 *l. per Annum*, in lieu of his Court of Wards and Liveries (which was of twice that yearly Value) beſides the Intereſt he had thereby in almoſt all his Subjects Eſtates.

If then his Majeſty hath hitherto done nothing tending to the ſetting up the Government pretended to be feared (for it can be but a Pretence) tho' he hath ſometimes had two Millions, and never till of late leſs than about 1,500,000 *l. per Annum*, certainly having now not much above a Million *per Annum* (and no Power to raiſe any but by Act of Parliament, and his Parliament of late Years been ſo unkind as to give him nothing) it's Nonſenſe and malicious for any Man to talk (and as great Folly to believe) that there ſhould now be a Deſign on foot to ſet up or introduce a new Method of Government.

In my Opinion it is ſo far from it, that the aforeſaid Acts have taken away all Poſſibility thereof, turned things to another Extreme, and ſo limited the Civil Magiſtrates Power, that in many Caſes they will find it difficult to maintain the Government in ſo headſtrong and ſtubborn an Age as ours now is.

This

This that hath been ſaid, being ſeriouſly conſidered, I hope will leave room in no Man for ſo much as a Suſpicion or Jealouſy of any Deſign in the King to introduce arbitrary Government, without which it is impoſſible to ſet up Popery, or invade Liberty and Property.

Not but I muſt acknowledge and confeſs there hath, ſince his Majeſty's happy Reſtauration, been ſome things done which ſeemed to have a Tendency to all theſe Miſchiefs; theſe I ſhall briefly give Account of, ſhew how they came about, the evil Effect they have had, what Inconveniencies they have occaſioned, who adviſed thoſe Counſels and ſince have endeavoured to bring his Majeſty, his Miniſters and Government in Contempt with his People, for the Miſchiefs that have happened as the Events and ill Conſequences of ſuch their own pernicious Machinations.

And when I have done with this Point, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew how little Danger there is of Popery coming into *England*, tho' a Popiſh Succeſſor ſhould happen, and that all the Noiſe made about it, is only a Deſign ſet on foot by the *French* King, and managed by his Penſioners, in ſecret Conjunction with our Male-contents, and Men of Common-wealth Principles, on purpoſe to create Jealouſies, Fears, and Troubles amongſt us, and hinder our King and his People from uniting, till the *French* King hath made his Game ſure, finiſh'd his Conqueſts, deſtroyed the Proteſtants and their Religion abroad, that with the more Eaſe he may deſtroy us and it together in *England*; and I will endeavour to demonſtrate that nothing elſe can be deſigned by moſt of the hot-headed Gentlemen (whatever Pretence they make to the contrary) who ſpend their whole Time in keeping ſeveral Companies purpoſely to exclaim againſt his Majeſty, his Miniſters and Government, but to promote Popery (which they ſo cry out againſt) and to advance the Popiſh Intereſt (which they ſo much pretend to fear) and ſhew that they are ruining the Proteſtants and their Religion, even when they ſo highly inveigh againſt Popery and Papiſts, and therefore by true Proteſtants ought to be avoided as Wolves and Bears deſigning to devour them.

The moſt remarkable Paſſages that have happened, and which firſt occaſioned theſe Jealouſies and Fears, of introducing arbitrary Power and Popery, were tranſacted about 10 Years ſince; I will mention them briefly, and leave the Reader to recollect who ſteer'd then at the Helm, in whoſe Cabals thoſe Reſolutions were not only taken, but by whom alſo they afterwards were put in Execution.

Firſt, his Majeſty's gracious Declaration for ſuſpending all penal Laws, and granting Indulgence to Diſſenters, the only Thing, to my remembrance, done ſince the King's Reſtauration, that had the leaſt Tendency to the ſetting up arbitrary Power or Popery; and this I muſt confeſs *prima facie* ſeemed to aim at both, tho' neither of them was, as I believe, deſigned by the King, who granted the ſame on no other Account, than for the Eaſe of Proteſtant Diſſenters, and upon their Solicitation; therefore ought rather to have been with all Humility and Thankfulneſs accepted and acknowledged as his Majeſty's great Grace and Favour, than with ſuch high Ingratitude turned upon the King to his Prejudice, and the Diſadvantage and Diſhonour of his Government.

It is undoubtedly in the Power of the King by his Royal Prerogative to diſpenſe with the Penalty of any Statute whatſoever *pro hac vice*, upon any Emergency of State (where the Matter diſpenſed with is not *malum in ſe*, but only

malum

malum quia prohibitum) by granting Licences with a *non obſtante* of the ſeveral Statutes in force againſt the Matter diſpenſed with, and ſo he might have granted Licences to Diſſenters, to meet for the Exerciſe of their Religion, and appointed Places of Meeting, and Parſons to preach amongſt them, which the Law and former Practices of his Royal Anceſtors would have warranted, and could never have been queſtioned.

But to ſuſpend a Law is in the Nature of an Obrogation, and he that can obrogate may as well aſſume the Power of making Laws; and that Prince who hath Power to make one, may make any Law; if any Law, a Law to raiſe Money and Forces; and that Prince that hath ſuch Authority ſhall never need call a Parliament, he himſelf having Power to raiſe what Money and Force he ſhall think fit, *ergo* may govern his Subjects arbitrarily at his Royal Pleaſure.

This was the chief Reaſon why the next ſucceding Parliament after this Declaration was iſſued (tho' they were willing Diſſenting Proteſtants ſhould have had Eaſe) addreſs'd his Majeſty for the cancelling that Declaration, to which Addreſs his Majeſty was moſt graciouſly pleaſed to give his Royal Conceſſion; but a ſecond Ground of ſuch Addreſs appeared to be——

The Conſideration the Parliament had, that the ſaid Declaration ſuſpended all Sanguinary and Pecuniary Laws againſt Prieſts, Jeſuits and Papiſts, which, if continued long, might ſilently and by Degrees have introduced Popery, and cauſed it's Growth amongſt us; this they had great Reaſon to ſuſpect might be deſigned by ſome of thoſe who adviſed the King thereto, who now endeavour to throw the Odium (due to themſelves for ſuch pernicious Counſels) upon the King (who our Law ſays can do no Wrong.)

Again, who was it that about the ſame Time adviſed the ſhutting up the Exchequer, when ſo many thouſands of his Majeſty's Loyal Subjects whole Eſtates and Fortunes were lodged therein for Security; than which no Security in *England* was better, till this Stop of Payments was prevailed for?

Who was it that when they had given this Advice (and the ſame was agreed unto) ſtopt the Declaring thereof for ſeveral Days, till they had drawn their own Money out of the Bankers Hands, well-knowing ſuch Stop muſt ruin them, and reſolving they would not loſe any thing themſelves by what they had adviſed the King to do, to the utter Ruin of ſo many of their Fellow-ſubjects?

Was there ever ſo high a Violation of Property committed in any Age, as this, or any thing done beſides this, ſince his Majeſty's Reſtauration, tending in the leaſt to invade the ſame?

When this was put in Execution, and the Creditors of the Bankers began to ſue for their Money, and they flew into Chancery for Injunctions, which were denied by the Lord Keeper *Bridgeman*, as being contrary to Law, who was it adviſed his Majeſty to remove his Lordſhip from the Seal for his Tumidity? Who was it that afterwards ſucceeding him in that Office granted the Injunctions before denied, and continued them till he knew the Seal was like to be taken from him, when to ingratiate himſelf with the Populace he diſſolved the ſame?

This Stopping of Payments in the Exchequer will appear the more heinous, and an Act that all (who are loyal, love the King, and concern themſelves for

his Honour, Princely Dignity, and Royal Government) muſt abhor, if they do but reflect back and ſeriouſly conſider for what End this was done, and the ſad Conſequences that have happened to *England* thereupon, which take as followeth.

Thoſe who adviſed his Majeſty to iſſue out the Declaration afore-mentioned, and to ſtop the Payments out of the Exchequer, had alſo thought it convenient that the Triple-League ſhould be broken, that his Majeſty ſhould join his Forces (which they then had adviſed him to raiſe, and were afterwards encamped on *Black-Heath*) with thoſe of *France*, and that the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet then coming home richly laden ſhould be ſeized, before any War with *Holland* was declared; perhaps the moſt pernicious and diſhonourable Act that ever Prince was put upon by his Miniſters *(delenda eſt Carthago)* and from whence this poor Kingdom may juſtly date all it's late Miſeries and Diſtractions.

For hereby was the Peace of all Chriſtendom diſturbed.

This hath occaſioned the Loſs of ſome hundred thouſands of Chriſtian Lives, exhauſted the Treaſure of *England*, as well as all *Europe* beſides, weakened the Proteſtant Intereſt throughout the World, and ſtrangely advanced the Growth and Power of *France*, help'd him in all his late Conqueſts, and made him at this Day (who is the common and grand Enemy to the Proteſtant Religion) a Terror to all Nations about him, as well as a moſt cruel Perſecutor of all his Proteſtant Subjects at home, of whoſe Miſeries and intolerable Sufferings we have every Day freſh Inſtances before our Eyes.

Whilſt theſe Gentlemen, who gave his Majeſty theſe Advices, were in his Councils, and Prerogative Royal proved ſubſervient to their private Intereſts, it could never be thought high enough, tho' now they are of Opinion (as appears by their Actions) it can never be too low, nor too much expoſed and brought in Contempt.

Who was it that declared the Prerogative of the King to be Law, and not only Law, but the principal Part of the Law, and his Royal Edicts above Law?

Who was it that before the Sitting of the Parliament adviſed the Iſſuing of Writs for the Electing new Members to ſerve in the Houſe of Commons, in the room of thoſe deceaſed, during their Receſs; and when the Parliament met, and the Commons had voted thoſe Elections void, and ordered new Writs to be iſſued, for the Choice of others, in the Room of thoſe ſo unduly elected and returned?

Who was it that for ſome Days refuſed to ſeal the ſame, declaring it to be an Intrenchment upon Prerogative, and when obliged thereto by his Majeſty's poſitive Commands, went home and turned his Back upon the Sealers, whilſt the Seal was affixing to thoſe Writs, to the End (as he ſaid) that his Eyes might never behold Prerogative trampled upon by a Houſe of Commons?

I ſhall forbear to name any Perſons, it being freſh in every Man's Memory, that took any kind of notice of the publick Tranſactions, who were then our premier Miniſters of State, and took mighty Care to maintain Prerogative and advance it to the Height, the better to improve the ſame to their own Advantage.

But no ſooner, upon the Addreſſes of the Houſe of Commons, had his Majeſty reſolved to cancel the before mentioned Declaration, and iſſue out Writs for

new

new Elections, than one of thoſe noble Peers, finding he could not diſſuade the King (as he endeavoured) from complying with his Parliament therein, applied to the Commons, riggled himſelf into their Cabals, and by ſubtle Inſinuations ſtop'd the Impeachment deſigned againſt him in Parliament, for ſuch his pernicious Counſels.

Which done he preſently fell to work, and played his Exploits in the Houſe of Lords, where being one Day privately charged with high Ingratitude, in having deſerted his Maſter, his Lordſhip made anſwer, It was the King that had left him by departing from his Declaration, and not he the King, and immediately with ſome other Lords cloſed with the Mobile, ſet up for *Popular Intereſt*, and endeavoured in all Parts of the Kingdom to poſſeſs the People with Prejudice to his Majeſty's Royal Perſon and Government, on Pretence that his Majeſty really deſigned to introduce arbitrary Power and Popery amongſt them, and that they for oppoſing the ſame were removed from his Councils and all Places of Truſt, whereas (if any ſuch Intrigues were then on foot) they had been the firſt Adviſers and chief Promoters thereof.

By theſe and other ſuch like falſe Suggeſtions, they fomented Differences between the King and his People, created in them Jealouſies and Diſtruſts of each other, prevented the Parliament giving his Majeſty the Supplies neceſſary for enabling of him to have joined his Arms with thoſe of the States-General and their Allies (which he declared himſelf ready to have done) for preventing the further Growth of the Power of *France*; and yet all that while alarmed and frighten'd the Subjects, by daily printing and ſpreading abroad Pamphlets, wherein they repreſented, how dangerous a Condition they were in by reaſon of the Increaſe of that King's Power, with whom they ſeemingly preſs'd his Majeſty to make War, tho' certainly they never intended he ſhould ſo do; for if they had, they would have endeavoured to have gotten him the Sinews thereof, to wit, Money wherewith to have defray'd the Charge thereof, and not uſed all their Art and Skill as they did to hinder him from the ſame.

By way of Digreſſion give me Leave here to offer two Queſtions to ſerious Conſideration,

Firſt, whether thoſe who adviſed his Majeſty to break the Triple League, ſeize the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet before a War with *Holland* was declared, ſuſpend all Penal Laws, ſtop Payments out of his Exchequer, and join his Arms with thoſe of the *French* King againſt the States-General of the United Provinces, may not reaſonably and without Breach of Charity be ſuſpected to have been (at the Time of ſuch Advice given) Penſioners of *France*, and whether (if any thing done ſince his Majeſty's moſt happy Reſtauration ever had any Tendency towards the introducing of arbitrary Power and Popery into this Kingdom) it was not his Majeſty's Proceedings upon thoſe Counſels?

Secondly, his Majeſty (upon the Addreſſes and Advice of his Parliament) having reſolved to depart from the aforeſaid Counſels, cancel his Declaration, iſſue out Writs for new Elections, withdraw his Arms from the *French* King's Aſſiſtance, and ſend them in Aid to the States-General of the United Provinces, for preventing the further Growth of the Power of *France*, whether thoſe Perſons who ever ſince have made it their Buſineſs to divide betweeen the King and his Subjects, and prevent the Parliament's giving him when he

desired 600,000*l.* to have enabled him in Time to have joined his Forces with those of the States-General and their Allies, for the End before mentioned, may not as reasonably and with as little Breach of Charity (as the former) be suspected to be *French* Pensioners; the first designing only to advance *France* by bringing *Holland* low, and these contriving how to keep *Holland* under by hindering his Majesty from assisting them for the pulling down the Power of *France*. If the latter may be equally suspected with the former, I am sure all who have taken any kind of notice of the Transactions of Affairs amongst us for these Eight or Nine Years past, must needs know who they are, that have been guilty of both.

But to proceed,

Whilst these noble Lords were in Power, and one of them, either as Chancellor of the Exchequer, or one of the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, had almost the sole Managery and Disposal of every Branch of his Majesty's Revenue, no Sum of Money could be granted the King by his Parliament, that by them was esteemed sufficient; a Million and half, two Millions and half at a Time signified little.

But no sooner were they discharged from their Ministration, than the Cry (every where set about by them) was, you Free-holders of *England*, you Gentlemen of the House of Commons, have a Care what you do, keep close your Purses, if you give Money you are undone; Perogative will be advanced too high, arbitrary Power and Popery will certainly be set up, and the Subjects thereby enslaved like those of *France*; as if PerogativePower, though vested in the King's Person, were not to be exercised by himself, but by his premier Ministers, and as if there were no Persons in *England* fit to be made such Ministers, or to be intrusted with theExercise of thatPower,save only those whom, for theReasons aforesaid,hisMajesty had thought fit to remove from theirTrust, and out of his Councils.

This amongst simple honestPeople gainedBelief,andwas looked upon as wholesome Counsel, which they embraced with Thankfulness, and diligently persued, every where agreeing to instruct their Representatives in Parliament to this Purpose; and upon the Choice of the three last Parliaments, chose few or none to represent them, but such as they were assured would pursue this their Direction, which accordingly hitherto hath been done.

Now give me Leave,in short to recount the bad Consequences that have ensued upon these evilPractices: HisMajesty for Want of Supplies necessary (which these false and subtle Insinuations, put into the ignorant People's Heads, kept from him) hath hitherto been rendered incapable of carrying on the War against *France*, which the Parliament still pressed for, and his Majesty promised to have begun, and would have vigorously pursued (if they would have given him 600,000*l.* when he desired it, which they refused to do) neither have they since given him any Money, but what,by the Act that gave it, was appropriated to particular Services.

TheConsideration of this gave Courage to the*French*, and so disheartened the *Dutch*, that they, for their own Preservation, were obliged to agree to a Peace without the Consent of their Confederates, who since have been necessitated to enter into the same, though to the unspeakable Damage of Christendom.

For

For hereby was the Confederacy broken between the Emperor, *Spaniard*, *Dane*, *Hollander*, and all the Princes of the *Rhine*.

By this the Duke of *Brandenburgh* was obliged to deliver up all his Conqueſts in *Pomerania* and *Bremen*, which had coſt him ſo dear.

By this Means the Confederates Army, for Want of Money, hath ſince been moſt of it diſbanded; whilſt the *French* Army, with his immenſe Revenue, is ſtill kept on foot, and daily increaſed, to the Terror of all *Europe*.

The Incurſions he hath ſince made upon *Flanders*, *Alſace*, *Straſburgh*, and *Caſal* (the Keys into *Germany* and *Italy*) have alarmed all Parts of the World, none knowing where he will deſign next, nor what Places he will demand as Dependencies belonging to his new Conqueſts.

I know this is all charged upon our preſent Miniſters, as the Effect of their Male-Adminiſtrations, and the People are laboured hard to believe the ſame.

But in my Opinion all theſe Miſchiefs proceed from, and are the ill Effects of the aforementioned evil Counſels, which the King ſo long ſince had given him, and were put in Practice as aforeſaid, and proceed chiefly from the Male-contentedneſs of ſome of the Perſons that gave thoſe Counſels, who being uſed to govern, and now removed from all Places of Truſt, know not how to obey and ſit quiet, therefore endeavour to confound all his Majeſty's Counſels, break all his Meaſures, and obſtruct all Proceedings for publick Good, in Hopes to oblige his Majeſty to a Neceſſity of reſtoring them to his Favour and their former Truſt, as not being able to manage the Government without them.

I cannot ſay theſe are the ſole Occaſions of our preſent Miſchiefs, for there are a Sort of Men, about the City, and all over *England*, in every County, of turbulent Spirits, active Minds, ſubtle Wits, little Fortunes, and leſs Conſciences, Credit or Reputation ſufficiently debauched, and vicious in their Principles and Converſation; theſe are found out and made uſe of by the *French*, are Penſioners to that King, and employed to fall in with our Male-contents, and ſeemingly to take their Parts; theſe run from Place to Place, tell the Danger the Kingdom is in of Popery and Arbitrary Power, and of the Plot on foot to deſtroy the King and Proteſtant Religion, and what Danger the Proteſtants are in of being maſſacred; theſe improve their Intereſt with the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes, in every Parliament, to hinder giving any Money, leſt they enſlave the Kingdom thereby; theſe roar about the Streets, and at every Coffee-houſe, and in all Companies they come into, what Danger the Proteſtant Religion is already in, and that it will certainly be deſtroyed, if ever a Popiſh Succeſſor ſhould happen in *England*, flocking like Bees to the Court of Requeſts when our Parliament ſits, and buzzing in the Ears of our Repreſentatives, That there is no Way to be ſecured, but by paſſing an Act for ſecluding his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York* from ever inheriting (let him now, or hereafter be of what Religion he will) the imperial Crown of this Realm; which for the three laſt Parliaments hath been vigorouſly endeavoured, and with Succeſs to their Deſigns, by having hinder'd all other Affairs, and prevented all Remedies for ſettling and compoſing our preſent Differences, and ſecuring us againſt future Miſchiefs.

Theſe Penſioners are ſo ſubtle, and ſeem by their Carriage ſo real fierce and violent againſt arbitrary Power and Popery, and zealous for ſecuring our Liberties and Properties, that to our Miſery they have gained too much Credit amongſt the Gentry, and down-right honeſt Country-Proteſtants, becauſe what they perſuade them unto at firſt Sight ſeems greatly their Intereſt.

But by the little Converſation I have had with them, and the beſt Obſervation I can make of their Proceedings, they appear to be Jeſuits or Papiſts in Maſquerade, like Watermen rowing one Way and looking another; *French* Penſioners (or at leaſt act as ſuch) carrying on the Popiſh Plot apace, which they ſo violently decry, do the *French* King's Drudgery, promote his Deſigns, and inſtead of preventing arbitrary Power and Popery, endeavour what in them lies to introduce and eſtabliſh both, and extirpate the Proteſtant Religion; were it not ſo (which I pray God every ſober Proteſtant may ſee through and prevent) they would never endeavour, as they do, to divide between the King and his Subjects (whoſe Intereſts are ſo inſeparable, as that to ſeparate between them is to deſtroy both) nor create Diſtruſt in the King of his People, or in the People of their Prince, the Conſequence whereof will inevitably, if continued, be the Deſtruction of both.

Did not theſe Gentlemen thus deſign, certainly they would not at this Time of the Day endeavour (as they do) to widen Breaches, heighten Differences, increaſe Animoſities between Proteſtant and Proteſtant, and divide and ſubdivide them into ſo many ſeveral Factions and Parties, but rather ſtudy how to cloſe and make up the Breaches, heal the Diviſions, and compoſe the Differences amongſt them, by uniting them in Love (though of different Perſuaſions) thereby to ſtrengthen their Hands againſt their common Enemy the Papiſts.

Now I will endeavour to ſhew that theſe Men act quite contrary, and that what they are doing tends to the Intereſt of *France*, the Advantage of Popery, and is deſtructive to the Proteſtant Intereſt.

For this Purpoſe I lay down as my Foundation, That the King of *France*'s grand Deſign is to make himſelf univerſal Monarch of the World; this he knows he can never do, if the King of *England* and his Subjects were heartily united, and did love and dare truſt each other, for that People that love and truſt their Prince will never deny him any Supply neceſſary for his own Support and their Defence; therefore, if all thoſe Jealouſies and Fears, which theſe Sort of Caterpillars have fixed in the Minds of the Subjects, were removed, and if it were poſſible to undeceive them, and ſhew how they have been impoſed upon to their Prejudice, and that all Reports of his Majeſty's Deſign to invade Liberty and Property, and introduce Popery and arbitrary Power, were falſe, then would the King have their Hearts entire to himſelf, conſequently their Purſes, and could never fail of ſufficient Subſidies for Support of his Prerogative and the Government, and ſecuring us againſt all Attempts from abroad as well as at home.

This the King of *France* well knows, and therefore endeavours to prevent, foreſeeing that ſuch an Union would be fatal to him; for then would our King be able to ſtop all his Proceedings, hinder not only his making farther, but oblige him to vomit up all, or the moſt Part of his new-made Conqueſts; therefore his Deſign, by theſe his Emiſſaries and Penſioners, is to keep up Jealouſies and Fears, and to prevent all Means uſed for Reconciliation amongſt us; by crying out ſtill of the Danger of Popery, how that Religion increaſeth in *England* (though they know there is not one Papiſt in the Kingdom for one hundred Proteſtants;) which is done with Deſign to oblige his Majeſty, for avoiding of Clamour upon himſelf, to proceed againſt Jeſuits and Papiſts at Law, to convict

convict them of Recusancy, and seize two Thirds of their Estates; the which is prosecuted by a few covetous Persons, only with Design to get Dividends of their Estates to themselves.

By which Proceedings here the *French* King does his Work abroad, goes on to finish his Conquests, takes Advantage of the Prosecution of a few Papists here, to make that his Example to prosecute, with all imaginable Cruelty, innumerable Multitudes of Protestants in *France*, with a Resolution to extirpate that Religion out of his Dominions; and (if other Catholick Princes should follow his Example, which God forbid) it will not be long e're his most Christian Majesty will have finished his Work, made himself universal Monarch, and have totally destroyed the Protestant Religion abroad; which done, I appeal to all good and wise Men, who love *England* and the Protestant Religion, and desire its Growth and Preservation, how soon, and with what Ease, that King may over-run us, and extirpate that Religion from amongst us, which we seem so zealous to promote, but by the wilful Mistake of many (I fear) are destroying.

Now, that I may convince all honest, plain-hearted, and well-meaning Protestants, that there are a Sort of Persons among them who make it their Business to inveigle their Heads with false and scandalous Stories, thereby to possess their Minds with Prejudice to his Majesty and his Government, and that those so employed are either all, or most Part of them Pensioners of *France*, who betake themselves to this Work with Design to destroy the Protestant Religion, rather than preserve it, and to enslave us and the Kingdom, instead of preventing arbitrary Power from being set up over us; and that all the World may see that their Actions (when laid open) have no Tendency to the Advancement of the Protestant Interest, or securing us against the Growth of Popery, nor to deliver us from the Grievances they pretend the Kingdom groans so much under, give me Leave to offer to your serious Considerations these few following Particulars:

First, If they designed to promote the Protestant Religion, and did heartily desire its flourishing in *England*, certainly they would then consider the miserable Condition of the poor Protestants in *France*, what Cruelties they endure, and that would beget such Pity and Compassion towards those, as would put them upon petitioning his Majesty for Mercy to the few Papists in *England*, and to stop their Convictions upon their present Prosecutions for some Time, rather than to suffer Multitudes of Protestants, and that Religion, to be destroyed abroad, merely to enrich themselves, by receiving Shares of the Estates of Papists convicted here; such Pity would be more acceptable to God, more agreeable to the Spirit of a true Protestant, more for the Honour of that Religion, and in the End prove as advantageous to their private Interests in this World.

Did these busy Gentlemen I speak of design Good to *England*, desire its Prosperity, or promote the Protestant Interest, and had believed the Kingdom in such Danger of Popery and arbitrary Power, or that the Subjects had suffered under such Grievances, as they endeavour to represent to the People; then certainly, ever since their Apprehension of such Danger, they upon the opening of every Parliament, or Session of Parliament, would have put the several Members of the House of Commons (as well as the Lords) upon a right

right Courſe of preventing the Miſchiefs they ſeemed to fear, and delivering us from the Grievances they pretended the Kingdom ſuffered under; but as if they had not believed what they reported, they took the contrary Courſe, and inſtead of perſuading the Parliament to moderate ſober Counſels and Proceedings, ſtudied to put them into Heats and Paſſions, and upon exclaiming againſt particular Perſons to whom they owed Prejudice, as being his Majeſty's Servants and Miniſters.

Theſe upon common Fame, before heard, or Witneſſes examined againſt them, muſt be removed from the King's Preſence and Councils for ever, on Addreſſes from the Houſe of Commons, no Body knew for what, ſave Fancies and Imaginations.

But ſome of them being too great, and their Integrities and Abilities for his Majeſty's Service better known to him than them, his Majeſty did not think fit to remove them.

Thereupon ſome of theſe worthy Patriots of their Country, for ſeveral Seſſions of Parliament, made it their Buſineſs to do *nothing* ſave to contrive Differences between the two Houſes of Parliament; for which Purpoſe they queſtioned the Lords Juriſdiction in Matters of Appeals, particularly in the Caſes of *Sherly* and *Fag*, and others, which Controverſy they carried ſo high that Sir *John Fag*, and ſeveral Lawyers, were committed by the Houſe of Commons to the Tower, for only appearing before the Lords at their Bar, and owning their Judicature in Caſes of Appeals from Courts of Equity; this ſingle Point cauſed ſeveral Prorogations, and rendered ſeveral Seſſions fruitleſs, though the ſame was never before called in Queſtion ſince his Majeſty's Reſtauration.

Now if thoſe Gentlemen, who ſo highly concerned themſelves in theſe Matters, had been of ſuch publick Spirits as to ſpend their Time in laying open the Dangers they apprehended we were in, and the Grievances we ſuffered under, with Deſign to have prevented thoſe Dangers, and redreſſed thoſe Grievances, they would certainly have applied to the ſeveral Members of Parliament, preſſed for Moderation, deſired them to avoid all Heats and Paſſions, and to look into the Plot, ſearch it to the Bottom, try the Lords in the *Tower*, examine the Truth of the ſeveral Grievances complained of, find Means to prevent the Danger of the former, and ſecure us for the future againſt the latter; in doing whereof they muſt neceſſarily have found who had occaſioned both: And after ſecuring the Subjects, then to have fallen on the Perſons guilty, would have been more proper; for if then theſe Perſons had been too great for the Parliament, and procured Prorogations and Diſſolutions, yet had the Parliament diſcharged their Conſciences, done their Duty, preſerved their Country, and deſerved Thanks and Honour from thoſe they repreſented.

But to fall upon particular Perſons firſt, and to do nothing for our Security becauſe they could not have their Ends againſt thoſe Perſons they had Prejudice to; give me Leave to ſay for them, to be perſuaded to this Method of Proceedings, in my Apprehenſion, did not argue that either they themſelves, or thoſe Perſons that informed them of the Grievances and Dangers the Nation was ſaid to lie under, believed the Truth of either; and if ſo, then was it a barbarous

barbarous Act to amuse, alarm and frighten the People from their Duty to their Prince, with groundless Noise and Clamour.

If really there were at those Times such Grievances and Dangers as represented, how could the Parliament have answered it to God and their Country, if through their private Heats and Animosities the Mischiefs threatened (and which the Nation feared) had fallen upon us? If they had then believed our Danger to be so great as they discoursed it to be, and had not known that more Noise and Clamour was made than there was just Occasion for, I am of Opinion they would, for their own Honour, as well as the publick Good, have first endeavoured to have secured our future Happiness, rather than hazarded the same out of some private Pique they had to particular Persons.

Again, if these Gentlemen, by the Endeavours they used to have obtained an Act for secluding his Royal Highness from the Imperial Crown of *England*, had designed to secure the Protestant Religion from a Popish Successor, had that (I say) been their single Intention, certainly they would have made the Act general, to bar for the future all Persons of the Popish Religion from inheriting or wearing the Imperial Crown of *England*; but to bring in a Bill against *James* Duke of *York* alone by Name, and that whether he be Papist or Protestant at the Time of the King's Death (provided he should happen to survive him) this Kind of Procedure seems rather to be the Effect of the Malice and Revenge of some particular Persons against the Duke's Person (who have gone so far that they judge they cannot be safe if ever he reigns) than a Design to secure the Protestant Religion against a Popish Successor.

For first, If such a Bill was passed, and his Royal Highness should die before the King, that Act dies with him.

Secondly, If the Duke survive the King, he being near as old, it cannot be expected he should live long after him, so it would do little Good; nor will it be any great Security to the Kingdom, to have him bar'd and no Body else.

Besides, the Offering of such Bill was unmannerly, and put a Hardship upon the King, to exclude by a Law his only Brother from inheriting the Crown of *England* though he should be a Protestant, and at the same Time (out of Zeal to the Promotion and Preservation of the Protestant Religion) leave Room for the King of *Spain* (or any other Popish Successor, except the Duke of *York*) to succeed our present King, and bring in the *Spanish* Inquisition with him.

What favours this of, or looks it like, but a malicious Design of particular Persons against the Duke of *York*? I am certain I can find nothing of a real Design in it to secure the Protestant Religion and Interest.

Whereas, if the Bill had been made general, to have barred all Popish Successors, it would have been more excusable, and might perhaps have been judged the Effect of the Parliament's Care of the Protestant Interest, and it may be would not have appeared so difficult for the King to have passed, if he had found Reason to believe it for his Subjects Good, and with Tendency to the Security and Happiness of his Kingdoms.

Because, in such Case his Majesty had done his Royal Brother no Wrong, he had only by Advice of Parliament pass'd a general Law for the publick Good and Security of his Kingdoms, that could neither hurt the Duke or bar him the Succession, without his own Consent by declaring himself a Papist.

Beſides, if this Bill had paſſed into an Act, what would it have ſignified? Have not many of the like Nature been paſs'd againſt ſeveral former Princes, who, notwithſtanding thereof, afterwards lived to ſway the Scepter in this Kingdom?

I know that they will tell you they deſigned to have ſeconded this Bill with another for an Aſſociation, whereby to have enabled the People to keep the Duke out by Force, and perhaps they would have been as angry and uneaſy too if that had not paſſed, which if it had, then might they have preſently dethroned his Majeſty, the preſent Poſſeſſor of the Crown, and that with as much Eaſe and Juſtice as they can hinder his Royal Brother from ſucceeding him, and thereby entail a War domeſtick and foreign upon the Kingdom.

Pray conſider whoever ſets up againſt his Royal Highneſs's Title muſt have at leaſt 50,000 Horſe and Foot conſtantly in Arms to defend himſelf, and keep the Crown on his Head; for the Duke is an excellent Soldier, a Gentleman of perſonal Valour and Reſolution, a Prince of great Conduct and Intereſt (beloved both abroad and at home) therefore cannot want Supplies from his Friends here, or the Aid of foreign Princes (at leaſt of thoſe who are allied to him) to aſſiſt him in recovering his Right, which perhaps may entail upon us another War for fifty Years, and the Miſeries attending the ſame, ſuch as that formerly between the two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*; and if ſuch an Army muſt be raiſed (though no War happen) muſt not the People of *England* pay them? and what that will coſt, or what arbitrary Power that Prince may ſet up that hath ſuch an Army at his Devotion, I leave to Judgment.

Conſider whether thoſe that adviſe to this Courſe of Procedure be Friends to their Country and the Proteſtant Religion, take care to preſerve the Liberty and Property of the Subject, or rather, whether they are not ſuch as put us upon Methods to deſtroy them all, lay us open to arbitrary Power (as we were in the Time of the late horrid Rebellion) and to all the Plunderings, Free-quarters (Taxes of 60,000 *l.* per Month, as was raiſed by *Oliver* and his Council without a Parliament) Sequeſtrations, Decimations, Impriſonments, Baniſhments, *&c.* God knows how many Miſchiefs more may enſue upon ſuch Force being raiſed, and maintained as a ſtanding Army amongſt us, as is abſolutely neceſſary to be kept on foot if the Succeſſion be altered.

I cannot believe any honeſt Man, who is really a Proteſtant, loyal to the King, loves his Country, and deſires its Intereſt, Happineſs and Peace, eſpecially if he lived in the Times of the late inteſtine War, and beheld the Miſeries the Nation then groaned under, can or will, if he has any Eſtate or Trade, ever deſire a Change of Government in *England*, or a Neceſſity of having a ſtanding Army to ſupport that Government (which neceſſarily this Bill deſired, for altering the Succeſſion, muſt have) therefore none but ſome few Malecontents, or ſuch as deſire the Deſtruction of the Proteſtant Religion, will purſue the ſame any further.

Having done with this Point, and ſhewn how ridiculous it is for Men to diſtract their Minds with the Fear or Apprehenſion of his Majeſty's governing arbitrarily, I proceed to the ſecond Thing propoſed, and hope to demonſtrate by Reaſon, that we are in as little Danger of Popery prevailing, howbeit a Popiſh Succeſſor hereafter ſhould happen to inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm.

Before

Before I enter upon this, give me Leave (for my own Juſtification, and to prevent being cenſured by the Reader) ſolemnly to declare, in the Preſence of Almighty God and the whole World, That I am a Proteſtant, and have been bred up in that Religion from my Youth; I am ſo far from being a Papiſt, that to my Remembrance I never was in any Church, Chappel, or other Place where Maſs was ſaid, or the Popiſh Religion exerciſed, during ſuch Service being performed; I have an equal Love and Eſteem for all Proteſtants, though of different Perſuaſions, ſo that they be conſcientious and religious, and ſubmit to Government; and I would have them allowed all Liberty, ſo long as they uſe it not to the Diſturbance of publick Peace, or the Government of Church and State; therefore I hope a charitable Interpretation will be made of what is here offered to Conſideration, ſince I argue (not out of any Approbation of the Popiſh Religion, or Deſire of its being eſtabliſh'd here, or to live to ſee a Popiſh King reign over us, nor out of any Prejudice to any Proteſtant Diſſenter, but) merely to quiet the Minds of thoſe who diſtract themſelves with Jealouſies of Popery over-running the Kingdom, if ever a Popiſh Succeſſor ſhould reign over us, knowing how dangerous it may be to the Proteſtant Religion for Proteſtants to be miſled by ſuch idle Perſuaſions.

Suppoſe ſuch a Popiſh Succeſſor ſhould happen, the Queſtion then will be, Whether that Prince or his Subjects will ſuffer moſt?

I am of Opinion that a Prince of that Religion will find himſelf very uneaſy, and reign with great Difficulty over the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Nations, whatever he may do over *Ireland*, there being in the two former one hundred Proteſtants for one Papiſt, though in *Ireland* perhaps there are ten Papiſts for one Proteſtant; and yet even in that Kingdom will it not be in his Power to eſtabliſh the *Romiſh* Religion, or invade his Subjects Liberty and Property, much leſs to hurt us in *England* in either of theſe Particulars.

It hath been obſerved in Hiſtory, that Princes of the weakeſt Titles have always yielded to the beſt Laws, complying with their People, and compounding with them for the Government.

If a Popiſh Prince ever happen to reign in *England*, though he be right and lawful Heir both by Birth and Succeſſion, yet will his Religion render him ſuſpected by his People of having a Deſign to change theirs, and invade their Properties (conſiſting much in Abbey and Monaſtery Lands) ſo they will always keep him as uneaſy as they can, and never give him Revenue ſufficient to maintain ſuch Power and Force as ſhall endanger them.

And when the King (to whom I beſeech Almighty God to grant a long Life and happy Reign) ſhall happen to die, his whole Revenue excepting about 450,000 *l. per Annum* determines with him; ſo that if his Royal Highneſs ſurvive him and be King, he will not (with all his own preſent Revenue joined to that of the Crown) have above 550,000 *l. per Annum.*

How can any rational Man then believe, that with that Revenue he will be able to raiſe and maintain ſuch Force as muſt neceſſarily be kept on foot for his own Security, if he goes about to change the Government, or alter the Religion of the Kingdom eſtabliſhed by Law?

Our preſent King, though he hath had a Revenue of two Millions, or a Million and a Half yearly, and now has above a Million *per Annum*, never yet attempted ſuch Alteration; and ſhall the Duke of *York* (ſuppoſing he had a

Will to do it, which I am confident he neither hath, ever had, nor will have) be able to eſtabliſh arbitrary Government or Popery with 550,000 *l. per Annum?* It is in my poor Judgment altogether impoſſible.

Object. *I allow the Duke with ſuch a Revenue cannot hurt us, but the* French *King having at leaſt* 200,000 *Men in Arms, and a Revenue ſufficient to pay them, and being obliged to keep thoſe Armies employed abroad, to prevent their rebelling at home, he is ſo zealous for eſtabliſhing Popery throughout Chriſtendom, and rooting out Hereſy, that for promoting ſo meritorious a Work he will ſupply our King, if a Papiſt, with Arms and Money ſufficient to carry on that Deſign with Succeſs here.*

Anſwer. It is great Folly to imagine that the *French* King, who knows his own Intereſt (though it be true he neither wants Men or Money to carry on any Deſign he undertakes) ſhould aſſiſt our King with either, for the uniting him and his Subjects under arbitrary Power, or any one Religion whatſoever (though Popery itſelf) both being deſtructive to his Intereſts, and a putting Power in the Hand of our King to break all that King's Meaſures, and prevent his making himſelf univerſal Monarch (than which, nothing is more by him deſired and endeavoured.)

For if once the King of *England* and his People were united under either, the *French* King knows he will be able to give Check to all his further Proſecution of that Deſign; therefore, though he may (and I believe does) ſpend 100,000 *l. per Annum* in paying Penſioners, employed by him or his Miniſters to divide between the King and his Subjects (which being his Intereſt to have done, he will ſpare no Charge that may contribute to the doing thereof) yet would he not give 20,000 *l.* to make our King abſolute, or unite him and his People under any one Religion whatſoever, though Popery itſelf.

For he is a wiſe Prince, ſtudies his Intereſt, knows how he parts from his Money, and will diſpoſe of none to carry on any Deſign that may turn to his Prejudice, than which nothing in the World can be a greater than to have the King and his Subjects united.

What Hurt then can his Royal Highneſs do his Subjects if he ſucceed his Brother, ſince there will not be left when the King dies Revenue ſufficient to ſupport the neceſſary Expence of his Royal Family and Government, without Supplies from abroad or at home; and if no foreign Prince but the *French* King can, and that King will not ſupply him, muſt he not then immediately call a Parliament, muſt not the People chuſe that Parliament, will the People of *England* (awakened as they now are, and then will be, with Fears and Jealouſies of the Danger of Popery coming in upon them, and loſing their Eſtates, (conſiſting of Abby and Monaſtery Lands) chuſe any Members to ſerve in thoſe Parliaments, but ſuch as they can truſt and depend upon to provide for the Security of their Lives, Liberties, Religion and Properties; or will thoſe Parliaments when met (being equally concerned in Intereſt with their Electors) ever give ſuch Popiſh Succeſſor any Revenue to hurt or deſtroy their own Intereſt?

It is Nonſenſe to believe they will give him a Groat, till they have provided for their own and the Kingdom's Security in all theſe Particulars; and they know not his Royal Highneſs, that have ſo ill an Opinion of him, as to believe him ſo irreligious, ſo weak of Judgment, or void of underſtanding his own Intereſt,

Intereſt, as to accept the Crown, and take the Coronation Oath, if he reſolve not to keep and obſerve the ſame, by governing according to Law, and ſecuring his Subjects in Peace, by preſerving to them their Religion as well as their Liberties and Properties.

His Royal Highneſs cannot be ignorant of the Jealouſies the Subjects of *England* have already of him, and well know thoſe Jealouſies will certainly increaſe when he comes to the Crown, therefore muſt expect, when he calls a Parliament, that that Parliament, when it meets, will certainly tell him——

That having left our Church, and thereby declared himſelf a Papiſt, he cannot be truſted with the Diſpoſing of any Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, or with any Sum of Money that may endanger the Kingdom, by aſſiſting the Papiſts, nor will they ſuffer Perſons of that Religion to come near him or his Court, to influence his Councils, as we vainly imagine.

So that in my poor Opinion the Kingdom under ſuch a Prince may obtain ſuch Laws, and other Conditions, for ſecuring their Religion, Liberties and Properties (before they give any Money) as they would never dare to propoſe, or could ever hope for or expect from a King of our own Religion.

Beſides, no Man that hath common Senſe (whatſoever he ſays to the contrary) can believe that ever his Royal Highneſs (if he be of another Religion than that profeſſed in this Kingdom) can, if he ſhould live to wear the Imperial Crown of this Realm, ever hurt us, though he ſhould deſign ſo to do.

For being of a Religion, to which the Generality of his Subjects have a great Averſion and Antipathy, and having but a ſmall Revenue, an inconſiderable Party, and that Party fettered with Laws, and the whole Kingdom alarmed, and for their own Security armed, and in a Poſture to defend themſelves; it will be impoſſible for him to ſubdue ſuch a Nation, in ſuch a Condition, and under ſuch Jealouſies and Circumſtances.

Nor will he be able to break through the Laws made for the Defence of our Religion, more than he will to violate thoſe made for the Security of our Liberties and Properties.

If after all this we ſhall perſiſt in our Folly, and cloſe with nothing offered, except an Act for Excluding his Royal Highneſs go along with it, then of all Nations on the Face of the Earth is ours (in my Opinion) like to be the moſt miſerable.

For ſuch Alteration of the Succeſſion (as it is ſaid before) muſt be maintained by Force and a ſtanding Army (a Crown being always eſteemed worth fighting for) which Force we tranſmit to Poſterity, with a diſputable Title, for a new Trial of Skill, like that anciently between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, which every good Man muſt certainly dread the Thoughts of, when he ſeriouſly conſiders, that War laſted about ſixty Years, coſt the Kingdom it's whole Treaſure, beſides the Devaſtation and Deſtruction made throughout the ſame (eſpecially in the *North*) and the many Hundred Thouſand Mens Lives were loſt therein; and yet that War was occaſioned only by varying the Hand from the Children of the Duke of *Clarence*, third Son to the Iſſue of *John of Gaunt*, the fourth legitimate Son of *Henry* the Fourth, and no Baſtardy in the Caſe.

I do not find in all my Reading, that any Government throughout the World, ſince the Reformation from *Rome*, ever made a Law to prohibit a Succeſſor of that Religion from reigning over them; *Henry* the Third of *France*, though

though earneſtly importuned by the Holy League, to exclude the King of *Navarre*, refuſed ſo to do, though that King was a *Huguenot*.

In *Edward* the Sixth's Time, no Statute was made to bar a Popiſh Succeſſor, then in Proſpect, though the Reformation was in it's Infancy, and moſt Subjects were Papiſts; ſo that after his Deceaſe Queen *Mary* was admitted to the Crown, (from whom the Kingdom had little Reaſon to expect any great Happineſs) rather than the Lady *Jane Gray*, who was a Proteſtant; and this done, becauſe they would not bring a diſputable Title of the Crown upon themſelves and Poſterity.

In Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, which was after the ſevere Perſecution of Queen *Mary* (a Perſecution ſufficient to have begot an eternal Hatred in the Nation of any future Popiſh Succeſſor, and to have juſtified that Queen in paſſing a Law for preventing the ſame) yet was there no poſitive Law made in her Reign to bar *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, then alive, who was a Papiſt, and her Majeſty's lawful Succeſſor; all that was then done, was by an Act of the 13th of her Reign, which made it Treaſon to ſay the Queen and Parliament could not diſpoſe of the Crown, but they never actually diſpoſed thereof.

And give me Leave to ſay, that ſuch a Precedent would moſt certainly be as dangerous to our King now, as that wiſe Queen thought it might have been to her then; for that Prince that ſhews his People a Method of diſpoſing the Succeſſion, at the ſame Time ſhakes the Title of his own Poſſeſſion.

All the Inſtances of former Parliaments ſettling the Crown upon *Henry* the Fourth, *Edward* the Fourth, *Henry* the Seventh, and their Iſſues, comes not to our Point at all, not being done upon account of Religion, but before the Reformation, when all were of the Religion of the Church of *Rome*.

Thoſe Acts therefore were made to quiet the Succeſſion, which Force had unſettled (not to diſcompoſe a rightful Succeſſion undiſturbed) and to prevent that War and Blood-ſhed, that was rational enough to believe would have followed, and been the Conſequence of diſturbing the lawful Succeſſion (not to break in Pieces an acknowledged and peaceful Succeſſion, and involve the Nation in Blood, for many Generations to come) they were ſo far from doing that, that rather than the Kingdom ſhould be diſtracted with uncertain Titles, an Act was paſs'd in *Henry* the VIIth's Reign, to command Obedience from the Subject to the King *De Facto*; afterwards the Kingdom, though ſecure, was never ſatisfied, till *Henry* the VIIth married the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, Daughter of King *Edward* the IVth.

Again, if Matter of Opinion in Points of Religion ſhall be eſteemed a Reaſon of State ſufficient to exclude a lawful Succeſſor from his Crown, then has a Prince harder Meaſure than the meaneſt of his Subjects, by any Law yet made; and the Peace and Happineſs of theſe Kingdoms hangs upon a very ſlender Thread, for then if the People ſhould deſign a Rebellion, they need only pretend a Diſlike of their Prince's Religion, to bar him from his Crown and Government.

I hope the Wiſdom of our Parliaments will give no ſuch Advantage againſt Proteſtants to their Adverſaries of *Rome*, as that *Rome* ſhall ever have Occaſion to ſay with Truth, we Proteſtants in *England* have by a Law made our Prince incapable of reigning, becauſe a Heretick from the Proteſtant Religion, whilſt we ourſelves are ſtriving to make *Rome* look black and odious for

that

that moſt damnable Doctrine of theirs, that Princes may be excommunicated as Hereticks, afterwards depoſed by the Pope; ſo deteſtable a Doctrine, that we make all Perſons, that take the Oath of Allegiance, renounce and forſwear it; let us therefore have a Care we do not imitate them in that Doctrine we ſo much condemn.

Conſider ſeriouſly, whither ſuch a Courſe will lead us, and then judge whether fit to be taken, eſpecially upon ſuch a Contingency as this (of the Duke's ſurviving his Brother) which perhaps may never happen; but if it ſhould, he is of too great an Age now to begin ſuch Change of Government and Religion, as is ſuſpected, with any Hopes of accompliſhing the ſame, in his own Time; if ſo, and it be alſo true (as it is) that he is without Hopes of a Succeſſor of his own Religion, to carry on ſuch Attempt by him begun (the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, and the Lady *Anne*, being all Proteſtants) why then ſhould any Man believe his Royal Highneſs ſo weak a Prince, as to attempt ſuch Change, with ſo ſmall a Number of Men as his Religion ſhall have left him, which will appear ſo very ſmall, as not to be feared by *Engliſhmen*, when *Rome* ſhall aſſault their Religion and Properties, and oblige them to fight for the ſame?

That Prince, be he who he will, that ſhall at any Time come into *England* with Popery, will come in with Weakneſs and Inability to hurt his Subjects by any Force of his own, nor will any neighbouring Prince (unleſs he and all his Subjects be Lunaticks) help to make him abſolute, that being to endanger themſelves.

What Prince will be at Charges, exhauſt his Treaſure, weaken himſelf, to ſtrengthen his Neighbour? nor is that Prince much leſs then mad, that ſhould in ſuch a Caſe rely on or truſt to ſuch neighbouring Prince for Aſſiſtance.

And for his own Subjects, they will be more dangerous and uneaſy to him, than he can be to them, for ſuch Prince being without Reputation, Truſt or Money at home, will be without Aſſiſtance from abroad; and his own Subjects will never aſſiſt him to break their own Laws, well knowing, no Prince ever attempted the ſame, but he hazarded his Crown by making the Eſſay, nor did ever any Prince actually break through the Laws, but he was ruined, and loſt his Crown thereby.

Nor is it in the Power of the Duke of *York*, if he ſucceed his Brother, to break our Laws, in either of the Reſpects feared; but if ever they be broken, it muſt be with mutual Aſſent of both Prince and People aſſembled in Parliament; for as our Law now ſtands, no Magiſtrate can do any legal or judicial Act in any inferior Court of Juſtice, nor bear any publick Office, Civil or Military, nor accept of or be admitted into any Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, or meet to vote in either Houſe of Parliament, till they ſhall have firſt renounced Popery, by taking the Oaths and Teſts, and making the Subſcriptions by Law required.

If therefore a Popiſh Succeſſor ſhould hereafter happen to reign over us, he will find it very difficult to repeal thoſe Laws that eſtabliſh our Religion; the Conſideration that the Subjects will always have (being freſh in their Memories) of the Fire and Faggot Queen *Mary* exerciſed in her Reign for the reſcuing the Popiſh Religion, will oblige them to a ſteadfaſt Reſolution never to depart

from

from that of their own, I mean the true Proteſtant Religion; and until thoſe Laws be abrogated by Parliament, it will be abſolutely impoſſible for any Popiſh Succeſſor to eſtabliſh Popery here.

If then what I have offered to Conſideration be true, and it ſhall appear impoſſible to ſettle a Government in this Kingdom out of the Royal Family that ſhall continue (as the late Rebellion hath demonſtrated) or to hinder the Crown from deſcending in its due Courſe, without endangering all our Ruins, and the Deſtruction of the three Kingdoms, then am I ſure every true Proteſtant, that either loves God or the King and Government, or wiſhes Happineſs to himſelf and Poſterity, and the true Proteſtant Religion, muſt ſurceaſe all further Attempts for altering the ſame, ſince nothing imaginable can have a greater Tendency to the entailing Confuſion and Miſery upon us, and the Generations to come after us.

And the better to perſuade to this Method of Procedure, conſider, that the King cannot but have the Reſentments of Human Nature, as he is a Man, though (returning to his Kingdom after the horrid and barbarous Murder of his Royal Father, and the illegal Baniſhment and long and miſerable Exile of his own, with divers Proclamations after him, ſetting Prices on his Head to have betrayed him) he hath ſhewn and exerciſed the Mercy of a moſt excellent Chriſtian and gracious Sovereign; for who can ſay with Truth, that his Life, Liberty, or Property hath been taken away, or invaded by him contrary to Law, or without legal Trials by their Peers, ſince his Reſtauration?

Blame not therefore his Majeſty (the Impreſſions of theſe former Uſages being freſh in his Mind) if he (taking notice of the late violent and unwarrantable Proceedings againſt him, and apprehending from thence the ſame Miſchiefs now deſigned as heretofore) ſeem tenacious in ſome Points of his Royal Prerogative, leſt the Government (by the wicked Practices and reſtleſs Endeavours of ſome aſpiring Subjects, uneaſy in obeying any Government in which they have not a Share, and accounting it Uſurpation to be deprived of that Part thereof which they heretofore too long enjoyed) ſhould once more revert and ſtart back.

This will appear at laſt (if I be not greatly miſtaken) the chief Occaſion of all our preſent unhappy (and highly to be lamented) Diviſions, and of the Diſtruſt created between the King and his People, each fearing to be bound, both ſtriving to be free; thoſe who contrive to bind the King faſter, believe he deſigns himſelf to be looſe, judging of the King's Actions by the Meaſures of their own wicked and fallacious Intentions, and thereupon ſtrive to break all his Meaſures, and diſappoint him in all his Undertakings.

And if theſe be the Occaſions of our preſent Miſery, every loyal Subject and true Proteſtant in *England*, that loves the King, his Country and Religion, ought to make it his Buſineſs to prevent theſe Miſunderſtandings for the future; which if he would ſeriouſly, and with Sincerity and Truth endeavour, I am of Opinion the Work would not be ſo difficult as our Jeſuitical Incendiaries and *French* Penſioners repreſent it to be, and perſuade thoſe among whom they converſe it is.

That Almighty God, of his infinite Goodneſs and Mercy, may be prevailed with graciouſly to beſtow ſo great a Bleſſing as this upon theſe poor diſtracted Kingdoms, give me Leave to propoſe to every Man's Conſideration the Practice of theſe following Directions —

First, be truly humbled for, and unfeignedly repent of all your former Sins, by which you have provoked God to Anger, and turn from all your Iniquities for the Time to come, that his Wrath may be appeaſed, and he may repent him of the Evil intended againſt us.

Love God with all your Heart, ſerve him with all your Strength, make his Holy Word the Rule of your Life, and the Meaſure of all your future Actions, daring to do nothing contrary thereunto, or derogatory to his Holy Commands.

Live by Faith not by Sight, walk with God and be upright, do your Duty in your Place, to God, the King, your Country, your Neighbour, your Family, and to your own Soul.

Make it your buſineſs to be holy and humble, value the Love and Favour of God, and an Intereſt in the Merits of his dear Son your Redeemer, above all things whatſoever, and endeavour to obtain to yourſelf a well grounded Aſſureance thereof.

Die daily to Sin, Self, the World, and all things therein, and live to that God by whom you live, giving him the Glory of all his Goodneſs and Mercy extended towards you.

Set not your Affection inordinately upon Things below, which are all vain, momentary and uncertain, but on Things above, that are eternal.

Be contented in every Condition, thankful and fruitful under every various Diſpenſation of God's Providence, ſubmit to his Will, acquieſce in his Pleaſure, bleſs him for what you have, and murmur nor repine not, becauſe you have no more.

Envy not thoſe who are above you, and poſſeſs more of the Riches and Honours of this Life than you enjoy, but behold with Pity, and Chriſtian Compaſſion, how many there are better and more deſerving (perhaps) than you, who yet want what you enjoy, and (it may be) ſinfully waſte; help and relieve ſuch with a Part of what you have.

Truſt God with the Government of the World, and ſubmit to the Powers that are over you, as being of him; believe he is a Jealous God, will take care of his Glory, vindicate his Honour, advance his Kingdom and the Intereſt of Chriſt, and propagate his Goſpel, maugre all the Oppoſition of Men and Devils; and that this he will do in his own Way, and at his own Time, without any Direction or Aſſiſtance from you therein; remember that he knows beſt what is good for you, and has promiſed that all Things ſhall work together for good to thoſe that love and fear him, and keep his Commandments; and that he will keep them in perfect Peace, whoſe Minds are ſtaid on him, becauſe they truſt in him; be not therefore wiſe in your own Conceit, and think that you can direct God; *Solomon* ſaith, *Seeſt thou a Man wiſe in his own Conceit, there is more Hopes of a Fool than of ſuch a Man.*

Judge yourſelf and not another, meddle with your own and no other Man's Buſineſs, ſearch your own Heart, and try your own Spirit whether it be of God, look into your own Deformities, and mend what is amiſs in yourſelf, before you undertake or go about to find fault with, or reform others; every one mending one, is the only Way to mend all; and by ſuch Reformation and Amendment we are fit for Mercy, God will give it if we ſeek it in a right Way.

Think and eſteem every Man better than yourſelf, for the lower a Man is in his own Conceit, the higher he is in the Eſteem of God, and good Men; the Proud, God ſends away empty, and cauſes to ſtand afar off, but to the Humble he will draw near, and him will he fill with good things.

Live in Love, and as much as in you lies follow Peace with all Men.

Do as you would be done unto, love your Neighbour as yourſelf, forget and forgive Injuries, recompence Good for Evil, pray for thoſe that hate you, do good to thoſe that deſpitefully uſe you; yea pray for your Enemies, and do them Good, if in your Power, but not Hurt.

Lay aſide all Malice, Prejudice, and Thoughts of Revenge, againſt all Mankind; let not Difference in Opinion in Matters of Religion beget Difference in Affection, eſpecially amongſt Proteſtants, but unite in Love, bear and forbear with, and hide the Infirmities of each other.

Be eaſy to believe and make known what Good you hear of any Man whom you have Reaſon to judge honeſt, though of a different Perſuaſion from you; and as hard to believe Ill, unleſs you know it, and more of diſcovering it, except to himſelf, leſt it prove falſe.

Give not Credit to all you hear, neither divulge all you know, take care not to invent and ſpread abroad any falſe Stories, to the Defamation of any Perſon whatſoever, eſpecially of thoſe that are ſet in Authority over you, and to whom you are obliged to be ſubject, whereby their Honour, Reputation, or good Name, may be called in Queſtion, or prejudiced, or their Perſons and Government rendered low or contemptible; this is abominable, worſe than Murder, Reputation to a Man of Honour being dearer than Life itſelf.

Lay aſide and give over all Names of Diſtinction, ſuch as Tory, Whig, Fanatick, Tantivy-men, Bruminghams, Maſquerade-Papiſts, Maſquerade-Proteſtants, Church-Whigs, Church-Papiſts, and all provoking ſcurrilous Speaking, Writing and Printing, againſt each other; theſe are publick Miſchiefs, tending to the Deſtruction rather than the Advancement of our Government or the Proteſtant Religion, and proceed from the Spirit of the Devil, rather than from that of our Bleſſed Saviour, whoſe Example we are commanded to imitate.

Be juſt, follow Truth, purſue Righteouſneſs, execute Juſtice impartially, relieve the Oppreſſed, cloath the Naked, feed the Hungry, viſit the Sick, releaſe the Impriſoned, be a Huſband to the Widow and a Father to the Fatherleſs, always go about doing Good and no Hurt, avoid all Frauds and Deceits, deal fairly and above-board with all Mankind, abhor all Tricks and little Cheats, they will never laſt long, or do any Man Good; God will diſcover and detect them, to the Scorn and Contempt of whoever uſes them, either on one Side or the other, be the Pretence what it will for ſo doing, there being nothing that he who is the God of Truth more abhors, than ſuch baſe and falſe Practices.

If every Man would make it his buſineſs to obſerve theſe few Directions, and ſubmit (as commanded) to the Powers that are over him, as being of God, pay the King the Honour and Duty due to him, as his Sovereign, and prefer (as he ought) the publick Good and Welfare of the Kingdom, before his own private Intereſts, which now too much governs moſt Men in our Age:

And

And if the People of *England*, when they ſhall next elect Members to ſerve them in Parliament, would chuſe ſuch Perſons to repreſent them, as ſhall (when they come together to conſult of and provide for their Intereſts and Security in their Religion and Property) carry on their Debates with calm and ſerene Spirits, lay aſide all Paſſion, Prejudice and Prepoſſeſſion, act with Moderation, Wiſdom and Prudence, and behave themſelves with that loyal and dutiful Reſpect to the King, which becomes them, and is their Duty, as they are his Subjects; his Majeſty would then ſoon perceive, and eaſily be brought to believe, that he need not fear them; and with Confidence I will preſume to ſay, the King is not in ſuch a Condition, as that his Subjects need to fear him, there being more Danger of a Common-wealth than of Abſolute Monarchy, where the People ſet up for Reformers.

By this Way of Proceeding, the King (who is of a moſt excellent Temper and Diſpoſition, ready to paſs by and forgive whatever has been amiſs, ſo Amendment be made for the future) would quickly be gained by his People; (and as he is our Sovereign, give me Leave to ſay, he ought to be thus treated.) Hereby the Kingdom may obtain reaſonable Laws for their Security againſt all their preſent Fears and Jealouſies,and future Dangers (ſo as ſuch Laws be purſued with becoming Humility and Duty, and without Heats and Paſſions.) However, if by this Method of Proceeding, theParliament ſhould not arrive at thoſe (both reaſonable and perhaps neceſſary) Laws, they ſo purſue, yet will they have Peace and Satisfaction in their own Mind, remain quiet in their Conſciences, and be juſtified before God and Man, for having done their Duty both to their King and Country.

On the other hand, deviſe what good Laws you can for the Nation's Security; though you ſhould get them paſt, yet if they be purſued in Parliament with Heat, Violence, or any unhandſome or unmannerly Way of Proceeding, ſuch Procedure I am ſure cannot be juſtified either before God or Man, let the Pretences for ſo doing be ever ſo ſpecious; and give me Leave to ſay, that the moſt juſt and reaſonable things in the World may juſtly be denied, if demanded or purſued in a Method that is unjuſtifiable.

Nor does it become ſo Great and Venerable an Aſſembly, as the Parliament of *England*, when met together to adviſe the making Laws for the Preſervation of the Nation in Peace and Tranquillity, to be themſelves froward, reſtleſs or peeviſh; wherefore I ſhall comfort myſelf at preſent with the Hopes of ſeeing our next Parliament come together with all the Qualifications of Wiſdom, becoming the greateſt and freeſt Aſſembly in the Univerſe, and proceeding with Temper, Moderation and Prudence (of which there never was more Need than now) and if they ſo do, I doubt not but that they may effect that Good they hope for, ſeem to deſire, and ought to purſue, for their Country, if they do their Duty, and perform the Truſt repoſed in them.

So may they gain Glory to themſelves, and be eternally ſtiled *The Happy and Healing Parliament*; and the Generations to come will have Cauſe to call them *Bleſſed*, for having healed our Diviſions, reconciled our Differences, made up our Breaches, united the King and his People, reſtored to us the Paths of Peace, and tranſmitted Happineſs to us and our Poſterities, and to the Generations that ſhall come after them.

Reflections upon the Conduct of the King of *Great-Britain* in the late Wars, contained in a Letter from a Subject of one of the confederated Princes, to a Friend in *Holland.* 1682.

SIR,

SINCE, in renewing the Correſpondence between us, which has ſo long a Time been interrupted, you are fallen upon the Subject of the Affairs of *Europe*, and particularly touching the Share that the King of *Great-Britain* has had therein for ſome late Years, which has given you Occaſion to take ſome Freedom in making Reflections upon the Conduct of that Prince; I do not doubt but you now reciprocally expect my Sentiments upon this Matter, which by Conſequence I will give you with the ſame Liberty, but alſo with all the Impartiality that an honeſt Man can have in judging of the Actions of others, and much more of thoſe of great Princes. You may eaſily imagine I know nothing of the Articles of that Treaty of Alliance you ſpeak of between the ſaid King and *Spain*, and I muſt confeſs to you, that the Author of the Reflections upon that Treaty ſeems to have found a fine Matter for the exerciſing of his Pen. But, as amongſt all the Sportings of his Wit, the ſevereſt Remark he makes ſeems to me to be in the Paragraph where he blames that King for not having endeavoured to put a Stop to the Courſe of the Victories of *France* when it lay in his Power, and for having contributed more than any other to the Greatneſs of *France:* It does likewiſe concern us Allies, for the Meaſures we are to take, to judge ſoberly. If this Imputation can be juſtly charged upon that Prince, it is then very true, that to take the Thing in general, 'tis difficult not to lay the Blame at his Door, for not having taken the Part of the Allies before the Peace, and that this ſeems to juſtify our Reſentments againſt him. However, to give them ſo much the more Ground, if they are juſt, let us conſider what Time in the Courſe of Affairs could be aſſigned to him for the entering into War; and to decide that Queſtion in general, it ſeems it ought to have been either when the Intereſt of his Nation, or his own Honour, or the Neceſſity of the Allies began to exact it. Now, as for the Intereſt of his Nation, and principally of his great City of *London*, methinks that King could not have choſen a better Policy, than after being got out of the War wherein he had left his Neighbours engaged, to keep his People as long as he could in Peace, and in a State of enjoying alone the Commerce of *Europe*, an Advantage which we know was envied them with Anguiſh by you *Hollanders*, and which made you ſo impatient to engage *England* in a War as well as yourſelves, even before the Honour of that King obliged him to it, or he was preſſed to it by the Neceſſity of the Allies. As for the Honour of his Majeſty, what could he deſire more glorious than to ſee himſelf the ſole Mediator, and when he pleaſed the Arbitrator of the Affairs of *Europe*, to receive the Deferences and Addreſſes of all other Princes, and, in ſhort, to have it in his Power to re-eſtabliſh a ſure and honourable Peace when he thought convenient,

nient, either by his own ſole Authority, or by joining his own Forces, when it ſhould be neceſſary to employ them for that Purpoſe: This Caſe of Neceſſity being the ſole one which could change the Conſiderations of the Honour of his Majeſty, and the Intereſt of his Nation, we have now to examine at what Time it began, when it was preſſing, and how far we may impute to the Prince we ſpeak of, the having failed in what all theſe Conſiderations together counſelled him to do. We ſhall eaſily agree, that while our Forces were ſufficient, not only to defend us, but even to attempt upon *France*, it would not have been handſome for us to have propoſed to that King to have engaged himſelf contrary to the Intereſt of his Nation. Now it is manifeſt, that during the three firſt Campaigns, at leaſt after the Peace between his Majeſty and *Holland*, we were in that Poſture, which may be eaſily made appear by looking back upon the Events of thoſe *Campaigns*. Certain it is, that at and after the Battle of *Seneffe* in the Year 1674, the Forces of *France* were worſted and continued in the weakeſt Condition, the Prince of *Conde* was obliged to retire beyond the *Sambre*, and the Army of the Confederates was then in a Poſture of laying Siege to *Oudenarde*; and though the Prince of *Conde* made an Effort to come ſuddenly to its Relief, he would in all Probability have been repulſed, if the Count de *Souches*, General of the Imperial Army, would have come up in Time according to the Advice of the Prince of *Orange*, of which his Highneſs made great Complaints to the Emperor, and ſeveral of the principal Officers of the Army refuſed to ſerve any longer under this Count, which obliged the Emperor to take away his Commiſſion. The Armies of the Allies were likewiſe much the ſtronger upon the *Rhine* that ſame *Campaign*; the Elector of *Brandenbourg* took his Winter-Quarters in *Alſatia*, from whence Monſieur *De Turenne* was obliged to retire and go to *Paris*; and though by an admirable Diligence and Conduct he returned the ſame Winter, and conſtrained the Forces of the Elector to repaſs the *Rhine*, which he likewiſe paſſed himſelf, to make the Campaign of 1675. (this however having been his laſt and fatal Year) General *Montecuculi* repulſed and purſued his Army, diminiſhed by above half, to the other Side of the ſaid River, and laid Siege to *Saverne:* And tho' when the Prince of *Conde* (who was ſent to ſave the Ruins of that Army, and give Reparation to the Affairs of *France*) approached him, he raiſed the Siege, yet indeed it was only to triumph over that Prince, and to drive him before him as far as he pleaſed; after which, when it ſeemed he might have made ſome good Uſe of his Advantage, he attempted nothing farther before their going into Winter-Quarters. On the other Side, the total Rout of the Marſhal *De Crequi* by the Forces of the Dukes of *Lunenburg*, and the Recovery thereupon of the City of *Treves* out of the Hands of the *French*, had reduced their Affairs into that Condition, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty found not a more preſent Remedy than to have Recourſe to his Arricreban, which was likewiſe beaten by the Duke of *Lorrain*; the Elector of *Brandenbourg* having beſides ſo gloriouſly freed his Country from the *Swedes*, and the Duke of *Lunenberg* and Biſhop of *Munſter* having ſtripped them of all they poſſeſſed in the Dutchy of *Bremen*, except the City of *Staden*; *Denmark* likewiſe having taken Part in the War, whereby the *Swedes* remained altogether unable to defend themſelves, and much leſs to aſſiſt *France*, the Forces of the Allies began to be formidable to it, and found themſelves capable, in the Campaign of 1676,

to

to attempt at the ſame Time the two Sieges of *Maeſtricht* and *Philipſbourg*: But as moſt of them ſaw themſelves in a fair way of making Conqueſts, Jealouſy began to riſe up among them, each Party fearing that his Neighbour would have too good a Share therein; the Diſputes for the Dividend haveing delayed the taking of *Staden*, as well as the Succours which were to have come to the Prince of *Orange*, of the Troops which blocked up that Place, were the Cauſes that this Prince was obliged to raiſe the Siege of *Maeſtricht*, during which the *French* had Time to take *Aire* from the *Spaniards*. Hitherto we all thought ourſelves uppermoſt in our Affairs, which I might eaſily demonſtrate by Things that paſſed openly in the Congreſs of *Nimeguen*, where it was clearly to be ſeen by all the World, that the moſt Chriſtian King aimed at nothing but ſecuring his Honour by a Peace that might have given us Satisfaction. But after the Misfortune of *Maeſtricht*, the *Hollanders* began to fear with more Apprehenſion what afterwards happened, namely, That the Remiſsneſs and different Intereſts of the *German* Princes, the Weakneſs of *Spain*, and the Diligence of the *French*, the *Spaniſh Low Countries* would be ſwallowed up in Spight of all the Forces of the Confederates: Yet, as by the taking of *Philipſbourg* the Power of the Emperor was augmented, by that of *Staden* the Princes of *Lunenburg* and of *Munſter* had their Hands free, that they promiſed a good and ſincere Correſpondence, and as there were great Hopes conceived from the Zeal and good Conduct of the Duke of *Lorrain*, who commanded the Imperial Army, the Power of the Allies ſeemed ſtill vigourous and formidable. But as the moſt Chriſtian King, by his uſual Diligence, began the Campaign of 1677 with the Sieges of *St. Omer's* and of *Cambray* at the ſame Time, before any Army of the Allies could or would appear, except that of the *States*; and the Prince of *Orange* being nettled with the Reproaches of the *Spaniards*, that he did but eat up their good Land of *Waes* while he ſaw two of their Towns beſieged, out of a Generoſity which filled them with Admiration, he hazarded both his Army and Perſon for the Relief of *St. Omers*, but without any other Succeſs than what might be expected from an Army inferior in Forces to that it attacked, which was likewiſe powerfully ſuccoured by that of the King, inſomuch that the abovementioned Places, and the Town of *Valenciennes* were thereupon taken by the *French*, and afterwards the Prince of *Orange* was obliged to quit the Enterprize of *Charleroy*, by a laudable and neceſſary Prudence not to hazard once again all the Forces the *States* had left for their Defence. On the other Side it was evident, that it was impoſſible for the Duke of *Lorrain*, and would be always ſo for the *Imperialiſts*, to make any great Invaſion into *France*, or to execute any conſiderable Enterprize elſewhere, while the *French* ſhould content themſelves with acting upon the Defenſive with a ſufficient Army. I muſt confeſs it was in that Juncture our Affairs began to ſtand in need of ſome powerful Interceſſion of the Prince whoſe Conduct we are conſidering, and it is from what paſſed ſince in *England* that we are principally to judge of his Intentions.

The Parliament had been a long Time making him Addreſſes to recall his Troops out of the Service of *France*; and though his Majeſty, ſuffering at the ſame Time ſix Regiments of his Subjects in *Holland*, and being to keep his Neutrality as Mediator, did at firſt only forbid by his Proclamations any new Troops from paſſing into *France*, he recalled them at length, and they returned

returned very much diminiſhed in Number, and miſuſed, as is well known. But as this was but the leaſt Remedy to our Evils, and the Parliament had more warmly taken the Alarm, in the Beginning of the Campaign 1677, thoſe Gentlemen were of Opinion that it was Time to make ſome Paces towards a War, and prayed the King in their Addreſſes to fortify himſelf with Alliances againſt *France:* Hereupon, to our Misfortune, which will be found theirs likewiſe at the End of the Account, Jealouſies began to break out between the King and his Parliament. His Majeſty demanded of them a Sum of 600,000 *l.* Sterling, as neceſſary for the putting him in a Poſture of ſpeaking and acting as became him: Thoſe Gentlemen gave him Credit for only 200,000 *l.* with general Promiſes of aſſiſting him after he had made his Alliances. His Majeſty imagined that the Courſe they took was an Encroachment upon his Prerogatives, and upon that prorogued from Time to Time their Aſſembly, until the Beginning of the Year 1678. In the mean while, after the End of the aforementioned Campaign of 1677, he called his Nephew the Prince of *Orange* into *England*, for the perſonally concerting Affairs with him, and giving him in Marriage the Lady *Mary*, againſt the Will, as was believed, of the Duke of *York*, that Princeſs's Father; which methinks is a ſufficient Teſtimony that this King withdrew himſelf entirely from *France*, and it has not been doubted but that the *French* ſo underſtood it. His Majeſty made likewiſe thereupon an Alliance with your Republick, and at the aſſembling of the Parliament communicated to them theſe Things, with Promiſes, if they would arm him ſufficiently to enter into a War, that he would never be at Reſt until he had re-eſtabliſhed a Peace in *Chriſtendom*, which any one Prince ſhould not be capable of diſturbing. Thoſe Gentlemen thereupon preſented an Addreſs, wherein, giveing him ſtill only general Promiſes of Aſſiſtance, they deſired him to make new Alliances, engage all his Allies not to make any Peace but upon the foot of the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, nor to have any Commerce with *France*, nor to ſuffer the Ships of any Nation to enter or go out of the Ports of that Kingdom. This Propoſition, which was very remarkable, gave different Motions to thoſe it concerned; moſt of the Allies took Courage, ſeeing the Aſſurance and Reſolution with which thoſe Gentlemen ſpoke; it gave Aſtoniſhment to you in *Holland*, where you were not deſirous to embark in a long War, and were content with a Peace of leſs Safety; and your profound Dreamers in Policy did already imagine that the *Engliſh* might carry their Arms as far as formerly into *France*. But it was very diſpleaſing to the King, as may be ſeen by the Anſwer he made thereto, which was found very rational, and wherein, after his Arguments, he preſſes them again to haſten their Aſſiſtance of Money as the Time required: But there ſtill paſſed a Month or more, before they compleated the Reſolution for Money to raiſe Forces. By that Time the *French* had made themſelves Maſters of *Ghent*, and were in a Condition of proceeding much further, before the Succours that were preparing in *England* could hinder them. The *Hollanders* ſeeing none of their Allies ready, ſome refuſing to march, their own Forces being for the greateſt Part in the *Spaniſh* Towns, from whence they could not withdraw them, and the reſt being uncapable to defend them, were in a great Conſternation. The moſt Chriſtian King did not fail to take Advantage of this Juncture, and having made them Propoſitions of a general Peace, which he cauſed to be printed, they eaſily diſpoſed themſelves to accept them,

them, and to perſuade their Allies to do the like. They ſent for that Purpoſe to the Duke of *Villa Hermoſa*, who oppoſed it a long Time; but the Parliament in *England*, ſeeing by the Diſpoſition of the *Hollanders* that it would be almoſt impoſſible to prevent the Peace, and not being willing to leave the King armed, turned all their Thoughts from War, and took the Reſolution to ſpeak no more of Money until they had obtained their Demands in Affairs of Religion; that Duke did likewiſe then accept of the Peace, ſeeing there was no timely Succour to be expected from *England*.

This, Sir, I take to be the true Draught of Things, from whence we are to judge if the King of *England* is the only Cauſe of the Greatneſs of *France*. We may certainly ſay, the Jealouſies that aroſe betwixt him and his Parliaments were the true Occaſion of them. It was to be wiſhed, both for him and us, that either one Party or other had yielded ſooner. I am not well enough acquainted with the Maxims of their Country to decide poſitively which ought to have done it. The King not only thought his Prerogatives were uſurped upon, but ſeemed to have juſt Apprehenſions of engaging in a War, which it was in the Power of his People to put an End to by ſhutting their Purſes. If they had furniſhed him with the Sum of 600,000 *l.* when he demanded it, he might either have engaged himſelf in a War, or been in a Poſture of making Peace, as he thought convenient; but thoſe Gentlemen dreaded to put Arms into the Hands of his Majeſty, for fear he ſhould make uſe of them to render himſelf abſolute: However, ſince they found it neceſſary to do it afterwards, had it not been better they had done it in Time? To ſpeak the Truth, methinks that great Body, though compoſed of ſo many wiſe Heads, did not ſufficiently foreſee what might happen, or thoſe Gentlemen did ſecretly aim at Peace while they openly declared for War; and they hoped the Heat and Reſolution which they ſhewed for the latter, would produce the former without ſtriking a Blow, and ſuch an one too as they deſired. We muſt however ſay, that they ſhewed a great deal of Wiſdom in not continuing inflexibly bent to the laſt, to hazard rather the Ruin of *Europe* than to confide an Army in the King. The Conſideration they had for the publick Good has likewiſe appeared, in that they made no Difficulty of paying that Army, though the King kept it on foot much longer than they ordered, for the obliging the *French* to reſtore the Towns of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* before the Reſtitution of the *Swedes*. The King likewiſe, on his Side, had manifeſtly made appear the little Ground there was to ſuſpect him of a Deſign to render himſelf abſolute; ſince having that Army ſo long at his Diſpoſal, he made not the leaſt Uſe of it to that Purpoſe: Methinks then that his Subjects may be in Repoſe on that Side; and would to God for our Intereſts, that the future Parliaments may be in the ſame Diſpoſition as was that we ſpeak of, of yielding rather to his Majeſty, than ſuffer *France* to draw the fatal Advantages from their Diſſention, which in all Likelihood it will endeavour to do.

I am, &c.

The

The CHARACTER of a TRUE PROTESTANT.

1682.

HE is one that profeſſeth the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the *Church of England*, as it is eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the Kingdom, and profeſſeth againſt the Contrary. He ſticks to the Proteſtation of *Auſburg*, from whence he had his Name. He loves the *Unity of the Church* ſo, that he endeavours next her *Verity in Faith*, her Unity and Conformity in Diſcipline with that Church, not daring to broach any new Opinion, nor preach them to diſturb the *Peace* of his Aged Mother! Private Interpretations of Scripture he approves not; but ſubmits his own, and maintains none againſt the received and approved Doctrine of the Church, whereof he is a Member. He thinks that Evangelical Counſel is to be obſerved, and that all Things muſt be done in Order and Decency. He owns the King to be the *Head of the Church*, as it is perſonal, and hath ſworn him *God*'s Deputy in Government, and truſted with the Sword, which he muſt not bear in vain. He dares not queſtion his Authority, who is only anſwerable to *God*; but in his Heart honours him, as God's Vicegerent; and knows, that to reſiſt his Power, is to reſiſt him that gave it; and though the Penalty be Damnation, yet he fears not for that ſo much as the Offence given to *God*, who gave that Power. He confeſſeth an Obligation to *God*'s Moral Laws, and Man's Judicial; and that there muſt be Obedience Active as well as Paſſive, to the One and the Other. He knows *Chriſt*'s Spiritual Kingdom oppoſeth not the Temporal Claim and Power of Kings; but *Cæſar* muſt have his Tribute (the Badge of Conqueſt) as *God* muſt have his Acknowledgment of his Protection; and dare not call his Sovereign the *Anointed of God*, ſince *God* called *Cyrus* an Heathen ſo; not for the Holineſs of External Unction, but the Internal Character of Supreme Power. So he can make a Difference between *Types* and *Metaphors*; the *One* being in Perſons, the *Other* in Words. He conceives Paſſive Obedience always due to the King, where Active cannot be performed with a good Conſcience. He believes Faith alone cannot juſtify without Works but both together; the *Firſt* before God, the *Second* before Man. He believes *God* rewards above Merit; yet that there is Difference in Glory and Reward, though all have Fullneſs. Traditions and Ceremonies he reverences, as they are Antiquities, and ſtream from the Spring of Original Purity, not to the Neceſſity of Doctrine but of Diſcipline. He deteſteth Parity in Church or Common-wealth, as tending to Anarchy. He dares not ſwear againſt his Conſcience, nor vow implicit Obedience to occaſional Ordinances. He thinks no Authority, but the ſame or greater than that to whom he hath made a judicial Vow, can diſ-annull it. He is Loyal, for Conſcience ſake, to his Soveraign; Charitable, for *God*'s ſake, to his Neighbour; and dares not do that unto another, he cannot be contented ſhould be done unto himſelf; much leſs rob his Sovereign of his Birth-Right, or deface *God*'s Character. He thinks *Dixi vos Dii eſtis* belongs ſupremely to his Sovereign, miniſterially to his Subjects. He dares not diſtin-

guiſh betwixt the *King* and his *Perſon*; but thinks thoſe that dare be ſo bold derive their Logick, with the *Jeſuits*, from Hell. His Heart thinks no diſloyal Thought, much leſs dares he ſpeak a Word to leſſen the Reverence due to Majeſty; not for Fear of Puniſhment, but the Sin. In a word, he is one that dares, in his Prince's juſt Quarrel, to meet Death with Chearfulneſs, as *David* met *Goliah*, or as *Daniel* went into the *Lions Den*; he can ſerve his *God*, his *King*, and *Country*, without Fear of Enemies; and with Chearfulneſs can ſing his *Nunc Dimittis*, as *Simeon* did with *Chriſt* in his Arms. And this alone is your *True Proteſtant*.

OATES's PETITION: To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, and to the Lords and others of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council.

The humble Petition and Complaint of Titus Oates *ſheweth*,

THAT your Petitioner, according to his Duty and Allegiance which he owes, and is always bound to pay to your Majeſty and the Government eſtabliſh'd by Law, did in the Month of *September*, in the Year 1678, diſcover a moſt horrid and helliſh *Popiſh Plot* againſt your Majeſty and the *Proteſtant Religion* and *Government*, to the Amazement of your Majeſty and the Privy-Council, as appears by the ſeveral Proclamations iſſued out by your Majeſty's Order, with the Advice of your moſt Honourable Privy-Council; which your Petitioner is, and will be ready to produce, when thereunto commanded by your Majeſty.

That your Majeſty was ſo highly ſenſible of the great Danger your Perſon was in, and your Government, by reaſon of that Conſpiracy, that you were graciouſly pleaſed to proclaim ſeveral ſolemn Faſts and Days of Humiliation, and did will and require your loving Subjects to join in hearty Prayers and Supplications with your Majeſty unto Almighty God for the Bleſſings of the Diſcovery, and for the farther Diſcovery thereof; and in ſeveral of your Majeſty's moſt gracious Speeches to your Houſes of Parliament, hath been pleaſed to expreſs, *How unſafe your Majeſty was till the ſaid Plot was ſearched to the Bottom.*

That ſeveral *Roman Catholick* Prieſts and others were apprehended and committed, indicted and convicted, attainted and executed upon your Petitioner's Evidence, together with the Evidence of others, the Attainders of which Perſons remain (as your Petitioner believes) upon Record.

That (upon the Evidence of your Petitioner and others) four Parliaments declared in their VOTES, *That there was an horrid* Popiſh Plot *for the Deſtruction of your Royal Perſon and your Government, and the Subverſion of the* Proteſtant Religion *as by Law eſtabliſh'd.*

That *Roger L'Eſtrange*, whom your Petitioner hears is now a Juſtice of the Peace (though turn'd out for ſeveral Miſdemeanors in the Year 1680) hath defamed

defamed and arraign'd the Juſtice of the Nation, in ridiculing the ſaid *Popiſh Plot*, and the Diſcovery and Diſcoverers thereof, in certain ſcandalous and ſeditious Pamphlets of his call'd the *Obſervator*, and in ſeveral other Pamphlets.

That the ſaid *Roger L'Eſtrange* pretends, in ſome of thoſe ſeditious and ſcandalous Pamphlets, *That he is Authorized ſo to do by one or both of your Secretaries.*

That the ſaid ſcandalous and ſeditious Pamphlets appear to countenance *Popery* in your *Proteſtant Government*, and the *Popiſh Party* have been much encouraged by the ſame to revile and threaten your Petitioner; he the ſaid *L'Eſtrange* pretending that he had Authority for ſo doing.

That your Petitioner hath borne the ſcandalous Reflections and Aſperſions, upon the Account of his Diſcovery of the ſaid *Plot*, from the ſaid *L'Eſtrange*, theſe four Years with Patience; and had the Scandals only touch'd your Petitioner, I would not have complained to your Majeſty and this Honourable Board; but ſince the ſaid *L'Eſtrange* ſcandalouſly vilifies the ſaid Diſcovery, and calls in queſtion the Juſtice of your Government, your Petitioner therefore thought fit to apply himſelf to your Majeſty, and this Board, for Redreſs.

The Premiſſes conſider'd, your Petitioner humbly prays your Majeſty, and this Right Honourable Board, to relieve your Petitioner and his Evidence *from the ſeditious Calumnies of the ſaid* Roger L'Eſtrange, *and not ſuffer your Petitioner to be left to be daily oppreſſed and deſtroyed for thoſe* Services *which your Majeſty, and Council, and Parliament, and Courts of Juſtice are ſenſible of: And your Petitioner ſhall (as in Duty bound) pray for your Majeſty's Health, and long Life, and happy Reign,* &c.

TITUS OATES.

OATES's LETTER: For the Right Honourable Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, Knight, his Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State, at *Whitehall.*

I Gave your Honour laſt *Friday* the Trouble of a few Lines, in which I told you, that I had Buſineſs of Importance with the King and Council; your Anſwer was, *That I muſt apply myſelf to a Juſtice of Peace, or Courts of Juſtice:* The Buſineſs I had with the Council is a Complaint againſt *Roger L'Eſtrange*, Eſq; who in ſeveral Libels of his called the *Obſervator*, and other ſeditious Pamphlets, hath (as I humbly conceive) vilified and ridiculed the Evidence of the *Popiſh Plot*, and arraigned the Proceedings of the Government upon the ſaid *Plot*; and to give himſelf a Reputation in this his illegal Courſe, he pretends, in one or more of thoſe his ſaid *Obſervators*, that he hath Authority or Leave from ſome of his Majeſty's Miniſters for ſo doing; which I

dare not believe. Your Honour knows, that his Majesty was so sensible of the Danger he was in, by reason of that horrid Conspiracy, that he did not only recommend the strict Examination thereof to his Houses of Parliament, but also was pleased to acquaint them, how unsafe he was till it was searched to the Bottom. Besides this, three Fasts were proclaimed, appointed and kept, which the King himself strictly kept, and commanded all his loving Subjects so to do; several Persons have been executed, and several Parliaments have voted, *That there was an horrid and hellish Popish Plot*: Now all these things considered, I could never have imagined that any private Person could have been so bold with the Government, as to use such Reflections upon their Proceedings, and call in question the Veracity of the Testimony of that Evidence, which was justified by his Majesty's Council, and the Parliament, and the Courts of Justice. I thought I should never have lived to have seen the Day that the *Plot* should be call'd in question, which the King had own'd in his several Proclamations; but since it is so, I must pray your Pardon, if I cannot apply myself for Redress in that Way and Method your Honour was pleased to order: For I humbly conceive, that it is the Government that is abused, and therefore in Conscience and Honour it is bound to vindicate it's Proceedings from such Aspersions as are cast upon them by the said *L'Estrange* and his Confederates. I would not use any Method or Way to injure the worst of my Enemies, but hope the Council will take my hard Usage from the said *L'Estrange* into serious Consideration, and cause the said *L'Estrange* to be silenced, and Reparation to be made me. To that End, I have in this sent a Petition to the King and Council, which I would have presented, if I might have had the Liberty to appear at Court, in which I pray for Redress. I hope God will put it into your Hearts to do me Right. In the mean Time, *Sir, I am*

Your Honour's
Humble Servant,
TITUS OATES.

Feb. 28. 1683.

My humble Request is, that this Petition inclosed may be presented to the King in Council, so that I may be in some probable Way of having Redress.

A LIST of all the Conspirators that have been seized (and where committed) since the Discovery of the horrid and bloody Plot, contrived by the Fanaticks against the Lives of his Majesty and his Royal Highness.

ARTHUR *Earl* of Essex, *cut his Throat in the* Tower.
William *Lord* Russel, *beheaded in* Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.
Capt. Thomas Walcot, John Rowse, William Hone, *Joiner, executed at* Tyburn.
Captain William Blagg, *tried and acquitted.*

In

In Custody at Whitehall.

Lord Howard *of* Escrick. *Colonel* John Rumsey.

In the Custody of Messengers.

Josiah Keeling, *the first Discoverer*,
Zachariah Bourn,
Sir Hugh Cambel,
Sir George Cambel,
Mr. Leigh,
Mr. Lee, *Dyer*,
Mr. Andrew Barber,
Mr. Hoskins,
Mr. Francis Lascoe,
Mr. Pascal,
Mr. Hugh Westlack,
Mr. Hugh Speke,
Mr. Grange, *Brewer*.

In the Tower.

Brandon *Lord* Gerrard,
Algernon Sidney, *Esq*;
Mr. Hambden,
Major Wildman,
Francis Charlton *Esq*;
Mr. Trenchard,
Mr. Booth,
Major Bremon,
Mr. Aaron Smith,
Henry Dearman, *who let the Lord* Gray *escape*.

In the Gate-house.

Mr. Abraham Holmes,
Mr. Pincol, *a* Scotch *Minister, and* 6 Scotch *Pedlars*,
John Gibbons, *the Duke of* Monmouth's *Footman*.
Mr. Robert Bayley,
Mr. Samuel Johnson, *Author of* Julian the Apostate, *bailed*,
Mr. William Casteers, *a* Scotch *Preacher*.

In the Marshalsea.

Mr. Monroe,
Major Hume,
Mr. Robert West,
Mr. Butler, *alias* Spence,
Mr. Francis Frank,
Mr. Edward Cole, *Brewer*,
Mr. James Wood,
Mr. John Nisbet,
Mr. John Armiger,
Mr. Bateman, Shaftsbury's *Surgeon*,
Mr. Robert Lock, *Master of the Ship which carry'd the Lord* Gray,
Mr. Noice, *Draper*.

The Names of those mentioned in his Majesty's Proclamations; together with those which are fled from Justice.

The Names of those that are fled from Justice.

Duke of Monmouth,
Ford *Lord* Gray,
Mr. Nathaniel Wade,
Mr. William Thompson,

Sir Thomas

Sir Thomas Armſtrong,
Edward Norton, *Eſq*;
Richard Nelthorp, *Eſq*;
James Stiles, *Eſq*;
Mr. Robert Ferguſon,
Mr. Richard Rumbold, *Malſter*,
Mr. William Rumbold,
Mr. Richard Goodenough,
Mr. Francis Goodenough,
Mr. James Burton, *Cheeſemonger*,
Mr. James Holloway, *Merchant*,
Mr. Joſeph Elby,
Mr. Samuel Gibbs,
Mr. Joſeph Tyley,
Mr. John Ayloff,
Mr. John Atherton, *Glaſier*,
Mr. Stephen Lobb, *Preacher*,
Mr. John Row, *late Sword-bearer of* Briſtol.

Five-hundred Pounds Reward for apprehending

The Duke of Monmouth,
Ford *Lord* Gray,
Sir Thomas Armſtrong,
Mr Robert Ferguſon.

One-hundred Pounds for apprehending

Richard Nelthorp, *Eſq*;
Mr. Richard Goodenough,
Mr. Richard Rumbold,
Mr. William Thompſon,
Mr. Nathaniel Wade,
Mr. James Burton.

The Names of thoſe that are under Bail.

Lord Lovelace,
Sir Henry Ingoldſby,
Mr. Matthew Mead, *alias* Richardſon,
Mr. Lands, *Barber*,
Mr. William Weſt, *Shoemaker*,
Sir John Borlace, *acquitted*,
Mr. Shepherd, *Merchant*.
Mr. Freake,
Mr. Thomas Green, *Inn-keeper*,
Mr. Hunt, *Apothecary*,
Mr. Shepherd, *the Earl of* Shaftſbury's *Servant*,
Mr. Iſaac Butler.

The Names of thoſe who are the Diſcoverers.

Mr. Joſiah Keeling,
Colonel John Rumſey,
Mr. Thomas Shepherd,
Lord Howard *of* Eſerick,
Mr. Robert Weſt,
Mr. Lee, *Dyer*.

The Names of the Conſpirators who were indicted July 12*th*, *with the Number of Witneſſes againſt each particular Perſon*, viz.

Duke of Monmouth,	2	Edward Norton, *Eſq*;	3
Ford *Lord* Gray,	2	James Stiles, *Eſq*;	3
Sir Thomas Armſtrong,	2	*Mr.* Robert Ferguſon,	3
Richard Nelthorp, *Eſq*;	3	*Mr.* James Holloway,	3
Mr. Richard Rumbold,	4	*Mr.* James Burton, *Cheeſemonger*,	2
Mr. Richard Goodenough,	4	*Mr.* William Thompſon,	2
Mr. Francis Goodenough,	4	*Mr.* Nathaniel Wade,	3

The Names of the Grand-Jury *for the County of* Middlesex, *who without going from the Bar found the Bill of Indictment again the Earl of* Danby, *upon the single Testimony of* Edward Fitz-Harris, *in open Court, then a Prisoner at the Bar, and arraign'd, afterwards executed for High-Treason.*

Sir William Roberts *of* Wilsdon, *Baronet*,
Sir William Cowper, *Baronet*,
Henry Herbert, *Esq*;
Edward Boscawen, *Esq*;
Thomas Barnardiston, *Esq*;
Thomas Henslow, *Esq*;
Walter Moyle, *Esq*;
Josias Clarke, *Esq*;
Thomas Austen, *Esq*;
Thomas Marsh, *Esq*;
William Bourne, *Esq*;
Edward Hutchins, *Gent.*
Joseph Ratcliffe, *Gent.*
Crisp Grange, *Gent.*
Henry Gerrard, *Gent.*
Robert Breedon, *Gent.*
George Page, *Gent.*
John Harwood, *Gent.*
John Raymond, *Gent.*
Christopher Dodsworth, *Gent.*
Henry Dealing, *Gent.*
Edward Watts, *Gent.*
Augustine Beare, *Gent.*

The Names of the Grand-Jury *for* Edward Fitz-Harris.

Mr. Michael Godfrey *of* Edmonton,
Mr. John Hill *of* Enfield,
William Hundow *of* Enfield, *Gent.*
Thomas Curtis *of the same*, Gent.
Elizeus Wyberd *of the same*, Gent.
John Read *of* Tottenham, *Gent.*
Jeremiah Benton *of the same*, Gent.
John Young *of the same*, Gent.
Edward Johnson *of* South-Mims, *Gent.*
John Page *of* Pinner, *Gent.*
John Blott *of* Hendon, *Gent.*
Francis Peters *of* Great Stanmore,
John Greenhil *of* Harrow on the Hill,
John Newman *of the same*, Gent.
Thomas Rance *of the same*, Gent.
John Bird *of the same*, Gent.
John Taylor *of the same*, Gent.
James Marsh *of* Hendon, *Gent.*
John Todd *of* Pinner, *Gent.*

The Names of the Petty-Jury *for* Edward Fitz-Harris.

Thomas Johnson *of* Mile-end, *Esq*;
Lucy Knightly *of* Hackney, *Gent.*
Edward Wilford *junior*, *of* Enfield, *Gent.*
Alexander Hosea *of* Hackney, *Gent.*
Martin James *of* Wapping, *Gent.*
John Vyner *of* Whitechappel, *Gent.*
William Withers *of* Cripplegate,
William Cleive of the same [*honest*]
Thomas Goffe *of* Stepney,
Ralph Far *of the same*,
Samuel Freebody *of* St. John-street,
John Lockyer *of* Westminster.

The Names of the Grand-Jury *for* Stephen Colledge *the Joiner.*

John Wilmore, *Leather-seller*,
William Mackley, *Strong-waterman.*
Samson Puller, *Taylor.*
Thomas Cope, *Upholsterer*,
Peter Mortimer, *Confectioner*,
John Wood, *Brasier*,
Thomas Haynes, *Carpenter.*

Thomas

Thomas Fox, *Apothecary*,
John Read, *Millener*,
Mark Stretton, *Apothecary*,
Edward Powel, *Bookſeller*,
Paul Dorrel, *Servant to the Counteſs of* Exeter, *no Free-man*,
Francis Laſcoe, *Druggiſt*,
John Armiger, *Shoemaker*,
Samuel Totton, *Mercer*,
John Pettit, *Wollen-Draper*,
Samuel Maine, *Linen-Draper*,
Caleb Hooke, *Merchant*,
Robert Davies, *Apothecary*.

The Names of the Grand-Jury *for* John Rouſe.

James Denew,
John Elwick,
Thomas Shaw,
Richard Tilden,
William Carbonel,
Joſias Smith,
Joſeph Jackſon,
Samuel Criſp,
Humphry Rogers,
John Shovel,
John Loggins,
Edmond Shermon,
John Hammond,
Joſeph Web,
Peter Eſſington,
John Newton,
Iſaac Delillers,
Samuel Round,
Henry Weade.

The Names of the Grand-Jury *for the Earl of* Shaftſbury.

Sir Samuel Barnardiſton,
John Morden,
Thomas Papillion,
John Dubois,
Charles Hearle,
Edward Rudge,
Humphrey Edwin,
John Morrice,
Edmond Harriſon,
Joſeph Wright,
John Cox,
Thomas Parker,
Leonard Robinſon,
Thomas Shepherd, Merch. now a Diſcoverer,
John Flavel,
Michael Godfrey,
Joſeph Richardſon,
William Empſon,
Andrew Kendrick,
John Lane,
John Hall.

The Preſentment of the Grand-Jury *at the Aſſizes held at* Northampton, *July 17th*, 1683.

WE the *Grand-Jury*, ſworn to inquire for the Body of the County of *Northampton*, at the Aſſizes held at *Northampton* for the ſaid County, *&c.* have with great Horror and Deteſtation received an Account of the moſt Impious and Bloody Conſpiracy againſt the Perſon of his moſt Sacred Majeſty, and his Royal Brother, which (Thanks be to God) He by his providential Care has prevented, and brought to light their helliſh Purpoſes; and not knowing how far their wicked Deſigns may proceed, we held it our Duty, in this Juncture of Affairs, to preſent, that we have ſtrong Apprehenſions of great Danger from a diſaffected Party in this County, who did openly ſhew their *Principles*, by preſenting a ſeditious *Addreſs* to *Miles Fleetwood* and *John Parkhurſt*, Eſquires, at the laſt Election of Knights of the Shire, tending to the Alteration of the *Succeſſion* of the Crown, and an intended *Aſſociation* in it to that Purpoſe; with an Aſſurance that they would ſtand by them with their Lives and Fortunes, without any Regard or Notice taken of the King's Authority, or their Allegiance or Duty towards their Sovereign. And having obſerved, that ſince that Time they have had and held ſeveral *Meetings*, *Clubs* and *Cabals*, which

which we cannot but think was to carry on the ſaid Purpoſes, and other dangerous Deſigns againſt the Government; and their Diſcourſes being *notoriouſly bold*, and their *Party* generally furniſhed with a Proportion of *Arms* rather for ſome *dangerous Deſigns*, than for the Uſe of *Private Perſons*, which upon Search could not be found, but were hid and conceal'd. We therefore *preſent* it very expedient and neceſſary for ſecuring the Peace of this County, that all *ill-affected Perſons* may give Security for the *Peace*, and particularly

RalphMountague, *Eſq*;
Sir William Langham,
William Harbord,
John Thornton,
Nicholas Butler,
Henry Ruſhton,
Miles Fleetwood,
Charles Fleetwood,
John Parkhurſt,
Edward Stratford,
Edward Hopkins,
Robert Haſlerig,
Francis Arundel,
Francis Grans,
Sir William Craven,
Salathiel Lovel,
John Coombs,
Thomas Colthurſt,
Edward Knighton,
Barth. Manning,
William Welden,
Gerrard Gore,
William Stratford,
John Bridges,
Thomas Freeman,
John Allen,
Arthur Brooks,
Henry Hind,
Luke Aburn,
Francis St. John *of* Longthrop,
Matthew Orliber,
Fane Denny,
Robert Manſel,
Jo. Craddock,
John Lee,
Samuel Ekins,
Francis Morgan,
Thomas Cateſby,
Sir Thomas Samwell,
Sir Samuel Clarke,
Thomas Whithorne,
William Tate,
Thomas Andrews,
Tobias Chancy,
William Wilmore,
Captain Aſhby *of* Bugbrook,
Edward Pierce, *Rector of* Cotteſbrook,
John Selby,
John Lucas,
Robert Ivory,
William Liſle.

To which Preſentment as aboveſaid, we the ſaid Grand-Jury *have ſubſcribed our Names as follow*, viz.

John Egerton, *Baronet*,
Lewis Palmer, *Baronet*,
Goddard Pemberton,
Thomas Elmes,
John Needham,
Henry Benſon,
Moſes Bathurſt, *Eſq*;
Nicholas Steward, *Eſq*;
Harvy Eakins, *Eſq*;
William Randolph, *Gent.*
Richard Plowman, *Gent.*
Richard Wicks, *Gent.*
Edward Ladkin, *Gent.*
William Bateman, *Gent.*
Anthony Gibbs, *Gent.*
Thomas Woodward, *Gent.*
William Cutbert, *Gent.*

The Duke of *Monmouth*'s Caſe, with all the very ſtrange Crimes and great Miſdemeanors alledged againſt his Grace, in a whole Dozen of Articles.

THE *Tories* have always the ill Luck to over-do and ill-time their Buſineſs; their Malice and Rage is ſo great againſt the *Proteſtant* Religion that it blinds them, or elſe they never would have made an Information of a Riot committed by a Perſon of that Rank, Blood and Fortune, as the Duke of *Monmouth* is, who, in Spite of all their abuſive Inſtruments, Machinations and Diſgrace, continues his Loyalty to his Prince, together with his Love to his Religion, Country, and the *Engliſh* Nation; I ſay, had they not been blinded with Rage, Folly and Madneſs, they would not have accuſed ſuch a Perſon on ſo frivolous Occaſions. O bleſſed Act of Parliament! that ſecures the *Engliſh* Liberties, and renders an *Engliſhman* bailable, that he may not be ſent to the *Tower*, or *Newgate*, or any other Priſon, upon every objected Crime. God defend our Prince and our Laws, our Religion and our Liberties, and continue both Nobles, Gentry and Commonalty, in their Obedience and Loyalty: We need not fear whilſt we have ſo good and gracious a King; and yet ſome Things ſeem ſtrange to the *Chriſtian* World, that the meaneſt of the Raſcality dare abuſe the Royal Blood, and that others are permitted to alledge, on ſo groundleſs an Occaſion, a Riot upon a Perſon that has borne ſo great a Figure in the World, that has commanded an Army, that has ſhewn invincible Courage and Bravery, that has the Blood of *Charles* the Good and the Great running in his Veins.—Some would fain render him *Abſalom* a Traitor, who is rather like the young *Scipio*, ready with his Sword to reſcue his Father from the Danger of his Enemies, or like *Æneas*, ready to carry him in his Arms from amidſt the Flame of a burning City, and who is ready, together with his Prince, to defend his Country and the eſtabliſhed Religion of the Land; hence ariſes the Hatred, the Malice, the Rage of undermining Enemies, for the Sake of his Religion, and becauſe he is beloved by the People; and though nothing in all his Actions can be picked out to render this noble and loyal Perſon criminal, or that by the ſevereſt of our Laws tends any ways to it; yet, rather than not ſhew their Malice to his Grace, whom ſome think they may tread upon with Impunity, they have drawn up Articles purporting a Riot, which Allegations for the Satisfaction of the World are here printed:

The ſtrange Crimes and Miſdemeanors alledged againſt his Grace James *Duke of* Monmouth.

IMPRIMIS, That the Lord *Colcheſter* had cauſed to be hired fifteen Poſt-Horſes for the Duke of *Monmouth* and his Retinue, to ride to a Horſe-Match beyond *Cheſter*.

II. That the Lord *Colcheſter* was ſeen to whiſper with another Gentleman for almoſt half an Hour.

III. That

III. That his ſaid Grace was met by ſeveral Companies of People on the Way as he paſſed along, to the Number of ſome Thouſands, and moſt highly broke the Peace in crying, *God bleſs the King, the* Proteſtant *Religion, and the* Proteſtant *Duke.*

IV. That he had willingly aſſented to be moſt ſplendidly treated by all the truly loyal Gentlemen of the Country, to the great Grief and Sorrow of Heart among all the *Tories.*

V. That on the ſame Day his Grace won the Plate at *Waleſie*, ſeveral Perſons made Bonfires at *Cheſter*, and drank the King's Health with great Joy and Acclamations, though ſome of the diſaffected *Tories* flung Chamber-Pots on their Heads, for which the others returned a Volley of Stones at their Windows in Requital of their Rudeneſs.

VI. That divers Gentlemen met together to dine without any Braces of Bucks ſent them by Mr. *C——ch*; and did highly derogate from the Principles of the *Tories*, in drinking the King's Health before the Duke of *York*'s.

VII. That ſome Perſons in his Grace's Company were heard to affirm, that a *Popiſh* Succeſſor was no very good Expedient for the Eſtabliſhment of the *Proteſtant* Religion.

VIII. That his Grace ſhould ride with ſeveral *Tory* Gentlemen for the Plate at *Waleſie*, and win it from them, to the great Grief of the Nation.

IX. That the ſaid *James* Duke of *Monmouth* ſhould be heard to declare, that he would willingly lay down his Life in Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon and Government as by Law eſtabliſhed.

X. That his Grace believed there was a *Popiſh* Plot, and no *Proteſtant* or *Presbyterian* Plot whatſoever, as the *Tories* would fain have the People believe.

XI. That in like Manner he did not believe the five Jeſuits and *Coleman* (executed at *Tyburn*) died Martyrs.

XII. That he ſhould declare, he would never conſent or aſſent to the eſtabliſhing *Popery* here in *England.*

To all which Articles and Allegations his Grace was told he muſt give in Sureties for the Peace, or otherwiſe ſtand committed to the *Serjeant at Arms* till he ſhould be releaſed by due Courſe of Law.

His Grace found Noblemen and Gentlemen enough to be his Bail very readily, and accordingly his Grace gave ſufficient Bail, whoſe Names are here inſerted, *viz.*

The Lord *Ruſſel.*
Lord *Clare.*
Lord *Gray.*
Leviſton Gower, *John Offly*, } Eſquires.

A true RELATION of the late KING's Death.

ON Monday, *being the* 2d *of* February, *the King roſe early, ſaying, that he had not ſlept well the laſt Night, and about Seven o'Clock, coming from his private Devotions out of his Cloſet, fell down (with ſcarce any Sign of Life remaining in him for the Space of four Hours) of a Fit of an Apoplexy; but with the Loſs of ſixteen Ounces of Blood, and other Applications, came again to his Senſes, and great Hopes were entertained of his Recovery till* Thurſday *one o'Clock, ſo that at five the Doctors, being come before the Council, declared that the King* was in great Danger, *and on* Friday, *a Quarter before Twelve, he departed this Life.*

P. M. A. C. F. came to the Duke, upon the Doctors telling him of the State of the King, and told him, *That now was the Time for him to take care of his Brother's Soul*, and that it was his Duty to tell him ſo; the Duke with this Admonition went to the King, and after ſome private Diſcourſe the King uttered theſe Expreſſions, *Oh! Brother, how long have I wiſhed—but now help me*; withal declaring, that he would have Mr. *H.* who had preſerved him in the Tree, and now hoped would preſerve his Soul: Mr. *H.* was accordingly ſent for, and deſired to bring all Neceſſaries for a dying Man; but he not having the bleſſed Sacrament by him, went to one of the Q. P. and telling him the Occaſion, deſired his Aſſiſtance to procure it, and to bring it to the back Stairs; the King having notice that Mr. *H.* waited at the Door, deſired to be in private, whereupon the Biſhops and all the Nobles withdrew; the Duke catching faſt the Door, the Lords *P. B.* and *F.* were going out alſo, but the Duke told them they might ſtay. The King ſeeing Mr. *H.* cried out, *Almighty God, what good Planet governs me, that all my Life is Wonders and Miracles; when, O Lord, I conſider my Infancy, my Exile, my Eſcape at* Worceſter, *my Preſervation in the Tree, with the Aſſiſtance of this good Father, and now to have him again to preſerve my Soul! O Lord, my wonderful Reſtauration, my great Danger in the late Conſpiracy, and laſt of all to be raiſed from Death to Life, and to have my Soul preſerved by the Aſſiſtance of this Father, whom I ſee, O good Lord, that thou haſt created for my Good!* The Duke and Lords withdrew into the Cloſet for the Space of an Hour and a half, then entering the Room again, the Father aſked the King whether he would be pleaſed to receive; he anſwered, *If I am worthy of it—Amen, Amen.* The Father remaining comforting and praying with him, he ſaid, *Father if I am worthy of it I pray let me have it*; the Father ſaid it would be brought to him immediately, and aſked his Leave to proceed with extreme Unction; the King replied, *With all my Heart*, the Duke and Lords aſſiſting at the Time. Mr. *H.* was called to the Door, where he received the bleſſed Sacrament, and deſiring the King to compoſe himſelf to receive, he would fain have aroſe (but was perſuaded to the contrary) ſaying, *Let me meet my heavenly Father in a better Manner than lying on my Back*; but being overruled, they continue in Prayer; amongſt others, the Father repeats an Act of Contrition, deſiring the King to repeat it Word by Word after him: Having made an End, the King received with the greateſt Expreſſions of Devotion imaginable: This being ended, they go on with the Prayers *de Anima*; which being

being done, the King desired the Act of Contrition to be repeated, saying, *O Lord, good God, when my Lips fail, let my Heart speak these Words eternally, Amen.* The Bishops and Lords enter again the Room, and desire the King to remember his last End, and to endeavour to make a good End; he said he had thought of it, and hoped he had made his Peace with God; they asked him whether he would receive, he said he would not; but persisted in extolling the Queen and Duke, saying he was not sorry to leave the World, leaving so good a Brother to rule after him.

The MEMOIRS of *TITUS OATES.* Written for publick Satisfaction. 1685.

The PREFACE.

THE great and wonderful Exploits of our Hero Titus *have so far out-done the Feats of* Sancho Pancha *himself, that the very Atchievements even of a* Garantua *will bear a fairer Appearance of* History *and* Truth *than the more* romantick Narrative *of our great and formidable* Salamanca Discoverer: *For, truly, to consider how strangely powerful the Infatuations even of almost three whole Kingdoms have been, in reposing such implicit Faith in a Discovery made up of so many Incongruities, Inconsistencies, and palpable Contradictions, as are found all along through the Depositions of the pretended* Popish Plot, *is enough to make the* English *Credulity so universally ridiculous, that all Christendom shall blush at us, and our very Posterity shall be so much ashamed of their Fore-fathers Follies and Stupidity, till future Generations, even for their own Reputation, shall as zealously endeavour to cover and conceal this most egregrious blind Side of their besotted Progenitors, as ever* Shem *and* Japhet *did the Nakedness of their Father.*

But because Justice has at last in some Part overtaken him, and Fridays *and* Saturdays *Inquisition into the innocent Blood which that barbarous Wretch has so solemnly murdered, has set forth the perjured Murderer in some of his true infernal Colours, I have thought fit to publish these farther Memoirs of that ever execrable Fardle of Imposture and Perjury, his pretended Discovery of the* Popish Plot. *And the Reason of this Undertaking is, that notwithstanding the two last Trials have made his Shams and Lyes so notoriously apparent, as to make him truly deserve the* Lord Chief Justice's *proper Character of him, of being certainly the blackest of Villains that ever lived upon the Face of the Earth; and those two Limbs of his Plot, his Consult on the 24th of* April, *and the* August *following, have sufficiently assured us that all the rest of his Discoveries are but Branches of the same damnable Stock, whilst the same Vein of Perjury runs through the whole Mass of his Hellish Lyes and Narratives; yet because the universal Spirit of Delusion is such, that too many of our* English *Fools are as fond of their own senseless Dreams as of their very* Bibles *themselves (and no doubt there are yet Thousands of those unthinking, unconverted Animals, that have that Veneration still for their Darling* Titus, *that they*

pay

pay him even a wild Indian *Adoration, and make a God of the Devil himself) it will not be amiss to examine a few more Particulars, by Way of Inquiry into the most important Foundation of his whole Plot, and shew what Nonsense and Chimera's have been imposed upon the World.*

THE Popish Plot, as delivered by *Titus Oates*, and the rest of his *Zanies*, *Bedlow*, *Dugdale*, *Prance*, &c. is wholly founded on these two Bases:

First, That the Papists had a Design to murder the late King.

And next, to massacre us; Popery being only to be introduced by these two desperate and bloody Undertakings.

The several Attempts and Designs of murdering the King are as follow:

The *first* bloody Resolve of the Papists for that Purpose, was on the 24th of *April* in the Year 1678, whilst *Oates*, upon the Holy Evangelists, assures us, that the Principal of the *Jesuits* and other great Popish Agents, to the Number of above Fifty, from several Parts of the World, met together on that Day, and came to this Resolve; That *Pickering* and *Groves* should *go on* with their Attempt of murdering the King, for which the one should have 1500 l. and the other 30,000 Masses: To which Resolve and Promise they all at several Places subscribed their several Hands.

Now we are to know likewise who those two Persons were that were thus set to work, *viz.* Two poor Servants and Retainers to the *Romish* Priests, and two Persons who had been before engaged in the same Design, and had dog'd the King (by *Oates*'s own Oath) from the Year Seventy to that very Day, with screwed Guns and Silver Bullets to do the same Execution, and were two such wretched Fools at so desperate a Piece of Service, that one Time their Flint was loose, another Time their Gun was charged with all Bullets and no Powder, another Time with no Powder in the Pan, and another Time with all Powder and no Bullets: Yet nevertheless, after they had always miscarried at this egregious senseless Rate, and had been disciplined severely for it, here meets a Consult of *Jesuits* from all Quarters of *Europe*; and after a full Debate upon so important a Point to their grand Design, as the immediate Murder of the King, they come to no other Result than that these two poor Cuddens, after above seven Years fumbling before, should go on with the Attempt, without so much as engaging one Hand beside in the Conspiracy (for all the other Assassinates were not embarked in the Design till *August* following;) so that had *Oates* been able to have proved himself here in Town at the *April* Consult, nevertheless his great *April* Plot must still have fallen to the Ground, and consequently, all the Blood of the executed Papists have cried for Vengeance from so perjured a Murderer; unless we can imagine that so many Popish Emissaries, the greatest of all the *Romish* Politicians, could be guilty of so ridiculous a Management.

Besides, as the Sequel of this King-killing-Blow, *Oates* particularly swears, That no sooner was the King to have fallen, but both the *Spanish* Pilgrims, 30,000 strong, and a *French* Army besides, were prepared to land, and follow the Blow by joining with the *English* Papists already listed for that Purpose, and cutting the Protestants Throats; so that upon the up-shot of the whole Matter, unless we can suppose that the *French* and *Spanish* Kings had their Pilgrims and Armies and a Fleet ready to land them, all prepared for seven whole

whole Years together, Winter or Summer, to ſtep over the Water, to nick the Buſineſs, and proſecute the Maſſacre upon the Criſis of the King's Murder, the whole Conſpiracy comes to nothing.

Beſides, we muſt pardon Mr. *Oates*'s Forgetfulneſs in ſeveral main Paſſages of *Pickering*'s Atchievement; firſt, That in his Narrative he expreſsly upon Oath aſſigns the Time of *Pickering*'s Flint being looſe, and his being laſhed for it, to be in *January* 1677, but at his Trial he poſitively ſwears it was done in *April* 1678. Secondly, we muſt not be ſtagger'd to imagine how a Fellow in ſo open a Place as *St. James's-Park* could preſent a Gun againſt the King, and flaſh in the very Pan (as another Time he ſwears for *Pickering*) and yet neither the King nor any one of his Attendants diſcover him. Neither are we to reflect, how it is utterly impoſſible to ſhoot a Silver Bullet out of a ſcrewed Gun, Silver being too hard a Metal ever to be diſcharged without tearing the Gun all to Pieces.

For the Hiſtory of his other Popiſh Ruffians, his *Conyers* with his Dagger, his four *Iriſh* Ruffians (by the bye, all Gentlemen of Quality and Fortune, and yet all hired for ſo bold an Attempt as ſhooting the King for but poor fourſcore Pounds between them, when the little inconſiderable Wretch *Groves* was to be rewarded with no leſs than 1500 *l.*) For the Hiſtory, I ſay, of theſe Aſſaſſinates and Sir *George Wakeman*'s Affair, they were altogether a Maſs of Nonſenſe ſo nauſeouſly fulſome, that even the all-believing *Whigs* themſelves, in the very hotteſt Dog-days of true Proteſtant Zeal and Enthuſiaſm, turned Stomach at; inſomuch that the terrible Poiſoner Sir *George* himſelf was acquitted even by a *Whig* Jury, in Defiance of all the Popiſh Fears and Jealouſies, which in that Time of the World were no leſs than Mountain high.

But to muſter the Strength of all theſe laſt Undertakers, and indeed the whole Force of his Plot itſelf, in his Preface to his Narrative he tells the World, that he diſcovered his Plot firſt to his Majeſty, by the Introduction of Mr. *Chriſtopher Kerby*, on the 13th of *Auguſt*, 1678; at which Time you muſt note, he brought no other Credentials to ſupport his Plot, but Words and Forehead, Oath and Impudence, being utterly unable to produce the leaſt Scrap of one of all his numberleſs pretended treaſonable Papers, Letters or Commiſſions, to corroborate his Evidence; notwithſtanding his Narrative aſſures us, that the *Jeſuits* had long before wrought the King almoſt to an utter Deafneſs and Infidelity againſt all Informations whatever againſt them, and conſequently, his preſerving ſome of thoſe undeniable Records againſt them, all entruſted in his Hands, was the only neceſſary Introduction to the Credit and Support of his whole Diſcovery.

But however, not one Syllable of any Thing of that Kind was ever ſeen or brought forth from that Day to this, and the only lame Excuſe that can help him is, to ſay, Truly whilſt he plotted with them he was one of them, and therefore did not ſeek to preſerve any ſuch convincing Papers or Commiſſions: Though, by the bye, it looks a little odd in one of his Trials, where he downright ſwears he was a Proteſtant all along, and diſguiſed himſelf a Papiſt only to herd with them and betray them. But let that paſs.

The prodigious Over-ſight and Negligence of our Diſcoverer in this Point being forgiven him for once, how came it to paſs nevertheleſs, that after that very 13th Day of *Auguſt*, when he returned again to the *Jeſuits*, and plotted with.

with them once more, only as a Spy and a Trapan to take an Opportunity of betraying them; when after that very Day, he delivered out ſeveral new Commiſſions, met alſo at a Conſult of the *Benedictines*, and carried their ſubſcribed Reſolve of Murdering the King to a ſecond Conſult of the *Carmelites*, for to ſign it; met likewiſe another Time *Conyers* with his broad Dagger in *Gray's-Inn-Walks*, and *Pickering* with his Baſket of Fire-Balls at Noon Day, in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, when he ſaw *Coleman* diſpatch the Meſſenger to the four *Iriſh* Ruffians: Nay, and all the whole Buſineſs of Sir *George Wakeman* was all acted after that Day; when in fine no leſs than thirty Paragraphs in his Narrative, containing the very hotteſt Part of his whole Plot, were all Tranſactions after this firſt Diſcovery to the King: How comes it to paſs, I ſay, after his cold Reception at Court, and the King's ſo obdurate Incredulity, that our Adventurer ſhould ſet out a Treaſon-hunting once more, for no other Deſign but for Proof and Demonſtrations, and *Ocular Teſtimonials*; and yet after all theſe offered Advantages of both Conſpirators and Conſpiracies, Traitors and Treaſonable Records in his Power, he ſhould ſtill come to Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, the *September* following, with his full and compleat Popiſh Manifeſto, and yet without one Scrap of Commiſſions, Papers, Reſolves, *&c.* and with only his old *Jargon*, Breath and Words, Noiſe and Oaths for the Support of his pretended Oraculous Diſcovery. Good Heaven! How wide was the *Engliſh* Swallow, when ſuch idle ridiculous Stuff could go down!

But to leave the King-killing Part of his Plot, and take a little View of his Proteſtant Throat-cutting, *viz.* The ſecond Act of his *Popiſh* Tragedy.

Here we muſt return to his *Spaniſh* Pilgrims, his *Black-Bills*, and his *French Armies* before-mentioned, together with the Armies of *Engliſh* Papiſts deſigned to be raiſed, to join with them. And to begin at Home, here was the Lord *Bellaſis*, and the Lord *Petre*, and a great many other of the greateſt *Roman Catholicks*, had Commiſſions deliver'd them to be Generals, Lieutenant-Generals, and ſo downwards to Colonels and Captains, *&c.* over ſeveral Popiſh Armies intended to be raiſed to ſubdue *England* to the *Romiſh* Yoke.

Now here are a great many very odd things in this Projection. *Firſt*, 'Tis wondrous, that the *Jeſuits* and the Head *Plotters* of the *Papiſts* were ſo cock-ſure of the Fidelity of their whole Party, that they durſt hope to liſt ſo many Thouſands of *Roman Catholicks* (nay had liſted them, if *Bedlow* may be believed, being all ready to riſe at four and twenty Hours warning) and not have one falſe Brother amongſt them all, to betray ſo barbarous and ſo rebellious an Undertaking. There was a Time when Thouſands of that Religion ventured both Lives and Fortunes to recover the King's Right againſt uſurping Traitors, with ſcarce one Diſſenter amongſt the whole Party againſt ſo loyal a Cauſe; and 'tis a very ſtrange Change, that in a matter of thirty-odd Years they ſhould all be ſo univerſally perverted to the Depoſing and Murdering him, as not to meet ſo much as one *Pendril* or one *Huddleſton* amongſt ſo many thouſands (as this Army was to conſiſt of) that might probably have told Tales beforehand, and betrayed ſo wicked and ſo helliſh a Purpoſe, and thereby not only have ruin'd the whole Plot, but the whole Party beſides.

Secondly, We are to take notice, it was in *May*, *June*, *July* and *Auguſt*, 1678, that *Oates* atteſts his Delivery of Commiſſions for the pretended Popiſh Armies: And on the Succeſs of theſe Armies, aſſiſted by the Foreign Popiſh Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries beforementioned, depended the whole Fortune of the *Romiſh* Cauſe, Popery being wholly to be eſtabliſhed by Military Execution. And yet, as the Devil and the Doctor would have it, *Pickering* and *Groves*, as you have been told before, had been ſeven Years together at the King's very Throat; nay and the great Rewards of 1500 *l.* and 30,000 Maſſes, together with *Pickering*'s ſevere Backſide Caſtigation, were Motives and Spurs to haſten and expedite the future Performance of theſe two terrible ſcrewed Gunners. And yet here was the King to have been ſhot the very next Moment (if poſſible) and all the while the very Commiſſions were not given out till ſome Months after, for the Raiſing the Army ſo immediately neceſſary to proſecute the Blow after the King's Diſpatch: Now in the Name of Dulneſs where were our Wits when all this hideous Piece of *Apocrypha* was current Goſpel amongſt us?

And *Laſtly*, To bring the Foreign Heroes into Play too, *Oates* ſwears that upon ſubduing of *England* in Manner aforeſaid, the *French* were to be Lords of the Aſcendant, the Government of *England* being deſigned to have devolved into their Hands. And pray mark the Riddle of the Buſineſs—Here was the *Spaniſh* King, in the Year 1678, lending no leſs a Body of Men than Thirty-thouſand fighting Pilgrims, to help to eſtabliſh the *French* King in the Monarchy of *England*, at the very ſame Time that he was in actual War againſt him, and an utter Enemy to *France*, and ſo harreſs'd by the *French*, that he was courting almoſt all *Chriſtendom* againſt him, and imploring all Foreign Aids and Alliances to oppoſe him; yes, tho' he had already loſt ſo large and ſo important a Part of his own Country to him, and was not over able with his beſt Strength to defend the reſt from him; yet is this *Spaniſh* King forſooth (if *Oates*'s Evidence will hold water) aiding and aſſiſting the *French* King with ſo vaſt a Succour, for the Enlarging the very Victories of his moſt hated Enemy by ſo prodigious an Acquiſition as the Imperial Diadem of *England*. Oh! the Miracles of a *Romiſh* Plot, and the more Miraculous *Engliſh* Stomachs to digeſt it!

This, Reader, is the great and dreadful *Popiſh* Bug-bear, that once had Power to fright three Kingdoms out of their Senſes, and this the Saviour of the Nation, that ſo many almoſt proſtrate Knees, and up-lifted Hands, entertained and ſaluted with no leſs than *Palm-Branches* and *Hoſannahs*. The Particula ſing of all the Nonſenſical Incongruities and Contradictions thro' the whole Legend of his Diſcovery, ſuch as his ſwearing at one Trial he was perverted to the *Romiſh* Religion, and at another that he was ſtill a *Proteſtant*, and only play'd the Hypocrite amongſt the *Papiſts*, to learn their Secrets, and to detect their Plots: And then his ſwearing before the Council, that he knew not *Coleman*, when brought Face to Face before him, and yet at his Trial to ſwear he was his moſt intimate Acquaintance, and Co-plotter in the whole Buſineſs of the four *Iriſh* Ruffians; and conſequently was the main Evidence that hanged him: But moſt of all, this his moſt egregious Perjury, in ſwearing before the *Houſe of Lords*, that he had diſcovered the whole Plot, and had not one Perſon more to accuſe, than what he had named and impeached before; and yet, after all this, to bring the very Queen into the Conſpiracy to poiſon the King; a Princeſs of that immaculate Virtue, and unexampled Piety, into ſo damnable and helliſh a Deſign; that moſt arrogant of Impoſtures and Villainies, as far from the very Shadow of Truth, as the *Monſter* that uttered it is from Heaven: The Particulariſing, I ſay, of all the egregious and impudent

Falſities, thro' his whole Fardle of Narratives, is a Work too long and tedious. Beſides, the Myſtery of Iniquity (Thanks be to Heaven) is already made ſo tranſparent almoſt to all Eyes and Underſtandings, that it is almoſt impoſſible that any thing but willful and hardned Blindneſs itſelf cannot plainly ſee through it.

The only and laſt, tho' feeble Argument that his Defenders (if it's poſſible he can have any left) can make for him, is to ſay: How is it poſſible that all his Diſcovery ſhould be ſuch errant Forgery and Impoſture, and yet be ſo univerſally believed, even by the moſt unanimous and ſo long Aſſent of the greateſt and moſt ſenſible Men of the whole Kingdom? Why truly, were not an *Engliſhman*'s Belief one of the greateſt Prodigies ſince the Flood, this might be much wondered at. And truly it would appear almoſt ſtupendous, how almoſt a whole Nation ſhould be ſo beſotted, had not woeful Experience convinced, that this is the ſecond notorious Blot in our *Engliſh* Scutcheon. For let us look back into the diſmal Fears and Jealouſies in the Reign of King *Charles* I. and we ſhall find the ſelf-ſame Phantom govern'd then too; for juſt ſuch another as ſenſeleſs and as ridiculous imaginary Plot of ſetting up Popery and arbitrary Power, *O monſtrum horrendum!* blew Three Kingdoms into a Flame; and from the diſmal Effects of that Epidemical Lunacy has left that Stain upon the *Engliſh* Name and Reputation abroad in the World, that not whole Ages will waſh off. And truly we have no Excuſe left, why we ſhould be ſo groſly impoſed upon again, and run into a ſecond as damnable an Error as the firſt, but frankly confeſſing, that the Frenzy of our Fathers is *Hereditary*, and nothing but their Madneſs running in our Blood has been the Cauſe of ſo enormous a Folly; the extravagant Apprehenſions of the Danger of Popery being that natural Imperfection, that the Generality of *Engliſhmen* are as much born to, as Men are to a Club-foot, or a Hunch-back, or any other Deformity, and (really) which they are almoſt as hardly to be cured of.

And therefore to draw to an End with our Swearing-Maſter *Titus*, that helliſh Incendiary, and chief *viſible* Original of our ſo many Years Diſtractions, his Sentence, though it ſeem ſevere, is much leſs than he deſerves; our *Engliſh* Law-makers, as never imagining the Poſſibility of ſo unexampled an *Offender*, having provided no Puniſhment equal to the Demerits of ſuch unprecedented Villainy.

BRIEF REFLECTIONS upon the Inconveniencies attending willful and malicious Forgery and Perjury: With ſome Reaſons why ſuch Crimes ought to be made Felony. 1685.

THESE two pernicious and inſeparable Companions, Forgery and Perjury, like poiſonous Vermine, have often ſucked out and deſtroyed the very Juice and Beauty of many flouriſhing Flowers; nor hath the Royal Oak eſcaped being encompaſſed about with the malignant Ivy of thoſe horrid

horrid Crimes, even to that dangerous Degree of Rebels gaining a Point almoſt fit for laying their fatal Axes to the Root of that Sacred Tree.

To diſcourſe of the late grand Impoſtors of State, or their flagitious Practices, would be a Taſk too tedious for me, or my preſent Purpoſe; and only fit for an Age more ſtupid, and leſs capable of Obſervation and rational Sentiments than this.

Their unparallel'd Villanies are now become too apparent to every diſcerning Eye, either to be queſtioned or doubted; for 'tis moſt certain, that the extravagant Pranks and Projects of thoſe Monſters ſtill beat very convincingly intenſe upon the Nerves and intellectual Parts of all truly loyal and unprejudiced Subjects, who now perhaps cannot but reckon it a very great Blemiſh to the *Engliſh* Air, that ever ſuch Miſcreants ſhould have the Happineſs of breathing in it.

And if there be any Reaſon to find fault with the Imperfection or Deficiency of the Statute-Laws of this Realm in Criminal Caſes (which undoubtedly are otherwiſe the beſt and moſt rational Laws in the World) 'tis principally becauſe there are none yet ſevere enough againſt the pernicious and dangerous Crimes of willful Forgery and Perjury.

For if a Theif ſteal a Horſe or a Mare, or but the Value of two or three Shillings, it is Felony, and by the Law he ought to die for that Offence; but if a Pack of Rogues join together, and by Forgery and Perjury ruin Men in their Reputations and Eſtates, they are uſually only exalted to ſtand in the Pillory, or fined, or impriſoned for it; which minute Puniſhment ſeldom produces any other Effect than barely to make the Criminal the more incorrigible, and proves many times but as Sauce to craving Stomachs, preparing them the better to devour and conſume the next Dainties they can meet with, never ſcrupling to make a Prey of Mens Lives and Fortunes, though the ungodly and illegal Diſinheriting of Kings, the Unhinging of Monarchy, and the utter Devaſtation and Deſtruction of Kingdoms, Societies, and Families, ſhould inevitably fall into the Bargain; and therefore if an Argument drawn *ab inconvenienti* (which is generally held to be very forceable) ought to have any Power in any Caſe, certainly it ought to have ſo in this, to make willful and malicious Forgery and Perjury, Felony: For it's almoſt impoſſible to prove (ſuppoſe what you will) that greater Inconveniencies will attend the making of ſuch Crimes Felony, than have attended, and may be feared will attend, the not making of them ſo.

That many particular Perſons have ſeverely ſmarted in their Reputations and Eſtates, as well as the Kingdom in general, by Forgery and Perjury, 'tis preſumed will not be denied by any judicious, obſerving, and thoughtful Man: Nor durſt I preſume any Man ſo totally unacquainted with the Affairs of this World, but either he knows or hath heard what Havock and Miſchief thoſe two abominable and deſtructive Sins have made amongſt the Widows and Orphans of this Age.

However, that you may be furniſhed with ſome few freſh Inſtances of that kind (for to give you all, as it is impoſſible, ſo it were fitter for a large Volume than the narrow Compaſs of a Sheet of Paper) I am obliged to aſſure you (particular Inſtances of Matter of Fact being the moſt cogent and prevailing Arguments) that two Perſons of good Quality and Reputation have been lately

damnified and prejudiced in their Eſtates, to the Value of at leaſt 3000 *l.* in different Caſes, by the Male-contrivance and falſe Oaths of common Hackney-ſwearers and Knights of the Poſt, who with their Confederates and Abettors (after many Years Proſecution, *in forma pauperis*) of the Perſons and Executors whom they have ſo groſly abuſed and oppreſſed, are at laſt found out and detected; and now it appears, that the Deeds and Inſtruments in Writing by them ſet up (and whereon Verdicts and Judgments at Law for great Sums of Money were obtained) were actually forged ſeveral Months after the Deaths of the Perſons and Teſtators, whoſe Deeds they were pretended to be, though ſo cunningly and artificially contrived, as to bear Date many Years before their Deceaſe. And one of the principal Forgers (being ſerved with Proceſs to appear and anſwer to an Information of Forgery and Perjury lately exhibited againſt him) ſoon after, and before Juſtice could come to beſtow upon him his due Reward, died: But one of his Champions and Brother Confederates in that horrid Iniquity, haveing ſurvived him, is now under Proſecution for the ſame Crimes, which undoubtedly will be ſo fully and plainly proved, that 'twill be almoſt impoſſible any thing ſhould be wanting to do him Right, ſave only ſeverer Laws for his Puniſhment; for ſuch hath been his Confidence (as though inexpreſſible Impudence were one of the leaſt Ingredients in the Compoſition of his Rogueries) that he hath confeſſed that he hath been hired and ſuborned to ſwear falſly for Money, and even ſince the Information exhibited againſt him hath boldly affirmed, that he neither regarded nor valued a Pillory, declaring that better Men than himſelf were daily brought thither, and that 'twas but to have a little Patience for an Hour or two, and the whole Buſineſs would ſoon receive a Determination, and be over, with as much Eaſe and little Trouble as a nine Days Wonder; which Language, without Queſtion, is very agreeable to the reſt of his wicked Crew: So that 'tis plain the Pettineſs of the Puniſhment, uſually inflicted upon ſuch Offenders, makes them perſiſt the more obſtinately in the Practice of their black and helliſh Crimes. And therefore 'tis conceived, that the moſt probable Way to abate their Confidence and aſſwage their Courage, is to make and execute more ſtrict Laws againſt them, than there are yet in being.

Beſides, 'tis credibly reported, that this famous Artiſt (for all Sorts of notorious Contrivances in Miſchiefs) hath as great Reputation for his Wit and Cunning in Forgery, amongſt all the Rogues and Knights of the Poſt about this Town, as ever any Criminal had that was hanged at *Tyburn*, boaſting that he could ſo exactly counterfeit the Hand-writing of Mens Names, that it was impoſſible to find out the Cheat, unleſs the Perſons whoſe Names were ſo counterfeited (he uſually dealing with the Names of dead Men) ſhould ariſe out of their Graves, and ſwear that 'twas none of their own Hand-writing. And that he formerly got by his ſubtile Tricks at leaſt 100 *l. per Annum* from the Catholicks; it being his Practice (about ſix or ſeven Years ſince) to forge Writs againſt ſeveral Catholicks of good Quality, privately pretending that the ſame Writs were regularly iſſued againſt them upon Penal Statutes out of the Courts of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and thereby affrighted them (he being then a common Informer) into ſecret Agreements to pay him ſeveral Sums of Money; whereas in Truth there were never any ſuch Writs or Proceſs granted out againſt thoſe Perſons from whom he thus vexatiouſly extorted Money.

But to reſume, and give you one or two Inſtances more for all the reſt of the great Inconveniencies attending the Faintneſs and Deficiency of our Statute Laws (in point of Puniſhment) againſt willful and malicious Forgery and Perjury.

If any Perſon lie in wait to wound or deface another, or if a Highway-man rob you (though only of your travelling Coin) he becomes thereby guilty of Felony, and according to Statute Law he ought to be hang'd for it; beſides, you have your Remedy by the Statute (in the laſt Caſe made and provided) to recover of the Hundred wherein you were rob'd, the Value of all that was ſo taken from you: And this is concluded (as indeed it is) to be both reaſonable and juſt. But if a Knight of the Poſt (by premeditated and malicious Forgery and Perjury) ruin and undo honeſt Men and their Families, by taking away and deſtroying both their Lives and Fortunes at once (as too often by ſad and lamentable Experience it hath happened) yet in this Caſe (by the Statute Laws, as now they are) there is no Proviſion made, either to puniſh the malicious perjured Perſon with Death, as a juſt Recompence and Satisfaction to the Law of God, for ſhedding innocent Blood, or to ſubject his Eſtate (if he have any) to make Reſtitution to the injured Perſon's Family, for the Loſs and Ruin of his; which (*prima facie*, beſides the ill Conſequences of it) ſeems to be a very ſevere and hard Caſe. And wherein, in this Caſe, doth that juſt Proportion lie (which ought to be) between the Puniſhment and the Crime? Or, how is the Puniſhment proportionable to the Offences, in the Caſes of willful Forgery and Perjury? when, after a Man ſhall be thereby utterly ruined and undone, he ſhall have no other Remedy or Satisfaction left, but (at the rate of great Trouble and Expence) the empty Shouts and Laughter of the Mobile and Rabble, with (it may be) the unwarrantable Diſcharge of a few Vollies of rotten Oranges and Eggs to the profligate and incorrigible Villain that ſtands in the Pillory.

'Tis therefore (and for other weighty Reaſons, too tedious here to be expreſſed) high Time (with Submiſſion to better Judgments) both with reſpect to his Majeſty's Intereſt, and the Safety and Security of his Kingdoms and People, that ſuch Inconveniences ſhould be remedy'd and redreſs'd, and ſtricter Laws made (with greater Puniſhments than yet there are) againſt ſuch Offenders; for if it be contrary to Principles of Juſtice and Reaſon, that ſuch Tranſgreſſors ſhould be exempt from Puniſhments adequate to their Crimes, then 'tis both reaſonable and juſt that a Law ſhould be made, to puniſh them according to their Demerits; for *Ratio eſt Anima Legis.*

And in regard the grand Council of this Nation (by his Majeſty's ſpecial Grace and Favour) are now aſſembled in Parliament, 'tis humbly offered to the ſerious Conſideration of his moſt Sacred Majeſty, and his great Council aſſembled, that ſuch a Statute Law may be made this Seſſion of Parliament, againſt willful Forgery and Perjury, as may not only tend to deſtroy that wicked Herd of perjured Sataniſts in this Kingdom, but to relieve and diſcharge thoſe that have been oppreſſed by their malicious Contrivances, from the Judgments at Law obtained thereby; and curb their unbridled Inſolences for the Time to come, with enacting that ſuch Crimes ſhall be made Felony, which certainly (notwithſtanding what can be rationally objected againſt it, after ſerious Conſultation, and adviſing with the learned in the Law concerning the due qualifying, limitting,

limitting, and well penning of such an Act) will not at all (as some fancy) discourage honest and good Men from a chearful swearing the Truth in Courts of Law and Justice, for the Determination of Controversies (their own Interest, and that most excellent Rule of doing for others, as they would that they should do for them, indispensibly requiring it) but on the contrary, for the future will certainly affright and deter all Knights of the Post, and hackney Swearers, from offering any more to attempt the Ruin either of Kings, Kingdoms, Societies or Families, by such their most destructive Practices and Diabolical Crimes.

A Short Discourse upon the Reasonableness of Mens having a Religion, or Worship of God. By his Grace *George* Duke of *Buckingham.* 1685.

To the READER.

WHEN I began to write upon this Subject, it was out of a Curiosity I had to try what I could say in Reason, against the bold Assertions of those Men, who think it a witty Thing to defame Religion; and I have seen so few Writings of late which are not very tedious, that I was desirous at least to avoid that Fault in this, by making it as short as I could.

The Reason why I have suffered it to be printed is indeed because I could not help it; Copies having been taken of it, and sent to the Press, by the Negligence of some to whom I lent it to read. I was as much ashamed to forbid the Printing of it as I should have been to have order'd it, or as I should be, now it is printed, to disown what I have written; and therefore I have here set my Name to it.

By the Nature of this Discourse, I was forced to conclude with an Opinion, which I have been long convinced of, That nothing can be more Antichristian, nor more contrary to Sense and Reason, than to trouble and molest our Fellow-Christians, because they cannot be exactly of our Minds, in all the Things relating to the Worship of God.

And who will but examine what Multitudes of Men there are now amongst us, of different Persuasions in Religion, and how inconsiderable any one Part of them is, compared to the rest, must, I am confident, be convinced, that the Practice of it, at this Time, would be of no Advantage to the Publick.

If a serious Consideration of the Present State of this Kingdom can sink deep enough into Mens Hearts, to make them endeavour now to promote a true Liberty of Conscience, I shall yet hope to enjoy happy Days in England. *But otherwise, without pretending to be a Prophet, I can easily foresee, that the contrary must of Necessity terminate in this:* A general Discontent; the Dispeopling of our poor Country; and the Exposing us to the Conquest of a Foreign Nation.

BUCKINGHAM.

THERE is nothing that gives Men a greater Dissatisfaction, than to find themselves disappointed in their Expectations, especially of those Things in which they think themselves most concerned; and therefore all, who go about

about to give Demonſtrations in Matters of Religion, and fail in the Attempt, do not only leave Men leſs devout than they were before, but alſo with great Pains and Induſtry lay in their Minds the very Grounds and Foundations of Atheiſm: For the Generality of Mankind, either out of Lazineſs, or a Diffidence of their being able to judge aright in Points that are not very clear, are apt rather to take Things upon Truſt than to give themſelves the Trouble to examine whether they be true or no. But when they find, that what a Man undertakes to give them for a Demonſtration is really none at all, they do not only conclude they are deceived by him, but begin alſo to ſuſpect, they have been ill uſed by thoſe, who firſt impoſed upon them a Notion, for which no Demonſtration can be given; and from that Suſpicion proceed to this other of a more dangerous Conſequence, That what is not demonſtrable may perhaps too not be true.

I ſhall therefore, in this Diſcourſe, make uſe of another Method, and content myſelf with endeavouring to ſhew what, in my Opinion, is moſt probable; Demonſtration being, as to Matters of Faith, abſolutely unneceſſary: Becauſe, if I can convince a Man, that the Notions I maintain are more likely to be true than falſe, it is not in his Power not to believe them; no Man believing any Thing becauſe he has a Mind to believe it, but becauſe his Judgment is convinced, and he cannot chooſe but believe it, whether he will or no; and Belief is all that is required of us in the Speculative Part of Religion.

Beſides, Demonſtration being ſuch an Evidence of a Thing, as ſhews the Contrary of it to be impoſſible; it is, if you mark it, a whimſical kind of Expreſſion to ſay, that a Man does but believe a Thing to be ſo, which he is ſure cannot poſſibly be otherwiſe. It is juſt as ingenious as if one ſhould profeſs, that he hopes he ſhall but begin to have a Thing to-morrow, which he is already this Day in Poſſeſſion of: Belief and Faith being as intirely ſwallowed up in Demonſtration, as Hope is in Fruition.

My Deſign in this Paper is to induce Men to a Belief of Religion, by the Strength of Reaſon; and therefore I am forced to lay aſide all Arguments which have any Dependence upon the Authority of Scripture, and muſt faſhion my Diſcourſe as if I had to do with thoſe that have no Religion at all.

The firſt main Queſtion, upon the clearing of which I ſhall endeavour to ground the *Reaſonableneſs of Mens having a Religion, or Worſhip of God*, is this, *Whether it is more probable that the World has ordered itſelf to be in the Form it now is, or was contrived to be ſo by ſome other Being of a more perfect and more deſigning Nature?* For whether or no the World has been created out of Nothing, is not material to our Purpoſe; becauſe if a Supreme Intelligent Agent has framed the World to be what it is, and has made us to be what we are, we ought as much to ſtand in awe of it, as if it had made both us and the World out of nothing. Yet becauſe this latter Queſtion ought not to be totally paſs'd by, I ſhall take the Liberty to offer ſome Conceptions of mine upon it.

The chief Argument uſed againſt God Almighty's having reated the World, is, that no Man can imagine how a Thing ſhould be made out of nothing; and that, therefore, it is impoſſible, he ſhould have made the World, becauſe there is nothing elſe out of which it could be made.

Firſt then, I cannot chooſe but obſerve, that to ſay, Becauſe we are not able to imagine how a Thing ſhould be, therefore the Being of that Thing muſt be impoſſible,

impoſſible, is in itſelf a diſingenuous Way of Argumentation; eſpecially in thoſe, who at the ſame Time declare they believe this World to be eternal, and yet are as little able to comprehend how it ſhould be eternal, as how it ſhould be made out of nothing.

In the next Place, I conceive that nothing can be properly ſaid to endure, any longer than it remains juſt the ſame; for in the Inſtant any Part of it is changed, that Thing, as it was before, is no more in Being.

In the third Place, that every Part of this World we live in is changed every Moment; and by Conſequence, that this whole World is ſo too, becauſe the Whole is nothing elſe but what is compoſed of every Part; and that therefore we cannot properly ſay, this World has continued for many Ages, but only that all Things in this World have been changed for ſeveral Years together.

To evade which Opinion, thoſe who maintain the Eternity of the World are forced to ſay, that the Matter of it is not changed, but the Accidents only, though this be a Sort of Argument which they will not allow of in others: For when it is by the *Romaniſts* urged, in Defence of *Tranſubſtantiation* in the Sacrament, *That the Accidents of the Wafer remain, though the Subſtance of it be changed*, they reject that as a ridiculous Notion; and yet it is not one jot more abſurd to ſay, *That the Accidents remain when the Matter is changed*, than *that the Matter remains when the Accidents are changed*; nay, of the two, the Aſſertors of this latter Opinion are the leaſt excuſable, becauſe they boldly attribute it to a Natural Cauſe, whereas the *Romaniſts* have the Modeſty at leaſt to own it for a Myſterious Miracle.

But that the Weakneſs of this Imagination, of ſeparating Accidents from Bodies, may the plainer appear, let us examine a little what the Meaning of the word *Accident* is. *Accident* then does not ſignify a Being diſtinct from Body or Matter, but is only a Word whereby we expreſs the ſeveral Ways we conſider of what is in a Body or Matter that is before us. For Example: If we perceive a Body to have Length, then we conſider of that Length as an Accident of that Body; and when we perceive a Body to have a Smell, or Taſte, then we conſider of that Smell, and that Taſte, as Accidents of that Body: But in none of theſe Conſiderations we mean that any thing can have Length, or Smell, or Taſte, but what really is Body; and when any Thing, that had a Smell or Taſte, has left off to have a Smell or Taſte, it is becauſe that Part of it, which had a Smell or Taſte, is no more in it. So that, upon an Examination of the whole Matter, I am apt to believe, that there can be naturally no Change of Accidents, but where there is a real Change of Bodies.

But to proceed a little further, the Queſtion being, *Whether it be more probable, that the World or that God Almighty has been from all Eternity?* I think, I may venture to affirm, that of two Propoſitions, the leaſt probable is that which comes neareſt to a Contradiction: Now nothing can come nearer to a Contradiction, than Eternity, or abiding the ſame for ever, and a continued changing, or not abiding the ſame one Moment: And therefore I conclude, it is leſs probable, that this changeable World ſhould have been from all Eternity, than that ſome other Being of more Excellence, and greater Perfection, ſhould be ſo, whoſe very Nature is incapable of Change.

That Being, of more Excellence, and greater Perfection, I call *God*; and thoſe, who out of a fooliſh Averſion they have for the *Name of God*, will call it *Nature*,

Nature, do not in any kind differ from this Notion of that Being, but only change it's Name, and rather ſhew they have a vain miſtaken Ambition of being thought Atheiſts, than that they have any Reaſon ſtrong enough to convince them to be ſo.

The next Queſtion I ſhall take into Conſideration is this, *Whether, though there be a* God, *it is probable, that He ſhould take a more particular Care of Mankind, than he does of Beaſts and other Animals?* To which I have this to offer, that though there are ſeveral Sorts of Animals, which give us Occaſion to imagine they have ſome kind of Reaſon in them, though not to ſo great a Perfection as Men have; yet ſince no other Animal did ever any one Thing, that could give us the leaſt Cauſe to believe they have a Conception of another World, or of a Deity; and that no Man was ever yet born, but had a Conception, or at leaſt, a Suſpicion of it, more or leſs: I ſay, for this Reaſon, it is probable, in my Opinion, that there is ſomething nearer a-kin to the Nature of God in Men, than there is in any other Animals whatſoever; and for that Reaſon, that *God Almighty* does take a more particular Care of us, than he does of them.

If then God be Eternal, and it is probable there is ſomething in our Nature which is a-kin to the Nature of God, it is alſo probable, that that Part of us never dies.

It is alſo probable, that what by it we are prompted moſt to value and eſteem, as the higheſt Perfections, good Qualities, and Virtues, are Parts of the Eſſence and Nature of God.

Now, of all good Qualities, or Virtues, it is Juſtice which all Men do moſt highly eſteem and value in others, though they have not all the good Fortune to practiſe it themſelves. For Juſtice is that good Quality, or Virtue, which cauſes all other good Qualities or Virtues to be eſteemed; nay, it is that Virtue, without which all other Virtues become as Vices; that is, they all come to be abhorred.

For he who wants Juſtice, and has Wit, Judgment, or Valour, will for the having Wit, Judgment, or Valour, be the more abhorred; becauſe the more Wit, Judgment, or Valour he has, if he wants Juſtice, the more he will certainly become a wicked Man: And he who wants Juſtice, and has Power, will, for the having that Power, be the more abhorred; becauſe the more Power he has, if he wants Juſtice, the more he will certainly become a wicked Man: And therefore, in my Opinion, it is a very unreaſonable thing for Men, out of a Deſign of extolling God Almighty's Power, to rob him of Juſtice; the Quality without which even Power itſelf muſt neceſſarily be abhorred. And pray what can be more diſreſpectful to God Almighty, than to fancy that he ſhall puniſh us for doing that, which he has from all Eternity predeſtinated, that is, compell'd us to do? It is an Act that I can hardly believe there ever was yet born a Man cruel enough to be guilty of, even in the Depth of his Revenge; and ſhall we make that an Attribute of the moſt perfect, and the moſt high God, which is beneath the Effect of the meaneſt of Paſſions in the worſt of Men? It is, in my Opinion, more reaſonable to believe, that God Almighty, out of his Love to Mankind, has given us an Eternal Soul; that an Eternal Being, and Free-will, are Things in their Nature inſeparable one from the other; and that therefore, according to our Actions, proceeding from our Wills, God Almighty, in Juſtice, will reward and puniſh us in

another World, for the good and ill Deeds we perform in this. I do not ſay, that the beſt of our Actions here are good enough to make us deſerve the utmoſt Joys of Heaven; we muſt owe them to *God Almighty*'s Grace and Favour, as indeed we owe all Things elſe.

Neither will I take upon me to gueſs at the ſeveral Degrees of Joys there are in Heaven: Our dull Senſes making it as impoſſible for us to diſcourſe well of thoſe Things, as it is impoſſible for a Man born blind to talk well of Colours. Nor will I pretend to judge how long, or how much *God Almighty* will puniſh us hereafter; becauſe, for the ſame Reaſon that we think him to be a *God* of Juſtice, we muſt alſo conclude him to be a *God* of Mercy.

This only I do verily believe, *that the more we love him, the more he will love us; and the leſs we love him, the worſe it will be for us.*

Again, if this Inſtinct, or Conception, we have of a Deity, be the Ground of our Religion, it ought alſo to be the Guide of our Religion; that is, if the ſtrongeſt Reaſon we have to believe, that *God Almighty* does take a more particular Care of us, than he does of other Animals, is, becauſe there is ſomething in our Nature nearer a-kin to the Nature of *God*, than any thing that is in any other Animal; I ſay, in all Reaſon, that Part of us, which is neareſt a-kin to the Nature of God, ought to be our Guide and Director, in chuſing the beſt Way for our religious Worſhip of *God*.

There is alſo this other Conſequence, which, in my Opinion, does naturally depend upon what has been ſaid, That one of the greateſt Crimes a Man can be guilty of is, to force us to act or ſin againſt that Inſtinct of Religion which *God Almighty* has placed in our Hearts; for, if that Inſtinct be ſomewhat a-kin to the Nature of *God*, the ſinning againſt it muſt be ſomewhat a-kin to the Sin againſt the *Holy Ghoſt*.

If then it be probable, that there is a *God*, and that this *God* will reward and puniſh us hereafter, for all the good and ill Things we act in this Life, it does highly concern every Man to examine ſeriouſly, which is the beſt Way of worſhiping and ſerving this *God*; that is, which is the beſt Religion.

Now, if it be probable, that the Inſtinct which we have within us, of a Deity, be a-kin to the Nature of *God*, that Religion is probably the beſt, whoſe Doctrine does moſt recommend to us thoſe Things, which, by that Inſtinct, we are prompted to believe are Virtues, and good Qualities: And that, I think, without exceeding the Bounds of Modeſty, I may take upon me to affirm is the Chriſtian Religion.

And for the ſame Reaſon it does alſo follow, that the Religion amongſt *Chriſtians*, which does moſt recommend to us Virtue and a good Life, is, in all Probability, the beſt Religion.

And here I muſt leave every Man to take pains, in ſeeking out, and chuſing for himſelf; he only being anſwerable to *God Almighty* for his own Soul.

I began this *Diſcourſe*, as if I had to do with thoſe who have no Religion at all: And now, addreſſing myſelf to *Chriſtians*, I hope, they will not be offended at me for ending it with the Words of our *Saviour*—

Aſk, and it ſhall be given you; ſeek, and you ſhall find; knock, and it ſhall be opened unto you.

I ſhall beg Leave farther, only to propoſe a few Queſtions to all thoſe in general, who are pleaſed to call themſelves *Chriſtians*.

Firſt,

First, Whether there be any thing more directly oppoſite to the Doctrine and Practice of *Jeſus Chriſt*, than to uſe any kind of Force upon Men, in Matters of Religion? And conſequently, whether all thoſe that practiſe it (let them be of what *Church* or *Sect* they pleaſe) ought not juſtly to be called *Anti-chriſtians?*

Secondly, Whether there can be any thing more unmanly, more barbarous, or more ridiculous, than to go about to convince a Man's Judgment by any thing but by Reaſon? It is ſo ridiculous, that Boys at School are whipped for it; who, inſtead of anſwering an Argument with Reaſon, are Loggerheads enough to go to Cuffs.

And, *Thirdly*, Whether the Practice of it has not always been ruinous and deſtructive to thoſe Countries, where it has been uſed, either in Monarchies, or Common-wealths? And, whether the contrary Practice has not always been ſucceſsful to thoſe Countries, where it has been uſed, either in Monarchies, or Common-wealths?

I ſhall conclude with giving them this friendly Advice— If they would be thought Men of Reaſon, or of a good Conſcience, let them endeavour by their good Counſel, and good Example, to perſuade others to lead ſuch Lives as may ſave their Souls; and not be perpetually quarrelling amongſt themſelves, and cutting one another's Throats, about thoſe Things which they all agree are not abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation.

A true and exact Relation of the Prince of *Orange*'s publick Entrance into *Exeter*.

SINCE the Foundation of Monarchy, Imperial Orations, or the Triumphs of the *Cæſars*, in the Manner, Grandeur and Magnificence of their moſt Sumptuous Cavalcades, there was never any that exceeded this of the moſt illuſtrious Hero the Prince of *Orange* his Entrance into *Exeter*, which was in Manner and Form following:

I. The Right Honourable the Earl of *Macclesfield* with Two Hundred Horſe, the moſt Part of which were *Engliſh* Gentlemen, richly mounted on *Flanders* Steeds, managed and uſed to War, in Headpieces, Back and Breaſt, bright Armour.

II. Two Hundred Blacks brought from the Plantations of the *Netherlands* in *America*, with embroider'd Caps lined with white Fur, and Plumes of white Feathers, to attend the Horſe.

III. Two Hundred *Finlanders*, or *Laplanders*, in Bear-Skins, taken from the wild Beaſts they had ſlain, the common Habit of that cold Climate, with black Armour and broad flaming Swords.

IV. Fifty Gentlemen, and as many Pages to attend and ſupport the Prince's Banner, bearing this Inſcription, *God and the Proteſtant Religion.*

V. Fifty Led Horſes, all managed and brought up to the Wars, with Two Grooms to each Horſe.

VI. After theſe rode the Prince on a milk-white Palfrey, armed cap-a-pee, a Plume of white Feathers on his Head, in bright Armour, and Forty-two Footmen running by him.

VII. After his Highneſs followed likewiſe on Horſeback Two Hundred Gentlemen and Pages.

VIII. Three Hundred *Switzers* with Fuzees.

IX. Five Hundred Voluntiers, each two led Horſes.

X. His Captain and Guards Six Hundred, armed cap-a-pee.

The reſt of the Army in the Rear, his Highneſs with ſome principal Officers enter'd the Town, where they were not only received, but entertained with loud Huzza's, Ringing of Bells, Bonfires, and ſuch Acclamations of Joy, as the Convenience of the Place and their Abilities could afford.

Now is the Time: A Scheme for a *Common-wealth.*

THE Thing that offers itſelf in this great *Conjuncture* is, to have a *Grand Committee* of *Lords* and *Commons* (Forty at leaſt from each Houſe) to be as a *Privy Council*, or *Council* of *State*, or governing *Senate.*

It were to be wiſhed, that Twenty of each Forty might be for Life; and the other Twenty Biennial, Ten going off every Year. Or Half might be changed annually.

Each *Senator* or *Counſellor* to have for his Salary Maintainance one thouſand Pounds a Year. This would be ſuch an Advancement to the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, as *England* never ſaw. And the Charge is a Trifle. There is more ſpent in ſome *Monarchies* upon Hawks, Hounds, and Whores.

The *Prince* to preſide in this *Council* or *Senate* (or ſuch Perſon as he ſhall appoint in his Stead) and to have *Ten Votes* at leaſt. He muſt alſo be *General* and *Admiral*; and muſt have ſuch further Powers, and ſuch a Maintainance or Revenue, as his infinite Merits require; but withall, ſuch as are conſiſtent with the *Government* he deſigns for us. The *Prince*'s Maintainance ſhould equal, or exceed, that of all the *Senators* put together.

All that are of this *Council*, and all that hope to be (that is, all the conſiderable Men of the Nation) will by this Means be firm to the *Prince.* And ſo will thoſe others who have the great Privilege of chuſing them, whereby they may have Confidence in their Adminiſtration. And this one Thing will give the *Prince* ſo ſtrong an Intereſt, that he needs fear no Pretenſion that can be againſt him. It will be better than a *Standing Army:* The Neceſſity whereof nothing can prevent, but ſuch a Standing Council.

The *Parliament* to be choſen Triennially, and to meet Annually.

It is believed that ſuch a Conſtitution as this would effectually ſecure us (according to the *Prince*'s good Intentions) from *Popery* and *Tyranny.* And the *Prince* will be the glorious Author of the *Britannick* Liberty, as his great Grandfather was of the *Belgick.* The *Genoeſe* to this Day adore the Memory of *Andrew Doria*, who choſe rather to make them a *Free State*, than to be their *Prince.*

Prince. Barely to change our *Maſter*, would but revive the Feuds of *York* and *Lancaſter*, and involve us in the like Calamities.

Theſe Things to continue but during the Life of the *King*, and not to prejudice a Proteſtant Succeſſor.

A True LIST of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, ſummoned by the Letter of his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, to meet at *Weſtminſter* the 22d Day of *January*, 1688-9.

HENRY Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl Marſhal
Charles Duke of *Somerſet*
Henry Duke of *Newcaſtle*
Charles Duke of *Southampton*
Henry Duke of *Grafton*
George Duke of *Northumberland*
James Duke of *Ormond*
Henry Duke of *Beaufort*

Charles Marquiſs of *Wincheſter*
George Marquiſs of *Halifax*

Robert Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord Great Chamberlain
Aubrey Earl of *Oxford*
Charles Earl of *Shrewsbury*
Anthony Earl of *Kent*
William Richard George Earl of *Derby*
John Earl of *Rutland*
Theophilus Earl of *Huntingdon*
William Earl of *Bedford*
Thomas Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*
Edward Earl of *Lincoln*
Henry Earl of *Suffolk*
Charles Earl of *Dorſet* and *Middleſex*
John Earl of *Exeter*
John Earl of *Bridgewater*
Philip Earl of *Leiceſter*
George Earl of *Northampton*
William Earl of *Devon*
William Earl of *Denbigh*
John Earl of *Briſtol*
John Earl of *Clare*
Pawlet Earl of *Bollingbrook*
Charles Earl of *Weſtmoreland*
Charles Earl of *Mancheſter*
Thomas Earl of *Berks*
John Earl of *Mulgrave*
Thomas Earl of *Rivers*
Thomas Earl of *Stamford*
Heneage Earl of *Winchelſea*
William Earl of *Kingſton*
Charles Earl of *Carnarvan*
Philip Earl of *Cheſterfield*
Thomas Earl of *Thanet*
William Earl of *Strafford*
Robert Earl of *Scarſdale*
Henry Earl of *Clarendon*
James Earl of *Angleſea*
John Earl of *Bath*
Edward Earl of *Carliſle*
William Earl of *Craven*
Thomas Earl of *Aylesbury*
Richard Earl of *Burlington*
Anthony Earl of *Shaftsbury*
Thomas Earl of *Suſſex*
Edward Henry Earl of *Litchfield*
Lewis Earl of *Feverſham*
Charles Earl of *Macclesfield*
Charles Bodville Earl of *Radnor*
William Earl of *Yarmouth*
George Earl of *Berkley*

Thomas

Thomas Earl of *Danby*
Daniel Earl of *Nottingham*
Lawrence Earl of *Rocheſter*
James Earl of *Abingdon*
Edward Earl of *Gainsborough*
Conyers Earl of *Holderneſs*

William Viſcount *Say and Seale*
Thomas Viſcount *Falconberg*
Charles Viſcount *Mordant*
Francis Viſcount *Newport*
Thomas Viſcount *Weymouth*
Chriſtopher Viſcount *Hatton*

Charles Lord *Delawar*
Thomas Lord *Morley and Mounteagle*
Robert Lord *Ferrers*
Henry Yelverton Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*
Conyers Darcy Lord *Darcy*
Ralph Lord *Eure*
Philip Lord *Wharton*
Thomas Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*
William Lord *Pagett*
Charles Lord *North and Grey*
James Lord *Chandois*
Foulke Lord *Brooke*
Ralph Lord *Mountague*
Ford Lord *Grey* of *Warke*
John Lord *Lovelace*
William Lord *Maynard*
Thomas Lord *Coventry*
William Lord *Howard* of *Eſcricke*
Henry Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*
Thomas Lord *Leigh*
Thomas Lord *Jermyn*
William Lord *Byron*
John Lord *Vaughan*
Edward Lord *Ward*
Thomas Lord *Colepeper*
Jacob Lord *Aſtley*
Robert Lord *Lucas*
Edward Lord *Rockingham*
Robert Lord *Lexinton*
John Lord *Berkley*
Francis Lord *Holles*
Charles Lord *Cornwallis*
Henry Lord *Delamere*
Thomas Lord *Crew*
John Lord *Arundel* of *Trerife*
Richard Lord *Lumley*
George Carteret Lord *Carteret*
John Lord *Oſſulſton*
George Lord *Dartmouth*
Ralph Lord *Stawell*
Sidney Lord *Godolphin*
John Lord *Churchill*

Archbiſhops and Biſhops.

WILLIAM Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*
THOMAS Lord Archbiſhop of *York*
Henry Lord Biſhop of *London*
Nathaniel Lord Biſhop of *Durham*
Peter Lord Biſhop of *Winchester*
Herbert Lord Biſhop of *Hereford*
William Lord Biſhop of *Norwich*
Thomas Lord Biſhop of *Coventry and Litchfield*
John Lord Biſhop of *Chicheſter*
Thomas Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*
Humphry Lord Biſhop of *Bangor*
William Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*
William Lord Biſhop of *Landaff*
Thomas Lord Biſhop of *Peterborough*
William Lord Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*
Robert Lord Biſhop of *Glouceſter*
Francis Lord Biſhop of *Ely*
Thomas Lord Biſhop of *St. Davids*
Thomas Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*
Jonathan Lord Biſhop of *Briſtol*
Thomas Lord Biſhop of *Carliſle*
Thomas Lord Biſhop of *Bath and Wells*
Timothy Lord Biſhop of *Oxon.*

His Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*'s Letter to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* in this preſent Convention, *January* the 22*d*, 1688-9.

My Lords,

I Have endeavoured, to the utmoſt of my Power, to perform what was deſired from me, in order to the publick Peace and Safety; and I do not know that any thing hath been omitted which might tend to the Preſervation of them, ſince the Adminiſtration of Affairs was put into my Hands: It now lieth upon you to lay the Foundations of a firm Security for your Religion, your Laws, and your Liberties.

I do not doubt but that by ſuch a full and free Repreſentative of the Nation as is now met, the Ends of my Declaration will be attained: And ſince it hath pleaſed God hitherto to bleſs my good Intentions with ſo great Succeſs, I truſt in him that he will complete his own Work, by ſending a Spirit of Peace and Union to influence your Counſels, that no Interruption may be given to an happy and laſting Settlement.

The dangerous Condition of the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Ireland* requiring a large and ſpeedy Succour, and the preſent State of Things abroad, oblige me to tell you, That next to the Danger of unſeaſonable Diviſions amongſt yourſelves, nothing can be ſo fatal as too great Delay in your Conſultations: The States, by whom I have been enabled to reſcue this Nation, may ſuddenly feel the ill Effects of it, both by being too long deprived of the Service of their Troops which are now here, and of your early Aſſiſtance againſt a powerful Enemy who hath declared War againſt them: And as *England* is by Treaty already engaged to help them upon any ſuch Exigencies, ſo I am confident that their chearful Concurrence to preſerve this Kingdom, with ſo much Hazard to themſelves, will meet with all the Returns of Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance which may be expected from you as *Proteſtants* and *Engliſhmen*, whenever their Condition ſhall require it.

Given at St. James's *this* 22*d Day of* January, 1688-9.

To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, aſſembled at Weſtminſter *in this preſent Convention.*

Will. H. P. d'Orange.

The

The KING's Letter to the great Council of PEERS. 1688.

RIGHT truſty and right well-beloved Coſins, and right truſty and well-beloved Coſins, and truſty and right well-beloved, We greet you well: We cannot have better Reaſon to promiſe Ourſelf an End of Our *common Sufferings* and *Calamities*, and that Our own juſt Power and Authority will (with *God*'s Bleſſing) be *reſtored* to Us, than that We hear you are again acknowledged to have that Authority and Juriſdiction which hath always belonged to you by your Birth and the *Fundamental Laws* of the Land; and We have thought it very fit and ſafe for Us to call to you for *your Help*, in the compoſing the *confounding Diſtempers* and *Diſtractions* of the *Kingdom*, on which your Sufferings are next to thoſe We have undergone Ourſelf; therefore you cannot but be the moſt proper Counſellors for removing *theſe Miſchiefs*, and for *preventing the like* for the future. How great a *Truſt* We repoſe in you for the procuring and eſtabliſhing a *bleſſed Peace* and *Security* for the *Kingdom*, will appear to you by Our incloſed *Declaration*; which Truſt We are moſt confident you will diſcharge with that *Juſtice* and *Wiſdom* that becomes you, and muſt always be expected from you; and that upon your Experience, how one Violation ſucceeds another. When the known Relations and Rules of Juſtice are tranſgreſſed, you will be as jealous for the *Rights of the Crown* and for the *Honour of the King*, as Ourſelf; and then you cannot but diſcharge your Truſt with *good Succeſs*, and provide for, and eſtabliſh the *Peace*, *Happineſs*, and *Honour* of *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*, upon that Foundation which can only ſupport it, and We ſhall be all happy in each other: And as the whole Kingdom will bleſs God for you, alſo We ſhall hold Ourſelf obliged, in an eſpecial Manner, to thank you in particular, according to the Affection you ſhall expreſs towards Us. We need the leſs enlarge to you on *this Subject*, becauſe We have likewiſe wrote to the *Houſe of Commons*, which We ſuppoſe they will communicate to you; and We pray *God* bleſs your joint Endeavours for the Good of us all. And ſo we bid you very heartily Farewell.

V. BAKER.

A Speech of a Commoner of *England*, to his Fellow Commoner of the Convention.

Mr. SPEAKER,

THE preſent Providence deſerves our moſt ſerious Thoughts; and truly Sir, I cannot but ſay that we are extreamly obliged to the great Goodneſs and Valour of the *Prince* of *Orange*, who with ſuch Hazard and Expence has brought us ſo ſeaſonable and eminent a Deliverance from *Popery*, and (I hope) from *Arbitrary Power* alſo: Sir, we cannot give him too much, unleſs we

we give him more than our own, the *Crown* I mean. We have been of a long time taught, that it is not the Gift or Work of Subjects. *Soveraign Princes* have made bold with one another, but I am of Opinion, whatever Malice may ſuggeſt againſt his Highneſs, he has too noble a Soul to be guilty of ſuch an Attempt; he came not hither for Greatneſs, he has it of his own, and brought it with him, and values being *Optimus* more than *Maximus*; which is the beſt way of joining that imperial Stile together, *Optimus Maximus:* I ſay, I am confident it is more than he will judge proper to receive, and that he will think it more for his Glory *to reduce the Monarchy to its juſt and legal Eſtabliſhment*, than to be *King* himſelf; and to ſecure us againſt *Popery*, than to lead us into the Errors of it, of which the moſt peſtilent are the *depoſing Princes*, and *breaking Faith with Hereticks*. The *Prince* is too great a *Diſciple* both of Religion and Honour, not to be ſatisfied with our doing what is agreeable to them, and let not us preſs him out of his own Sentiments, which have been the greateſt and moſt heroick that have appeared in this latter Age of the World; leſt whilſt we have taken Arms to redreſs Grievances, we draw greater upon ourſelves, and that as well from abroad as at home; for, Sir, when we believe *Catholick Princes* to have a Zeal ſo unreaſonably fierce and unſafe to other People, we cannot at the ſame time think they will tamely ſuffer a *Catholick King* to be kept out of his *Kingdoms*, for little more than being ſo; and I am afraid that this Procedure may precipitate *Ireland* into Extremities, and if it ſhould follow the *King* to *France*, all ſober ſenſible Men know of what ill Conſequence a Revolt to that *Crown* may be to this *Kingdom:* We ſhall then, inſtead of *invading France*, find Difficulties to preſerve our own; nor for what I ſee are we ſure of being at Peace here: The *Tide* has mightily abated *ſince the King's going from Rocheſter*. Thoſe that wiſhed his Humiliation in the Government will by no Means hear of his *Excluſion and Perdition from the Crown*; they either believe the Fault none of his, or not of Weight enough to juſtify ſo extraordinary an Example. *Kings* muſt ſee and hear by the *Eyes and Ears of others*, which makes it their Misfortune rather than their Crime that they do amiſs. We are alſo of a *Church* that has been ſingular for her *Honour* and *Deference* to Kings, and if we have any for her, I think we ought to tread tenderly on this Point; and that we may be juſt, two Things compel us to it for our own ſake: The firſt is, that moſt of the Things that made the King's Government ſo obnoxious have already been done in this; we have had a *diſpenſing Power* exerciſed both at *Exeter* and *London*; we have had *Free Quarters* conſtrained in almoſt all Places where the *Dutch* Army has marched; we have in great Part a *Popiſh Army* too, tho' that was one of the moſt crying Offences we objected to the King, and from which we drew the moſt popular Notions of our Inſecurity: The very *Money* that is now receiving was aſked with *Two Armies on Foot*, and all Men will conclude it was ill refuſing a Propoſal ſo ſeconded; and how far our famous *Petition of Right* may be concerned in this, the Gentlemen of the Law muſt determine; but I dare ſay, this very *Loan* could not eſcape it under a lawful Prince, and under our preſent Circumſtances we cannot reaſonably think the Caſe better. Nor, Mr. *Speaker*, is this all; the ſecond Reaſon for our *Temper* is, the little Truth that at laſt appears in thoſe many Stories that above any thing ſeemed to alienate the Hearts of the Subjects from his Majeſty, and to diſſolve that Tie of Affection and Duty they had to him, as his Subjects:

Such *as the Alarms we had here of a* French *Invaſion*; *the King's ſelling the Kingdom for five Millions ſterling*; *the* Iriſh *killing Man, Woman and Child upon the Roads*; *the* French *embarked for the Weſt, but met and ſunk by the* Dutch; *the forty thouſand new faſhioned Knives of Slaughter*; *the Queen's Back-Door for bringing to Bed a falſe Child*; *her cuffing the Earl of* Craven *and the Princeſs* Ann; with forty more of that Stamp, that *Time* has proved as malicious as falſe: How much they have influenced to this preſent great Change, is not unworthy of our juſt Thoughts and Cenſure; and, in my Opinion, that calls upon us as loudly for a ſpeedy *Reparation*. Mr. *Speaker*, theſe are the things that have driven the King out of *England*, and if it can be proved that the *Prince of Wales is an Impoſtor, and that there was a League with* France *to cut off Proteſtants*, I think nothing that has befallen him too hard Meaſure for him; but, Mr. *Speaker*, it is upon no other Terms that the People of *England* will part with their King, or with any Patience think of the Uſage he has had upon that Suppoſition. But it is objected, that ſome of thoſe that were in Arms *are under Apprehenſion leſt their Eſtates and Lives ſhould be at the Mercy of the King*, if he returns. I think the King will be ſo far from expecting, and the Nation from yielding to it, that they muſt not only be all pardoned, but thoſe Lords and Gentlemen, that have been the noble Aſſertors of our *Engliſh* Liberties at this Juncture, muſt be poſted in the greateſt Places of Honour and Truſt. I hope the King himſelf will ſee it his Intereſt to leave off little and paraſitical Favourites, and be willing that ſuch be employed in all his Affairs as his People can confide in, and as will uſe their Preferment for the Honour of their *Prince*, and the Good of the Subjects.

The Objection againſt the King's Return, upon the Account of having déſerted his Kingdoms by going into *France*, I am aſtoniſhed at; for if that Kingdom be not his Right, why is it a Part of his Title; and if it be, he may viſit that as well as any other of his Territories, if he has Reaſon to apprehend himſelf in Danger, without making a *Demiſe*, *Forfeiture*, *Surrender* or *Abdication of* the Crown of *England*. Mr. *Speaker*, I fear that if I have not tired your Patience, I have been at leaſt over long for ſome Members of a contrary Judgment, who ſit in this Convention, and therefore I ſhall only add this humble Caution, that our Convention conſider well their Power, which I humbly conceive is too ſcanty to be able to make a new King, tho' it may call home that to whom we have moſt, if not all of us, *ſworn Allegiance*; nay, let me ſay further, that if our Caſe was ſo deſperate, that no Remedy would ſerve but creating a new King, our Convention has not *enough of our Fellow Subjects* for the reſt to be concluded by. When Things are tranſacted according to the known Laws and ancient Cuſtoms, the *uſual Deputies* may deliver and ſtate the Intentions of the People, but when ſo many and great Alterations muſt be made in the Building, that is to be for the common Conveniency, every Man thinks himſelf worthy to be conſulted as well as the greateſt Architect, when he is to dwell in the Houſe: Parliaments, that are called by Kings, cannot make Kings, and a *Convention* not called by a King, and as narrow bottom'd as a Parliament, is yet leſs than a Parliament, becauſe it wants the Sanction that a Parliament has. If then it ſeems a Soleciſm, that a Meeting leſs than a Parliament can make a King, without whom a Parliament cannot be; what ſhall we think of this Convention making a King of him that makes the Convention?

vention? Can they act lawfully upon an unlawful Call, or an unlawful Convention make him a lawful King? We are taught by an *Engliſh* Proverb, that *no Stream riſes higher than its Fountain*; how is it then poſſible for them to give him Authority to govern *that have none but what they receive from him*, who by our Law can have none to give. Sir, this is neither more nor leſs than for his Highneſs to make himſelf King, by a Medium of his own; a Thing as much below him to do, as it is above us to think of it. Therefore if we muſt go to that Work, let us call in more Heads to our Aſſiſtance; but I rather adviſe, and humbly move, that we pray the Prince, who has been our *Deliverer*, to be our *Arbitrator*, *to give due Limits to the Prerogative and our Liberty*, to ſecure us, that are the Proteſtant Subjects, in our Religion, and to ſhew the King what Sort of Liberty he only ought to expect for his *Roman* Catholick Subjects. I ſay, let us beſeech him *to call back the King for thoſe great Ends*, the accompliſhing of which will make both King and Kingdom happy, and the *great Prince of Orange* renowned in all the *Hiſtories* of *Europe* as well as in our *Annals*.

Some REFLECTIONS upon the humble PETITION to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal who ſubſcribed the ſame; preſented *November* 17, 1688.

THAT the *Peace-makers* are *bleſſed*, is a Truth our Saviour hath left recorded in the holy Scriptures, and thoſe are truly to be honoured who can contribute any thing to ſo happy a Work: But that either this Way of Petitioning, or the Matter in it deſired, is likely to produce ſo great a Bleſſing, is a Queſtion worthy ſerious Conſideration.

I ſhall firſt therefore take Notice of ſome of the dubious Expreſſions in the Petition, and then lay down ſome few Reaſons, why I judge the Petition in itſelf unſeaſonable; and laſtly endeavour to ſhew how unpracticable the ſummoning of a Parliament is at this preſent.

The Expreſſion, *that a War is now breaking forth in the Bowels of the Kingdom*, ſhews that their Lordſhips either know or foreſee, that a civil War is fomenting; and I pray God this Petition do not, more than any thing elſe, occaſion it; or that the *Prince of Orange* intends to carry on the War through the Bowels of the Kingdom, whereas thoſe that wiſh well to the King hope it will be kept in and about the Parts where he landed.

Secondly, As to *the Diſtraction of the People under their preſent Grievances*; it ſeems to many true Members of the Church of *England*, that it had been every whit as agreeable to your Lordſhips Character, to have rather thank'd his Majeſty for his late extraordinary and gracious Favours, than to have amuſed the Subjects at this Time with the Apprehenſions of *Grievances*, without any In-

timation what they were; for it is moſt manifeſt, that by ſuch remonſtrating of Grievances the People were inſtigated to that bloody Rebellion in 1641.

As to the Expreſſion, That your Lordſhips *think yourſelves bound, in Conſcience* of the Duty you owe to God and our holy Religion, and to His Majeſty and our Country, *moſt humbly to offer to His Majeſty, That in your Opinion the* ONLY *viſible Way to preſerve His Majeſty and his Kingdom, would be the calling of a Parliament regular and free in all its Circumſtances*—I hope to make out, that the ſummoning of a Parliament now is ſo far from being the *Only* Way to effect theſe Things, that it will be one of the principal Cauſes of much Miſery to the Kingdom; and I am ſure both *our Duty to God* and *our holy Religion*, as well as to *His Majeſty* and *our Country*, doth plainly enjoin us to uſe *one* other effectual Means to obviate the Miſeries of a civil or invaſive War; which is, the keeping inviolably our Allegiance to our Sovereign, and effectually joining with him to reſiſt all his Enemies, whether foreign Aggreſſors, or native Rebels: And it is much to be wonder'd at, that this Duty, ſo well known to your Lordſhips, ſhould never be mention'd.

As to the *Regular and Free Parliament in all its Circumſtances*, I ſhall now proceed to prove, that at this Seaſon all our Wiſhes for ſuch an one are impotent, and muſt be ineffectual.

Firſt, It is a known Truth, and ſadly experienced, that whenever the People are in a great Ferment, and contrary Parties are bandying one againſt another, the giving Liberty to the People to meet in great Bodies is dangerous to the Government; and you yourſelves not long ſince were, when you oppoſed the vehement Addreſſes to King *Charles* II. for ſummoning a Parliament, when he judged it would ſtrengthen the Faction againſt him; and you very well know, when great Heats were among the Members, and unreaſonable Votes were paſs'd againſt the lineal Succeſſion, and other Matters endangering the Government, the King was obliged to prorogue ſome Parliaments from Time to Time, that ſuch Separation might produce more ſober Counſels: And then the great Cry was, that for the Preſervation of the King's Perſon and our Religion, they were ſo earneſt to have a Parliament meet.

Secondly, It is impoſſible there can be a regular and free Election, while the Electors are ſo violently divided; one Part of them being ſo vehement Wiſhers of the Succeſs of the *Prince of Orange*, that they ſlight all the Miſeries that unavoidably will fall on the Country thereby, upon the bare Hope that he will preſerve *Religion* and *Property*. Now, in ſuch a Time as this, when (if we will give Credit to the *Prince*'s *Declaration*) there are ſo many that have invited him, can it be ſafe for the King to grant a Commiſſion, even to the People, to aſſemble in ſuch great Confluxes, as may afford them Opportunity of liſting themſelves againſt him?

Thirdly, If we yield that Elections can be without outragous Routs; yet when the Parliament is met, it is requiſite, by the very Conſtitution, that every Part of that auguſt Aſſembly ſhould be free in their Aſſent or Diſſent to what is to be debated; and that Freedom is as fundamentally neceſſary in the Perſon of the King, as in the Members of either Houſe; and that one of the proper and neceſſary Circumſtances of that Convention ought to be, that all the Members ſhall be preſent. I ſhall therefore ſhew, that at this Time none of theſe can be practicable.

Firſt,

First, As to the King: While ſuch powerful Enemies are in the Country, and ſo many ready to catch any Opportunity to join with them, how can the King be abſent from his Army? The providing for, cheriſhing, animating and ordering of which, will ſufficiently employ the moſt indefatigable of Princes. And none can think that any Prince can watch the Motions of ſuch an Enemy, and time his Opportunities of Aſſaulting them, or Defending himſelf, and at the ſame time be embarraſs'd with a Party in the Houſes, that may as dangerouſly be levelling their Votes againſt him, as the Invaders are their Artillery. However, here can be no Freedom to the King, how undaunted ſoever; becauſe the impending Storm may ſo affright his Council, that they may adviſe to the yielding of ſome Things that may be of ill Conſequence to the Government; for whatever leſſens the King's juſt Prerogative, as this may do, in depriving him of exerciſing his Negative Voice, is at one Time or other prejudicial to his Subjects.

Secondly, As to the Lords: There can be no free Convention of them, ſince ſeveral of them have ſo far forgot their Allegiance, that they are actually in the *Prince of Orange*'s Army, and many other Lords are attending the King, and their Charges; ſo that while theſe Armies are in being, they cannot meet in their Houſe but by their Proxies; which I ſuppoſe none can expect will be allowed to the Peers that are in Rebellion, if we may be allowed to call that ſuch which all our Laws ſo adjudge.

Thirdly, The like may be ſaid for the Houſe of Commons: All the Gentlemen of Intereſt in their Country by their Allegiance are bound to ſerve the King in his Wars at his Command, and will be few enough to keep their reſpective Counties in Peace. And I am confident none will think that a Parliament, as this ought to be that is deſired, ſhould conſiſt of ſuch who have been little converſant in publick Affairs, or have ſmall Intereſts in their Counties.

So that, upon the whole, I cannot ſee how any Free Parliament can meet, unleſs it be ſuch a Convention as the *Saxons* obtained of the *Britons* on *Saliſbury* Plains; where the moſt eminent of both People were to meet unarmed, and there amicably adjuſt Matters in Difference; but it is well known, that the *Saxons* under their long Coats had their Weapons, wherewith they ſlew the Flower of the *Britiſh* Nobility, and thereby rendered their Conqueſt more eaſy.

It is true, ſuch a Stratagem is not now like to take Effect, but the King and thoſe that wiſh well to the Succeſſion of the Monarchy, and the Preſervation of their Country, muſt needs fear, that there will be as dangerous Conteſts within the Houſes as may be in the open Fields; and thereby little can be expected from ſuch a Parliament, which can redound to the publick Good of the Kingdom.

Fourthly, Thoſe Spiritual and Temporal Lords, that have ſigned this Petition, either have not, or they have conſulted the Prince of *Orange*, before they propoſed this Advice.

If they have not conſulted him, they ought to ſatisfy the King how they can warrant a Ceſſation of Arms on the Prince's Side, or how they can hinder him from advancing further to awe Debates in the Houſes, or what Aſſurance they can give, that he will acquieſce in the free Deciſion of the Matters propoſed, or that he will peaceably depart out of the Land, when Things are ſettled, and will not pretend to ſtay here, till the vaſt Sums be pay'd him, that he hath expended

expended on this Occaſion; or laſtly, that he will not find new Occaſions of queſtioning the Security of the Performance of any Agreement to be made.

If they have conſulted the Prince, they ought to ſhew his Commiſſion, authoriſing them to make Propoſals, or ſhew the Heads of thoſe Grievances he demands to be redreſſed; for ſome they urge in their Petition there are, which diſtract the People, but I ſuppoſe they are more careful of their Heads than to own any ſuch Correſpondence.

If theſe noble Perſons would have effectually ſaved Effuſion of Blood, they ſhould rather have uſed all their Intereſt to have kept the Prince of *Orange* in his own Country, tho' with his Army and Fleet in Readineſs, and have obtained his ſending his Demands, and have waited like dutiful Subjects till the King had convened his Parliament, and have tried how gracious the King would have been in redreſſing Grievances and ſecuring Religion and Property; and after the King's Refuſal there might have been ſome Colour for his Invaſion, but none upon any Pretence whatſoever to have invited him to it.

Fifthly, Thoſe who will not openly and with a bare Face juſtify the Prince of *Orange*'s Pretenſions, cannot think it conſiſtent with the Honour of the King to ſtoop ſo low as to ſummon a Parliament at the Direction of an Invader, who can never be conceived to deſire it with that Eagerneſs, if he did not judge it very much conducive to his Intereſt; for which very Reaſon the King ought to be jealous of ſuch Councils.

And I humbly conceive thoſe Peers have not ſufficiently conſidered how prejudicial this Sort of Addreſs may be to the King's Affairs, and how much it will conduce to the further alienating of the Affections of the Subjects from the King, when they ſhall hear of his Denial to comply at preſent with this Expedient, and never hear the Reaſons thereof; ſince they have not divulged his Majeſty's Gracious Anſwer, together with their Petition; and I am ſure, at this Time the puting the King upon ſuch a *Dilemma* is the greateſt Diſ-ſervice can be done him, and very little inferior to joining with his Enemies.

I might add many more Arguments to prove, that the King cannot in Honour yield to this Advice, without quitting that undeniable Prerogative the Laws give him, of making War or concluding Peace, if thoſe Matters ſhould be ſubmitted to the Arbitrement of the two Houſes; or owning that the Allegiance of his Subjects did not bind them to aſſiſt him in the Defence of his Crown and Dominions without the Votes of a Parliament. But I ſhall conclude with ſome few Conſiderations I humbly offer to thoſe right reverend and noble Lords, and all thoſe who are of the ſame Judgment with them, to reflect upon.

Firſt then, I deſire them to conſider, whether it will not be more glorious, and agreeable to the Principles of our Religion, effectually to aſſiſt our undoubted lawful Sovereign, than to ſuffer him to be dethroned ſolely becauſe he is a *Roman Catholick*; ſince the Papiſts themſelves, tho' they neither take the Oath of Allegiance or Supremacy, yet do, and ever have declared, that if any *Roman Catholick* Prince, yea the Pope himſelf in Perſon, ſhould invade any King of *England*, tho' a Proteſtant, they are bound to defend ſuch a King, againſt them, as much as if they were *Turks*.

Secondly, Whether the true and original Cauſe of this Invaſion, and conſequently of all the Blood-ſhed theſe Lords ſo earneſtly deſire to prevent, hath not been the denying to concur with the King in eſtabliſhing of Liberty of Conſcience,

ſcience, even with ſuch Security to the Proteſtant Religion and Church of *England* as could be deſired; and whether in all human Probability that would not be more conduceable to eſtabliſh the publick Tranquillity of the Kingdom, and its Increaſe in Wealth and People, and conſequently the moſt efficacious Means to reduce the *Dutch* to be juſt and tractable Allies and Neighbours, rather than any Thing can be effected by this Invaſion, or the truckling to ſuch avowed Enemies to our Country, our Religion, and our King.

Thirdly, Whether the King's entire Truſt in the Fidelity of his own Subjects for his Defence, and not admitting of foreign Aids that were unſought for proffer'd, do not oblige all that have any Senſe of Gratitude or Duty, to aid him to the very utmoſt againſt ſuch Foreigners as ſo unnaturally and ſo unjuſtly invade him; and when it hath pleaſed God to give Succeſs to the King's juſt Arms, we are not to doubt but the King, according to his ſolemn Promiſe in his late Royal Declaration, will ſpeedily call a Parliament, and in it redreſs all ſuch Grievances as his People can juſtly complain of, with a full and ample Security to the Church of *England* and all his Proteſtant Subjects; which it will much more be our Intereſt to have in a truly harmonious and free Parliamentary Way at that Time eſtabliſhed, than at this preſent in a tumultuary and precipitate Haſte, ſo patched up as will not be durable; and the more earneſtly we deſire to ſee this good Work to be ſet upon, the more Haſte the Nobility and Gentry ſhould make to expel thoſe who hindered the Convention of that Parliament, which was much more likely to have ſettled Matters to the Content of the King and his People, than this Invaſion can ever hope to effect.

HONESTY is the beſt POLICY. 1688.

THOUGH Men are ſo tranſported, yet nevertheleſs I will at this Juncture endeavour to ſhew every Party what infinite *Hazards* they have run, what great *Loſſes* they have ſuſtained by partial Notions, unreaſonable Averſions and Bigotries; and becauſe I would yet heal and compoſe all our *Differences*, I ſhall avoid all Sarcaſm and Levity of Expreſſion, and likewiſe becauſe I rather conſider the Diſpute between the *King* and his *People*, than between *him* and the Prince of *Orange*; for I believe no unbiaſſed wiſe Man can, even now, in his Conſcience, think the Prince has dealt honourably or religiouſly by his Wife's Father, and his own Uncle, unleſs the *Cameronian* Reflecter, where he talks of the Difference betwixt Kingdoms and Families, had proved it more lawful to ſteal Crowns than Trifles, or rob ſo near Relations than other Men. The *King* and Mankind muſt forgive me, if Juſtice command *infandum renovare dolorem*, to look a little into the Cauſes of the late *Civil Wars*. I am the fartheſt Man alive from juſtifying the execrable Murder of King *Charles* the Firſt, but on the other Hand I cannot ſay the People began that War without great Provocations from the Miniſters of thoſe Days. I believe the Laws of *England* make the Kings of it unaccountable in their own Perſons: But the *Monopolies*, the *Loans*, the *Ship-money*, and *illegal Impriſonments*,

ments, &c. were real Grievances: How fatal that War was, both to the *King*'s and *Parliament*'s Party; how horrid in the Iſſue of it, in Relation to the *Royal Blood*, may be read in our *Hiſtories*, and is felt in our *Conſtitution*. But whence originally came all thoſe Misfortunes? If any Man tells me long Stories of the *Religious Contentions*, I muſt confeſs I blame them, and I allow they had their Weight: but I take the Root of thoſe great Evils to proceed from Defects in our *Civil Conſtitution*: I will point out the *Defects*, but I neither have Authority nor Genius to propoſe the *Remedies*. Ever ſince King *Henry* the Seventh's Time, the Nature and Element of the *Engliſh* Government have been altered. All regular Governments (call them, and let the Titles of their Magiſtracy be what you pleaſe) partake of all the three ſeveral Sorts, but there are in all Climates Ebbings and Flowings of the *Monarchical*, *Ariſtocratical*, and *Democratical* Particles of the Compoſure, and all the Councils of State muſt be proportioned to thoſe Alterations. Take a View of our Government before *Henry* the Seventh's Time, and you find a *Monarch* whoſe Baſis is *Ariſtocracy*, but if you will reflect ſolidly how he has ſtood ſince, it is upon the Foot of the People: Queen *Elizabeth* underſtood this, and governed happily, and her Miniſters *Cecil*, *Eſſex*, *Ralegh*, *Walſingham*, &c. were leſs her *Minions* than they were the *Favourites* of the People: Though her Title was diſputable, *Proteſtancy* but new, *Spain* powerful and ambitious, yet by purſuing large Meaſures, and takeing beloved Men into her Councils, and by ſuffering them to adviſe honeſtly, ſhe was too hard for all the Difficulties ſhe met with, and after a long Reign laid down her Head in *Peace:* I think *Princes* may learn Leſſons out of her Life, yet I will not be her *Panegyriſt*, for I think ſhe was ſometimes *arbitrary*, but herein I think ſhe excelled, to wit, That when any Thing began to be generally miſliked, ſhe ſoon heard the Voice of the *People*, and gave Way to the Impetuoſity of National Diſcontents, and ſo was a greater Miſtreſs of *Crown-Craft* than moſt of her Predeceſſors, or thoſe that ſucceeded her. King *Charles* I. though a Prince of many Royal Virtues, was a little too tenacious of his Purpoſes, and thought himſelf a greater Judge of National Exigencies than a Houſe of Commons think any King ought to be; and after all the Schemes of the Schools, and the Advices of Flatterers, no King of theſe Kingdoms can ſit ſure that is not well with *Parliaments*. There are Propenſities to which all Conſtitutions of State muſt be adjuſted, and the *Bodies of Men* will every where be too hard for all Speculations. A Thirſt after *Liberty* expelled the Kings of *Rome*, and there were Indications of almoſt abſolute *Monarchical* Diſpoſitions in the Factions of *Marius*, *Scylla*, and *Catiline*, before *Cæſar*'s perpetual Dictatorſhip; the Revolt of the *Low-Countries* from the *Spaniſh Government*, when in all its Height and Strength, ſhews no Armies can be too hard for univerſal Reſolution, and is a *Memento* to all crowned Heads, that where a Monarch will ſtrain the Bonds of Government in deſpite of the People, they will break them. When the Barons were able to make war upon ſlight Pretences, if the Kings kept fair with the Barons they were ſafe, but the Crown, the Barons, and the greater Gentry ſince the Barons, could ſell their Lands, and the Court of Wards has been taken away, and the Crown has diſpoſed of its Lands, ſo can govern no longer ſecurely than they have Reputation with the People. Government muſt follow, in a great Meaſure, the Nature of the Tenures, and there muſt be an *Agrarian* Law for Power, where the Lands are ſo diſtributed. You ſee I have

ſtarted

ſtarted many bold Hints, but I am not willing to draw them out at length, nor to write over cloſely where I may endanger the good Opinion of all Sides; but I will conclude upon this Point, that ſince the Princes have had an Inclination to greater Power than the People will comply with, and the People a ſtronger *Luſt* after *Liberty* than our Kings were willing to ſatisfy, that the one has miſtaken Prerogative, and the other as much their Privileges, it would be well if a new *Magna Charta* was made, to explain and aſſert each; this would be a happy Concluſion of our Troubles, this would turn our Swords into Plowſhares, and has been heretofore the moſt warrantable Product of thoſe Stirs that Male-adminiſtration occaſioned: Thus our Parliaments could not be corrupted, nor our judicial Proceedings be precarious. *Engliſhmen* have now an Opportunity to ſecure theſe good Things, for ſince Providence has itſelf been pleaſed ſo to order it, that the *King* has been defeated in *Ireland*, and the *French* have received ſo great a Loſs at Sea, we have no longer Reaſon to dread a *French* or an *Iriſh* Conqueſt; and the *King* cannot but now know, that he can never come to wear the Crown of theſe Nations, unleſs he will make ſuch Condeſcenſions as are proper for our Circumſtances, and are neceſſary to ſecure both our *Religion* and our *Property*. I have been with him ſince his *Exile*, and the laſt Words he ſaid to me were, *That he ſent me home to make a* Bargain *with his People*; but I did not meet with People whoſe Minds were prepared to propoſe juſt and equitable Expedients. He knows I would not make ill Conditions for my Country. I have been ſuſpected of being over nice and zealous for it. I confeſs I am more concerned for its Welfare than for all my own neareſt and deareſt Intereſts, yet I can very well comply with the equal and hereditary Monarchy of *England*. I never was an Enemy to the Word *Monarchy*, nor deſigned to interrupt the Succeſſion of the Crown; nor do I think it the Intereſt of any Man, that loves Peace, and theſe Nations, to do it: On the contrary, I at this Day affirm, though we ought always to have expected Terms from King *James*, or have ſent them to him, we ought not (though I would have good ones) even now to make ſuch as would make him juſtly uneaſy, ſo unreaſonable ones as would be unfit for him to grant. We muſt deal impartially if we would ever compoſe Things; we ought to ſhew our Claim, or at leaſt our Neceſſity, and we ought to couch Things in ſuch Words, as though they ſpeak plainly our Senſe, may have a due Regard to his Dignity. *Forgiveneſs* and *Righteouſneſs* have been preached to him, as the certain Eſtabliſhment of his Throne; he has been humbled by Afflictions; he has heard of his Miſtakes, and has hearkened to free Advice; he has Reaſon to have it, and he has Temper, and perhaps both he and we may be the better for our Tribulations, if we once accommodate our Diſputes. I never flattered the *King*. I have ſpoken plainer to him than I write now, and I believe I am not the leſs acceptable to him for my Plainneſs; and as to any Objection and Scruple that may be raiſed by a Declaration that is publiſhed in his Name, I muſt ſay I know no more than he that reflects upon it, whether it be King *James*'s Declaration or no; for about three Years ſince there was a Declaration publiſhed in his Name, for the Spreading of which ſeveral People were impriſoned, that I was afterwards told (by the Author) King *James* knew nothing of. And I muſt ſay further, that that Declaration which has been lately publiſhed does not anſwer to the Spirit I left him in many

Months ago; for, as I ſaid, he told me he ſent me to make a *Bargain*, * to know what it was his People would have. I cannot anſwer for what Accounts other People ſent him, but I am ſure he will ſo far juſtify me as to ſay, I have been ever againſt excepting Mens *Lives* or *Fortunes*. I have been ever for being very explanative about the Liberties of my Country; and if any Body with him, or any here, have led him into Meaſures that are diſguſtful to the People, I think I may boldly aver it is Miſinformation, and not Malice, that makes him liable to Miſconſtruction. Thoſe that wiſh for the beſt Things are the ſhyeſt, have ever been too ſhy towards him; and it is not impoſſible that this Government may bribe ſomebody to give too plauſible Names and Reaſons for thoſe Things that may turn to the *King*'s Prejudice, as ſome did here before the Prince of *Orange* came; but the Day that he really refuſes from any Sort of Men, that can ſhew a Probability of bringing him home, any Propoſals that have Tendency to univerſal Good, he gives Leave to his Subjects to have Recourſe to the Laws of Self-preſervation; then, and not till then, he *abdicates* his Crown. This is ſpeaking plain *Engliſh*; you ſee I ſpeak plainly concerning what the *King* muſt do, therefore let me alſo ſpeak ſome plain Truths, and rehearſe ſome Matters of Fact to my Countrymen; and here I will begin with aſſerting, that if the People would be true to themſelves at the Reſtauration, and careful in the Elections of Members to Parliament, we need no other Treaty but what the *King* will be forced to make good in the firſt *Seſſions*. We need not fear *French* or *Papiſts*, we are too large and too brave a Country to be a Plantation; *France* cannot ſpare from off the Continent Men enough to govern us contrary to our Inclinations; and though our Hiſtorians talk of our being conquer'd, any Man of Senſe ſees it was by Compoſition; it was from Parties within, and not from Force without us. As for the Roman Catholicks, their Numbers are inconſiderable, and though they have good Eſtates, and ſome Men of great natural Sagacity amongſt them, yet their having been out of Buſineſs keeps them from underſtanding the Knack and Turns of it; and, whatever weak People think, a King of that Perſuaſion, in a Proteſtant Country, is, more properly than any other Laws can make him, a *de bene placito* King. Sir *William Temple*'s Obſervations upon the *Netherlands*, and his Eſſay upon Governments, can never be too often read by Prince or People; the one may be taught by it how to govern, and the other cured of unreaſonable Fears. Standing Armies are the juſteſt Dread to civil Liberties, but they are many ways as dangerous to Kings as they can be to their People. A beloved General may turn their Competitor, and every Mutiny ſhakes their Thrones; and the King, that will make his Subjects Slaves by their Hands, muſt be as much and more a Slave to them: If the Troops are foreign, he muſt be the Tributary and Vaſſal of that Prince who lends them; and if they are home-bred Forces, the Diſpoſitions of the Populace will infect the Army. But beſides all this, no Country, though they may maintain Forces enough to ſuppreſs a ſudden Inſurrection, can poſſibly maintain enough to govern contrary to the general Genius of the Nation. The People of *Turkey* hold all their Lands of the Crown, and like their Government: And as for the Peaſants of *France*, they talk daily of their grand Monarch. An ill-concerted Conſpiracy may miſcarry; hot-headed Men may expect too ſoon to fire their Country-men, but general Diſſatisfactions are

* The Word *Bargain* is a Term of condeſcending Language.

are no more to be withſtood than general Conflagrations: When Neceſſity and Self-preſervation arm Men, let their Weapons be what they will, they will cut their Way through all Oppoſition. Indeed if a People are divided, as we are, the Danger muſt be common, or very notorious, before they make uſe of their *intrinſick Power:* But if ſome Laws were enacted to keep Eccleſiaſtick Controverſies out of the Pulpit, and the People were not taught to believe what in Caſes of Extremity human Nature will never practiſe; if Divines are not ſuffered to diſpoſe of the Kingdoms of this World, civil Crimes and Rights will be ſoon called by their proper Names, and we ſhall recover our Liberties in a Parliamentary Way before Things grow deſperate; it is dangerous, and ought to be criminal, for them to pretend to ſet up the Boundaries of Government; they may preach in general Submiſſion to Authority, but they are not to bring Texts of Scripture, and much leſs *Ariſtotle's Ideas*, or *Xenophon's Cyrus*, to overthrow our *Statute Books*, and depretiate the Laws of *England*. By an Act of Parliament in the Time of King *James* I. no Man, who was not Batchelor in Divinity, was to preach about Predeſtination, or Free-will, becauſe that Controverſy then troubled the Church; and ſure I am, that the Clergy of no Degree ought to preach about the Prerogative and our Privileges: Their State is not generally great enough to keep them from Flattery and ſiniſter Interpretations, by which too many of their Predeceſſors have been raiſed to Church Dignities. They underſtand not our Laws, nor have they much Credit for theſe Reaſons with the People; and they ought now to have leſs, ſince ſo many of their Coat have *prevaricated*. In a Word, they ought by their Function to underſtand the Myſteries of Religion, and leave the *Arcana Imperii* to the Lay-men. They ought to be puniſhed if they call Men Idolaters, Schiſmaticks, Fanaticks, Rebels, Traitors, ſeditious Perſons, with the *&c.* of their *Billingſgate* Rhetorick. Liberty of Conſcience will make one Part ill Manners, and Crimes againſt the State are proper for the Cognizance of the Civil Power; nor do I believe it was ever better'd by the Interpoſition of any Sort of Prieſts; nor indeed is Religion itſelf the better for the Affection of the Gentlemen of that Robe to intermeddle with Matters merely Temporal; but God knows they are too often buzzing that this and that Thing is Republican, and they have needleſs Apprehenſions for their Church. As for the Common-wealth Principles, ſcarce anybody carries them ſo far as to be againſt having a ſingle Perſon at the Head of our Affairs; and as for chopping and changing Kings, or rebelling when there is Occaſion, I do not find the Church of *England* is ſo much behind-hand with any other Sect; ſhe can lead the Dance, and though ſhe may pretend Wearineſs before it is at an end, yet ſhe can comply for Company. But after all this is ſaid, I think her of all the ſeveral Churches the beſt for this Nation, and ſo do almoſt all *Engliſhmen*, which leads me, as the Parſons phraſe it, to ſhew the Unreaſonableneſs of her Fears. As much as the Church of *England* Men have careſſed and wrote for an arbitrary Power, *nothing elſe can pull down their Church*; and ſhe might ſee, by what followed the two Tolerations ſince the *Royal Blood* was reſtored, that however ſhe has treated the Diſſenters, they will never join to pull down the Church of *England* and let in *Popery*; nor will ſhe ever again be wormed out of her Diſcipline, if ſhe never yields to Comprehenſion, *or is not too plainly an Enemy to Civil Securities.* But I have made too long a Digreſſion, and perhaps ſome may uncharitably think

I like too much the Subject Matter of it; but I only design the Good of the Clergy, and the general Peace of *England*. No Man can have a greater Value than myself for all those of that Order who are serious Christians and Sufferers for their Principles; but if they will consider how many of those that were in the late *Civil Wars*, and in this *Revolution*, went constantly to the Church of *England*, they will not think it very adviseable for *Princes* to govern themselves, by supposing that Men will live up to Doctrines that (I shall not say) are mistaken in Idea, but only assert that they are too self-denying to be expected in Practice from our profligate Age. I make Profession of great Plainness, but I beg a candid Interpretation from the Church of *England* for what I have said, and from the *Whigs* of all Sorts for what I am about to say to them: I think they have not made the wisest Use of the Kings they have quarrelled with, and that they are too frentickly apprehensive of Slavery. There are great Lengths that all Mankind will go with them; many of the Church of *England* joined with their Principles at the Beginning of the late *Civil Wars*, and their Consciences did not misgive them, till they had humbled that *unfortunate Prince* into such *Concessions*, as would have effectually secured the *Rights* of *Englishmen*. Let anybody look over the *Offers* that *King* made, and especially at the *Isle of Wight* Treaty, and then tell me whether there was any Reason to bring the Reproach of King *Charles*'s Murder upon these Nations. I am not just if I do not say the *Whigs* are too soon displeased and carry their Points too far, and that they over-rate their Numbers; the Men of the best Quality and Estates have generally a Mind to Peace, and are not so eager for *critical Reformations*. Some of the *Whigs* therefore start *Grievances* before others feel them, and are hazarding our very *Fundamentals* for the *Chimera's* of a *warm Imagination* and a *punctilious Nicety*, which jollier Heads and sweeter Natures can never comprehend; and at last they weaken themselves by *Subdivisions*, for they spin their Thread too fine, their *Speculations* are scarce practical, and end in *Vision*; tho' they are for *Liberty* in *Religion*, they are for *Persecution*, for Fire and Faggot, for Extremity in *Politicks*. The Bulk of *Freeholders* will stick by Essentials, but the *Whigs* almost nick-name their own Notions, and then it is no Wonder if the *Tories* take them for Scarecrows and Bullbeggers, and that the *Propagators* of such Doctrines are represented *unreasonable Men*, rather *Beautefeux* than *Patriots*; you out-word your own Opinions, and you talk *Hyperbole's* and *Catachreses*, and the *Tories* think you *Lunaticks* because they do not understand your Language. You ought seriously to consider your Numbers, and you will not find Disproportion enough between you and those *Tories*, to make it reasonable that they should wholly subscribe your *State Creed*; and perhaps there will be less Reason, if you look back and find that though some *fierce Men* of that Party (and God knows there are such Men in all Parties) may have been for *screwing up Monarchy* too high, yet many, that are for supporting the Church of *England* and *limited successive Monarchy*, have always joined in all honest and moderate Things. Indeed when K. *Charles* II. returned, his *first Parliament* gave him more Power than they were afterwards willing he should keep; but were not the *Whigs* as mad at the *Inauguration* of the Prince of *Orange?* If the Church of *England* in the Reign of that Prince did not hunt so hard when the *Popish Plot* was on foot, I suppose many of you are at this Day convinced you were *too keen*, and that the Business was a little *over-swore*. They opposed the

the *Bill of Exclusion*, without peradventure being in the *right* of it; for it was *purely personal* in its Regards, loving one Man more than *Liberty*, and hating another more than *Slavery*; and miserable is that People whose Security is more from the *Temper* or *Religion* itself of the *Magistrate* than the *Constitution* of the *Government*. I cannot but bemoan what we lost by *your Heat* at that Time. If you say the Church of *England Quo Warranto'd Corporations*, they did it no more than the *Fanaticks regulated* them. I think it unjust to *charge Parties* with the Faults of particular Persons: There was but a few of either Party concerned in either of those *evil Steps*, and 'tis as unjust to take away the Reputation of either Party for the Miscarriages of those few, as to take away *Charters* for *personal Male-administrations*; and I am confident, that even all the *Non-Swearers* of the Church of *England* would have been willing to have ascertained our *Constitution*, and secured our *Administration* when the Prince of *Orange* came; they were weary of *pretended unlimited Prerogative*, to say no more, and I think I ought not, if I would please them or you. But pray what Harm had it been, if we had not changed the Name of our King, if we had alter'd the Complexion of Affairs? Is it not a Shame that Sir *Thomas Clarges* and Sir *Christopher Musgrave*, &c. should have consulted Amendment more than those that have taken the Degree of Doctors at the *King's-head Club* and at *Richard*'s Coffee-house? Is it not a Shame that you would not make the Embrios of necessary Insurrections less liable to Prosecution in the last Session, and that you could in the Convention suspend the *Habeas Corpus*, tho' when you gave the Crown you declared it a fundamental Right? If you have Liberty to elect Kings, why are you so angry at those that will chuse their old one again, and perhaps upon more honest Limitations than you created your's? The Word *Limitation* puts me in mind, that I promised to shew that you are too violently apprehensive of Slavery, and therefore I will once again say you did not make the best Use of your Victories over King *Charles* I. because you brought them to a Point wherein the Consciences of most rebuked them, and wherein the Generality were not likely to succumb; and you were as indiscreet in the Management of King *Charles* the Second's timorous Nature, who would have denied scarce any Thing but the Bill of *Exclusion* at the Time that That was first on foot, and indeed would have found no Party to buoy him up in the Denial of any Thing else. To obviate your unreasonable Fears of Slavery, I beseech you to consider whether History gives an Account of any People that have been made Slaves but by their own Inclinations to be so, unless by an entire Conquest; and I once again affirm, it is not in the Power of *France* to conquer *England*, unless by our own Divisions, and those Divisions would soon cease if we did not oppose the bringing home King *James* upon civil Securities. The Prince of *Orange* hates the Persons of the *Whigs*, and more their Principles, and makes all those of them he employs change them, or at least act against them; yet their implacable Hate to King *James* will not let them, though they have so much punished him and themselves, forgive Errors in him which they commend in this Man; and if King *James* is ever restored, it will be easy to misrepresent their Notions, by reason of the Men that profess them: Whereas, would they plead for their Liberties under a Restauration, and not talk in Prejudice of the established Worship of the Church (to pull down which, is neither the Business nor the Desire even of any wise Dissenter) the

Church

Church of *England* will join to aſk and expect all Things that can make our Conſtitution happy and ſtable, not only under any Popiſh but under all Kings. Reflect ſeriouſly whether the Body of the Nation, which is moſtly compoſed of the Church of *England*, has not been ſtruggling theſe laſt fifty Years for more Liberty; this may inſtruct the *Whigs* that they need not fear the Loſs of it, and King *James* that he muſt give it. The Nature of our Situation, of our Tenures, of our Incloſures, and eſpecially of our People, is a full Security that we ſhall never loſe our beloved *Liberty* and *Property*, unleſs the *Whig* Party are ſo unreaſonable that they chuſe to embroil us in Civil Wars rather than to hearken to any Propoſals from King *James*, or join with others to ſend Propoſals to him. The Reduction of *Ireland* and the Ceſſation of the *Highlanders* have not ended the *Jacobite* Quarrel, and though this Defeat of the *French* by Sea damps the wild and viſionary *Jacobite*, yet it will not put an End to our Miſeries: Were King *James* dead, the Prince of *Wales* would be thought on, and thoſe that believe ſucceſſive Monarchy are very much (whatever you think) ſatisfied of his *Legitimacy*; but were he, and the Child of which the Queen is lately delivered, and King *James* alſo dead, if the Princeſs of *Orange* ſhould die, the Princeſs of *Denmark* muſt be a moſt reſigned Woman, if ſhe did not aſk for her Right: Whatever others can, I can yet ſee nothing but Confuſion and Calamity, intolerable and eternal Taxes, together with the Loſs of Trade and Honour on the one Hand, and on the other Hand our Ancient Plenty, and our Ancient Government; without *Sunderland* being remade Secretary of State, or a general Exciſe eſtabliſh'd, which are the reſolved-on Methods of King *William*: But I muſt yet give an Account of the moſt dreadful Hobgoblin of all, *Popery*. I believe as little of it's Creed, and as ill of it's Practices, as any body; but I would take a new Method to civilize thoſe wild Men that you think Beaſts of Prey. I would treat them better; I would enfranchiſe them. I blame neither *Papiſt* not *Fanatick* for being in a Plot, till they are impartially dealt with: And yet I can, and do, and ever did, and I am confident ever ſhall, comply with the Church of *England*; ſo that it is not perſonal Concern makes me ſay this, but a firm Perſuaſion, which I have had theſe twelve Years, that where a Nation is divided into Sects, *Church* and *State* Matters ought to be diſtinct. As we manage the Point, the Papiſts will be Vaſſals for the Court of *Rome*, and Spies for every Catholick Monarchy from whence they may hope a Deliverance, as well as Flatterers of Prerogative; but if you would blend them with all the other Sects, they would not be taſted in the Compoſition, nor would they be looking for Succours from abroad. But when I have ſaid all this, let the *Roman Catholicks* at their Peril endeavour to be invidiouſly preferred, or engroſs the King, we can put a Bear-ſkin upon them, when we pleaſe: And if a King of their Perſwaſion will be the King of their Party, the next Revolution will extirpate *Papiſt*, and the *Royal Line* to boot; and now we can cut off and *abdicate* Kings in the Face of the World: We ſhall learn Maſſacres, and turn into a perfect Common-wealth. I will allow you Gentlemen to believe Tranſubſtantiation, but I adviſe you as a Friend not to truſt to Miracles; but to allow that natural Weight will be too hard for all your ſupine Projections: So that tho' I am for your having utmoſt Liberty, and tho' I am as much an Enemy to Civil Inquiſitions here, as to your Religious, or rather Irreligious one in *Spain*, yet I would have you remember that I

ſay

ſay you are to have that Liberty only upon your good Behaviour. If King *James* comes in, if you will not as induſtriouſly as any other Party promote the general Good: If you will not be as zealous for it as your Predeceſſors when they got *Magna Charta*, you will be a hated Faction ſtill, and find me too true a Prophet at laſt. I think the *French* never were, but I believe every body will allow that they have now no Reaſon to be ſo viſionary as to expect to make us a Colony; and if any *Catholicks* or mad *Tories* ſtill expect Force from abroad ſhall ſet King *James* upon the Throne, they are madder than any Set of Men but thoſe *Whigs* that fear a *French* Conqueſt, and from thence *Popery* and *Slavery*.

I have treated upon odd Things, and in an unuſual Manner, and perhaps ſhall have tired the Peruſer, but to ſpeak in a few Words the Drift of the Whole—It is to invite all my Countrymen to be ready to receive the King upon ſuch large and comprehenſive Meaſures, as ought to ſatisfy all Parties; it is to incline all Parties to be reaſonable in their Demands, and to perſuade King *James* to give ſuch Terms as the People will thank him for now, and will have, or eternally be reſty and uneaſy; it is to perſuade all *Engliſhmen* to conſider *Church* and *Civil Matters* apart; it is to incorporate all our Sects into one *National Intereſt*; it does allow *Government* from God, but the *Specification* from Men; it is not to quarrel with *Hereditary Monarchy*, but deſires we may be ſafe in our *Lives* and *Fortunes*, and that we ſhould ſacrifice them for the *Publick* againſt Enemies abroad, rather than by *inteſtine Jars:* In a word, all this Ramble is to perſuade to a new *Magna Charta*; to *Peace* and *Juſtice*, which God grant may be the Concluſion of all our diſmal Appearances. I wiſh Men would rather caſt about in their Thoughts how to draw ſuch a *Magna Charta* than to make Oppoſition, which can never determine the Controverſy, as long as any one Branch of the *Right Line* is alive. I wiſh they would rather think who ſhould repreſent them, than who ſhould fight for them.

To conclude, I expect to pleaſe no one Party, becauſe I appear to be of none bigotly, but write for the general Good. Tho' I think what I have ſet down are Truths, yet I fear they are too ſtrong to be digeſted, they do not cloſe with the Partialities of any Sort of Men; however, they are well meant, and I leave the Iſſue to the great Diſpoſer of all Things, and Men to jumble and cut, and be unfortunate, till they find by Experience, according to the Title of this Diſcourſe, That

Honeſty, after all, *is the beſt Policy.*

The

The SPEECH of the Right Honourable *Henry Powle*, Esq; Speaker of the *House of Commons*: Delivered to the King and Queen's Majesties, at the *Banqueting-House* in *Whitehall*, *Friday April* 12, 1689. With His Majesty's Answer thereto.

YOUR most loyal and dutiful Subjects, the Commons of *England* assembled in this present Parliament, having to their unspeakable Joy seen your Majesties placed upon the Imperial Throne of this Kingdom, they have desired Access at this Time to your Royal Presence, humbly to congratulate your Majesties upon this Occasion, and to wish your Majesties a long and prosperous Reign, with all the Blessings that ever did attend a Crown.

We are all sensible, that your Majesties Greatness is the Security of your Subjects. It is from your Power that we derive to ourselves an Assurance of being defended from our Enemies, and from your Justice that we expect a full Enjoyment of our Laws and Liberties: But that which compleats our Happiness is the Experience we have of your Majesties continual Care to maintain the Protestant Religion; so that we can no longer apprehend any Danger of being deprived of that inestimable Blessing, either by secret Practices, or by open Violence.

*May the same Divine Providence which hath hitherto preserved your Majesty * in the greatest Dangers, and so often given you Victory over your Enemies, still crown your Undertakings with Success.*

And may those unparallel'd Virtues, which adorn Your Majesty's † Royal Person, be the Admiration of the present Age, and an Example to the future.

And may the Lustre of both your Names so far out-shine the Glory of your Predecessors, that the Memory of their greatest Actions may be forgotten, and your People no longer date the Establishment of their Laws and Liberties from St. *Edward*'s Days, but from the most Auspicious Reign of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY.

His MAJESTY's Answer.

Gentlemen,

WE return you our hearty Thanks for the Kindness and Respects that you have upon all Occasions shewed to both of Us; we shall take care to the best of our Power of all Things that conduce to the Good of the Kingdom; and I do not doubt but by God's Assistance and yours we shall be able in a short Time to make you a flourishing People.

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* To the King. † To the Queen.

The

The SPEECH of an Honourable Peer in the Houſe of Lords. 1689.

MY Lords, your appointing the Conſideration of the State of *England* to be taken up in a Committee of the whole Houſe ſome time next Week, I do not know how what I have to ſay may be received; for I never ſtudy to make my Court well, or to be popular: I always ſpeak what I am commanded by the Dictates of the Spirit within me. There are ſome Conſiderations that concern *England* ſo near, that without them you will come far ſhort of Safety at Home. [*We have a little Siſter and ſhe hath no Breaſts, what will become of our Siſter in the Day when ſhe ſhall be ſpoken of all: If ſhe be a Wall, we will build upon her a Palace of Silver: If ſhe be a Door, we will cloſe her with Boards of Cedar.*] We have ſeveral little Siſters without Breaſts; the *French Proteſtant Church*, and the two Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland:* The Foreign Proteſtants are the only Wall of Defence to *England*, on which you may build glorious Palaces of Silver; the Protection of the Proteſtants abroad are the greateſt Power and Security the Crown of *England* can attain unto, and which can only help us to give a Check to the growing Greatneſs of *France*. *Scotland* and *Ireland* are two Doors that let in either Good or Miſchief upon us, they are much weakened by the Artifice of our cunning Enemies, and we ought to incloſe them with Boards of Cedar. Popery and Slavery like two Siſters go Hand in Hand, ſometimes one goes firſt, ſometimes the other in-a-doors, but the other is always following cloſe at hand. In *England* Popery was to have brought in Slavery, in *Scotland* Slavery went before, and Popery was to follow. I do not think your Lordſhips or the Parliament have any Juriſdiction there: It is a Noble and Ancient Kingdom, they have an Illuſtrious Nobility, a gallant Gentry, a learned Clergy, and an underſtanding worthy People; but yet we can't think of *England* as we ought, without the reflecting on the Condition they are in. They are under the ſame Prince, the ſame Favourites and Councils; they are hardly dealt with, can we that are richer expect better Uſage? For 'tis certain, that in all abſolute Governments the pooreſt Countries are moſt favourably dealt with. When the Ancient Nobility and Gentry there cannot enjoy their Royalties, Sheriffdoms and Stuarties, which they and their Anceſtors have poſſeſſed for ſeveral hundred Years, but that they are now enjoined by the Lords of the Council to make Deputation of their Authority to ſuch as are their known Enemies, can we expect to enjoy our *Magna Charta* long under the ſame Perſons and Adminiſtration of Affairs? If the Council Table there can impriſon any Nobleman and Gentleman for ſeveral Years without bringing them to a Trial, or giving the leaſt Reaſon for what they do, can we expect the ſame Men will reſpect the ſame Liberty of the Subject here? I will acknowledge I am not well verſed in the Laws of *Scotland*, but this I know, that all the Northern Countries have by their Laws an undoubted and inviolable Right to their Liberties and Properties: Yet *Scotland* hath outdone all the Eaſtern and Southern Countries, in having their Laws, Liberties and Eſtates ſubjected to the arbitrary Will

and Pleaſure of thoſe that govern. They have lately plundered and harraſſed the richeſt and wealthieſt Counties in that Kingdom, and brought down the barbarous *Highlanders* to devour them; and all this without almoſt a colourable Pretence to do it: Nor can there be found any Reaſon of State for what they have done, but that thoſe wicked Miniſters deſigned to procure a Rebellion at any Rate, which as they managed it was only prevented by the miraculous Hand of God, or otherwiſe the Papiſts in *England* would have been armed, and the faireſt Opportunity given in the juſt Time for the Execution of that bloody and wicked Deſign the Papiſts had; and it is not poſſible for any Man that duly conſiders to think it other, but that thoſe Miniſters that acted that, are as guilty of the Plots as any of the Lords that are in queſtion for it: My Lords, I am forced to ſpeak this the plainer, becauſe till the Preſſure be fully and clearly taken off from *Scotland*, 'tis not poſſible for me or any thinking Man to believe that Good is meant us here; we muſt ſtill be upon our guard, apprehending that the Principle is not changed at Court, and thoſe Men are ſtill in Place and Authority, and have the Influence and Mind of our excellent Prince, who is not nor cannot be that to us, which his own Nature and Goodneſs would incline him to. I know your Lordſhips can order nothing in this, but there are thoſe that hear me can put a perfect Cure to it, and till that be done this *Scotch* Weed is like *Mors in Olla*; but there is ſomething too (now I conſider) more immediately concerns us, their Act for two hundred and twenty thouſand Men to be ready to invade us on all Occaſions; this I hear the Lords of the Council there have enacted as they do all other Laws, and expound it a ſtanding Army of 6000 Men. I anſwer, we have Reaſon and Right to beſeech the King, that that Act may be better conſidered in the next Parliament there. I ſhall ſay no more for *Scotland* at this Time, I am afraid your Lordſhips will think I have ſaid too much, having no Concern there: But if a *French* Nobleman ſhould come to dwell in my Houſe and my Family, I think it ſhould concern me to aſk what he did in *France*; for if he were there a Felon, Rogue or Plunderer, I ſhould deſire him to live elſewhere. I hope your Lordſhips will think fit to do the ſame Thing for the Nation, if you find the ſame Cauſe.

My Lords, give me Leave to ſpeak a Word or two concerning our other Siſter *Ireland*. Thither I hear is ſent *Douglas*'s Regiment to ſecure us againſt the *French*; beſides, I am credibly informed that Papiſts have their Arms reſtored, and the Proteſtants are not many of them yet recovered from being the ſuſpected Party, and the Sea Towns as well as Inlands are full of Papiſts; ſo that Kingdom cannot long continue in *Engliſh* Hands, if ſome better Care be not taken of it. This is in your Power, and there is nothing there but what is under your Laws; therefore I beg this Kingdom at leaſt may be taken into Conſideration, together with the State of *England*, for I am ſure there can be no Safety here, if theſe Doors are not ſhut up and ſafe.

A LETTER from a Lawyer in the Country to a Member of Parliament: Or, *Indemnity* the Effect of *Vacancy*.

SIR,

I Remember, in one of your former Letters, you were pleaſed to deſire me to ſend you the general Opinion of the Country concerning the Vacancy of the Throne, and how they ſeemed to ſtand affected upon it: And I then returned you in Anſwer, that your Proceedings therein were very well approved of; for it could not be imagined, that ſo many of the Nobility and Gentry would have been ſo ready to have hazarded their Lives and Fortunes as they did, without a juſt and reaſonable Cauſe; nor that ſo many Gentlemen of Eſtate and Quality would have appeared in this Parliament, if they had not been entirely convinced of the Safety and Innocency of their Appearance; neither the People of *England* who choſe them, nor the Perſons elected, could be imagined to admit themſelves guilty of High-Treaſon, the greateſt Crime of the Law: And if there had not been a Vacancy of the Throne, by the late King's Abdication of the Government, no leſs a Crime than High-Treaſon could have been imputed to them. But ſince that Point hath been ſo ſolemnly determined, the Nation is intirely ſatisfied, that the Parliament have thereby ſet forth a Declaration of Indemnity to themſelves and all others; and therefore it was, that by the univerſal Conſent of all People their Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary* were proclaimed in all Places with ſo much Joy and Satisfaction: There was ſomething in that Vote, that pleaſed all Manner of Perſons, as ſoon as they had a right Notion of it; they look'd upon the Nation as newly baptized from all its Sins and Corruptions, and that every Man was to begin the Courſe of his Life upon a new Baſis and Foundation; when they ſaw no publick Accuſation was like to happen, every Man began to condemn himſelf; ſome their Ambition, Vanity and Pride, that caſt a Miſt before their Eyes; others their miſtaken Intereſt and Fears; ſome began to review the Principles of Loyalty and Government, which they had imbibed from their Infancy, under the Doctrine of paſſive Obedience; others condemned their unfortunate Compliance of *doing Evil that Good might come of it*: But all looked back with Safety, as well as Reſolution of Amendment, upon their paſt Errors. Thoſe who never ſaw any Changes of Government, and had little Experience in ſuch Affairs, thought themſelves ſufficiently provided with a Stock of bought Wit, to make them good Subjects for the Publick, as well as cautious and prudent as to themſelves. Thus whilſt every body reflected upon their own Miſcarriages, they could not but ſee that a few evil Miniſters at Helm had been the Cauſe of all this Miſery, both to *Themſelves* in particular. as well as the *Nation* in general; and therefore ſome extraordinary Act of Attainder againſt thoſe evil Counſellors was all that was expected, or can be approved of by the Generality of the People of *England*: And the rather, becauſe it is ſo publickly known with what Zeal His Majeſty hath recommended a moſt general and expreſs *Act of Oblivion* for all his Subjects, with Exceptions only of ſuch evil Counſellors, as you in your great Prudence and Mercy ſhould think fit.

Matters being in this Poſture with us in the Country, and ſuch being the common Expectations of all Men, I muſt confeſs I found that general Vote, againſt thoſe that omitted to take the Oaths, did not only affect the Perſons concerned, who, I'll aſſure you, are very numerous, and have many Friends and Relations that pity their Caſe, but I perceived all Sorts of People concerned at it; for they looked upon it as a leading Card to their own Miſcarriages, tho' of another Nature: All thoſe that were concerned ſo much in *Addreſſes* and *Abhorrences* in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, who are a great Part of the Church of *England*; and all thoſe that ſigned *Addreſſes*, or other Papers for taking away the *Teſts* and *Penal Laws*, who are a great Part of the *Diſſenters* (not to mention a Multitude of greater Offenders, who cannot expect to fare better) are terribly afraid of theſe Proceedings; and where there is *Fear*, there you will always find *Hatred* and *Averſion*. So that I may ſafely ſay, that the Conſequences of theſe Things are dangerous at ſuch a critical Juncture of Time; and tho' the evil Effects thereof may not be ſo viſible to the World, yet I fear this Nation may too ſoon be ſenſible of them. Therefore it is that I have thought fit to put you in Mind of that *Abdication* and *Vacancy*, which being voted by you as a Matter neceſſary both for your own particular Indemnity, as well as the general Intereſt of the Nation, the Benefit thereof cannot without ſome Inequality (not to ſay more) be denied to the more general Miſcarriages and Offences of the Nation. But there are ſome zealous Men in the World, who being lately freed from ſevere Uſage themſelves, are not contented with Revenge againſt their particular Adverſaries, unleſs they can involve all Mankind (Friends as well as Foes) in Troubles and Afflictions. And from ſuch Men as theſe, who are neither willing to admit of this, nor any other Act of Indemnity, I meet with ſeveral Objections, which I thought fit to give a ſudden Anſwer to, for your private Satisfaction; and that with all the Submiſſion and Deference imaginable to the Wiſdom of our Superiors at this Time aſſembled in Parliament.

Object. I. *That nothing is more common in our Law-Books, than to find Offences, committed in one King's Reign, to be called in Queſtion and puniſhed in the Reign of his Succeſſors; and that their preſent Majeſties (whom God long preſerve) being crowned King and Queen of* England, *&c. there is the ſame Reaſon in this, as in all other Caſes.*

Reſp. There are indeed many Caſes and Inſtances of that Kind; but the Reaſon why there may be a Retroſpect in ſuch Caſes, is a clear Illuſtration why there may not be in this. There is as much Difference between the two Caſes, as there is between a Deſcent and Purchaſe at Common-Law: The Heir by Deſcent may diſtrain upon the Tenant for Rent, partly incurred in the Life of the Anceſtor; but a Perſon that comes in by Purchaſe cannot. The Law caſts a Freehold upon the Heir by Deſcent, before Entry; upon a Purchaſer it doth not. But in the Caſe of the Crown, there ſeems a much greater Difference in the Caſe of a Deſcent to the Crown, the ſame politick Capacity remains *in eſſe*, tho' in another Perſon; and therefore it is ſaid in ſuch a Caſe, *That the King never*

never dies, but he is ſaid only *dimittere Coronam* upon the next Heir; for in ſuch a Caſe the Law allows of no *Interval*, or *Inter-Regnum*, but the Regal Power is immediately devolved upon the next Heir by Conſtruction of Law. And ſince the politick Capacity remains without Interruption, and the Execution (or puniſhing Power) of the Law is lodged in the King, by reaſon of the politick Capacity, and ſince all Offences are committed *contra Coronam & Dignitatem ſuam*, againſt the King, by reaſon of his politick Capacity and not by reaſon of his natural; that is, againſt him *quatenus Rex*, and not *quatenus Homo*: Where the regal Power continues without Interruption, and therein the executive Power of the Law; there Offences againſt that Power do continue alſo, and may be puniſhed.

But in this preſent Caſe, where there is a total Vacancy of the Throne by the late King's Abdication of the Government, both the natural and politick Capacity, and therein the entire Subject of the executive (or puniſhing) Power of the Law, is in Judgment and Conſtruction of Law totally merged and extinct by Leſſor and Devolution of the Government upon the People; and where there is a total Failure both of the politick Capacity and of the executive (or puniſhing) Power, there muſt, by Conſequence, be an Indemnity to all Offenders.

Where there is a total Vacancy of the Throne, or regal Power, there muſt be a Vacancy of Offences againſt that Power.

And the late King *James* could not abdicate the Government, but he muſt alſo abdicate that which was inſeparably annexed to it, *viz.* The executive Power of the Law, unleſs you will ſupport as great a Miracle as *Tranſubſtantiation*, by preſerving an Accident, or abſtracted Power, without its Subject.

Object. II. *There are ſome Offences which are not only againſt the King, but being againſt the fundamental Conſtitution of the Government, are Offences againſt the People alſo; and thoſe Offences may remain, notwithſtanding an Abdication of the regal and puniſhing Power.*

Reſp. What theſe Offences againſt the People are, we do not find determined in our Books of the Law; but this I have often read, That the King may pardon all Offences whatſoever: And where the King may abdicate the Government from his Heirs, tho' he could not diſpoſe of it from them *à fortiori*, he may abdicate the Puniſhment of all Offences, where he had a Right to pardon them.

But *ſecondly*, Let the Offences be of what Nature they will, if they muſt be puniſhed at this Day, the Indictment muſt run in this Manner, for Inſtance, in the Caſe of Treaſon:

Quod A. B. *nuper de* L. *gen' ut falſus proditor' contra Illuſtriſſimum & Chriſtianiſſimum Principem* Jacobum *ſecundum, nuper* Angl' *&c. Regem, ad tunc ſupremum & naturalem Dominum ſuum, timorem Dei non habens, nec debitam, legianciam ſuam ponderans, ſed inſtigatione Diabolica ſeductus, cordialem dilectionem & veram & debitam obedientiam, quam verus & fidelis ſubditus dict' nuper Regis erga ipſum Regem gereret & de jure geſſiſſe tenebatur, penitus ſubtrahere, delere & extinguere intendens (tali die anno & loco) falſe, malitioſe & proditorie conſpiravit, imaginatus fuit,*

fuit, circumivit & compaſſivit dictum nuper Regem interficere, et ad mortem & finalem deſtructionem adducere, and ſo forth—And then concludes, *Contra legianciæ ſuæ debitum, ac contra pacem dicti nuper Regis, coronam & dignitatem ſuam.*

The like form, *mutatis mutandis*, is to be obſerved in all leſſer Offences. Now, if no ſuch Offence can be puniſhed but by Indictment of this Form, for committing ſuch a Fact againſt the Peace of the late King *James*, his Crown and Dignity, ſince his Crown and Dignity are totally vacated and extinct, how can any Offences remain?

Object. III. *That by a late Act of Parliament for reviving of Actions and Proceſſes, and for ſupplying other Defects relating to Proceedings at Law, it is provided, that in Indictments, Informations or Actions, wherein Concluſions uſed to be* [contra pacem Domini Regis] *to conclude* [contra pacem Regni] *and the Indictments ſhall be good, tho' the Words* [Domini Regis Coronam & Dignitatem ſuam] *be omitted.*

Reſp. That this Statute extends only to Offences committed between the 11th of *December*, *Anno* 1688, and before the 13th Day of *February* following, and not to any Offences committed before the late King's Departure, nor after the proclaiming of their preſent Majeſties: So that this Statute can be no real Objection, but on the contrary, may rather ſeem to enforce the precedent Argugument. Nay, here ſeems an Authority of this preſent Parliament in this Point; for they agree, and have thereby determined, that after the Abdication of the Government, all Indictments *contra pacem Domini Regis, Coronam & Dignitatem ſuam*, are void: But at this Day no Offences committed before the late King's Departure can be puniſhed, but by ſuch an Indictment or Information; therefore they cannot be puniſhed at all.

Object. IV. *That this Opinion is of the firſt Impreſſion, and only promoted by ſome guilty Lawyer, one of the Ringleaders of all our late Miſeries; and that it would be inconvenient that thoſe evil Counſellors, who by their Advice had almoſt ſacrificed the Nation to* Popery *and* Slavery, *ſhould reap the Benefit of ſuch an Indemnity.*

Reſp. It is not deſired that they ſhould; but ſuch as the Parliament in their great Wiſdom ſhall think fit, are by all People freely ſubmitted to a Bill of Attainder. The Repreſentatives of the Nation may, if they pleaſe, ſupply the Defect of a Jury; and, after hearing the Parties in their own Defence, inflict what Puniſhment ſeems juſt and equitable in their great Judgments upon particular Perſons.

This is a Lawyer, you well know, intends nothing but the publick Good, and humbly conceives this Opinion is as ancient as the other upon which it's grounded: But having for ſome Years withdrawn himſelf from Practice, humbly begs a favourable Conſtruction of ſuch an haſty Letter.

As to all thoſe worthy Members of your Acquaintance, that neglect their own Concerns for the publick Service of the Nation, you may aſſure them, that nothing is ſo much wanting amongſt us in the Country, as an expreſs Act

of

of Indemnity, which the People do humbly hope that their Majeſties in their great Goodneſs and Clemency will not permit to be any longer delay'd, eſpecially ſince your own Proceedings give them ſuch a Title to it. When that is paſt, you will find *England* will be united, the Throne eſtabliſhed, and no Hopes left for *France*.

Et præſtat Cautela *quam* Medela.

A Repreſentation of the threatening Dangers impending over Proteſtants in *Great-Britain*, before the Coming of his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*. By Mr. *Ferguſon*. 1689.

THEY are great Strangers to the Tranſactions of the World, who know not how many and various the Attempts of the *Papiſts* have been, both to hinder all Endeavours towards a Reformation, and to overthrow and ſubvert it where it hath prevailed. For beſide the innumerable Executions and Murders, committed by means of the Inquiſition, to cruſh and ſtifle the Reformed Religion in it's Riſe and Birth, and to prevent it's Succeeding and Settlement in *Spain*, *Italy*, and many other Territories; there is no Kingdom or State, where it hath ſo far prevailed as to come to be univerſally received and legally eſtabliſhed, but it hath been through ſtrange and wonderful Conflicts with the Rage and Malice of the Church of *Rome*. The Perſecutions which the Primitive Chriſtians underwent by virtue of the Edicts of the Pagan Emperors were not more ſanguinary and cruel, than what through the Laws and Ordinances of Popiſh Princes have been inflicted upon thoſe, who have teſtified againſt the Hereſies, Superſtitions, and Idolatries, and have withdrawn from the Communion of the Papal Church. Nor were the Martyrs, that ſuffered for the Teſtimony of *Jeſus* againſt Heatheniſm, either more numerous, or more worthy of Eſteem for Virtue, Juſtice and Piety, than they who have been ſlaughter'd upon no other Pretence, but for endeavouring to reſtore the Chriſtian Religion to the Simplicity and Purity of it's Divine and firſt Inſtitution, and to recover it from the Corruptions, wherewith it was become univerſally tainted in Doctrine, Worſhip and Diſcipline. How have all the Nations in *Europe* been ſoak'd with the Blood of Saints, through the barbarous Rage of Popiſh Rulers, whom the Romiſh Biſhops and Clergy ſtirred up and inſtigated, in order to ſupport themſelves in their Secular Grandeur, and in their Tyranny over the Conſciences of Men, and to keep the World in Slavery under Ignorance, Errors, Superſtition, and Idolatry; which the reducing Chriſtianity again to the Rule of the Goſpel would have redeemed Mankind from, and been an effectual Means to have diſſipated and ſubverted? They of the Roman Communion, having ſtrangely corrupted the Chriſtian Religion in it's Faith, Worſhip, and Diſcipline, and having prodigiouſly altered it from what it was in the Doctrines and Inſtitutions of our Saviour and his Apoſtles, found no other Way whereby

whereby to ſuſtain their Errors and Corruptions, and to preſerve themſelves in the Poſſeſſion of that Empire which they had uſurped over Conſcience, and in the Enjoyment of the Wealth and Secular Greatneſs, which by working upon the Ignorance, Superſtition, Luſts and Prophaneneſs of the People, they had ſkrewed and wound themſelves into, but by adjudging all who durſt detect or oppoſe them to Fire and Sword, or to Miſeries, to which Death in it's worſt Shape were preferable. Nor have they, for the better obſtructing the Growth, and compaſſing the Extirpation of the Reformed Religion, omitted either the Arts and Subtilties of *Julian*, or the Fury and Violence of *Galerius* and *Dioclesian*. Whoſoever hath not obſerved the Craft and Rage that have been employed and exerted againſt Proteſtants for theſe 170 Years, muſt have been very little converſant in Hiſtory, and ſtrangely overlook'd the Conduct of Affairs in the World, and the Tranſactions in Church and State during their own Time. And tho' the Papiſts do not think it fit, to put their Maxims for preſerving the Catholick Religion, and converting Hereticks, in Execution at all Times, and in every Place, yet ſome of their Writers are ſo ingenuous as to tell us the Reaſon of it, and that they do not forbear it upon Principles of Chriſtianity or Good-Nature, but upon Motives of Policy and Fear, leſt the cutting one of our Throats might endanger two of their own. However, they have been careful not to ſuffer a Period of Twenty Years to elapſe, ſince the Beginning of the Reformation, without affording us, in ſome Place or another, renewed Evidences of Papal Charity, and of the Roman Method of hindering the Growth of Hereſy, either by a Maſſacre, War, or Perſecution, begun and executed upon no other Account or Provocation, but merely that of our Religion, and becauſe we cannot believe and practiſe, in the Matters of God, as they do. And having obtained of late great Advantages for the purſuing their Malice againſt us, more boldly and avowedly than at another Seaſon, and that not only through a ſtrange Concurrence and Conjunction of Princes in the Papal Communion, who are more intoxicated with their Superſtitions and Idolatries, or leſs wiſe, merciful, and humane, than ſome of their Predeceſſors of that Fellowſhip were, but through having obtained a Prince intirely devoted unto them, and under the implicit Guidance of their Prieſts to be advanced unto a Throne, where ſuch ſometime uſed to ſit as were the Terror of *Rome*, the Safeguard of the Reformed Religion, and the Sanctuary of oppreſſed Proteſtants; they have thereupon both aſſumed a Courage of ſtirring up new and unprecedented Perſecutions in divers Places, againſt the moſt uſeful, beſt and moſt loyal of Subjects, upon no other Charge or Allegation, but for diſſenting from the *Tridentine* Faith, and denying Subjection to the Triple Crown, and are raiſed into a Confidence of wholly extirpating Proteſtancy, and of re-eſtabliſhing the Papal Tyranny and Superſtition, in the ſeveral Countries whence they had been expelled, or ſtood ſo preſſed and diſcountenanced, as that the Votaries and Partizans of their Church had not the Sway and Domination. Nor need we any other Conviction, both of their Deſign, and of their Confidence of Succeeding in it, than what they have already done, and continue to purſue in *France*, *Hungary*, and *Piedmont*, where their proſpering to ſuch a Degree in their cruel and barbarous Attempts, not only gives them Boldneſs of entertaining Thoughts of taking the like Methods, and acting by the ſame Meaſures, in all Places where they find Rulers at their Beck, and under their Influence, but to unite and provoke

voke all Popiſh Monarchs to enter into a Holy War againſt Proteſtants every where, that by Conquering and Subduing thoſe States and Kingdoms, where the Reformed Religion is received and eſtabliſhed, they may extirpate it out of the World, under the Notion of the Northern Hereſy. If Principles of Humanity, Maxims of Intereſt, Rules of Policy, Obligations of Gratitude, Ties of Royal and Princely Faith, or the repeated Promiſes, Oaths, Edicts, and Declarations of Sovereigns, could have been a Security to Proteſtants, for the Profeſſion of their Faith, and Exerciſe of their Worſhip, in the aforementioned Territories and Dominions, they had all that could be rationally deſired, for their Safety and Protection, in the free and open Profeſſion and Practice of their Religion; whereas by a Violation of all that is ſacred amongſt Men, of a binding Virtue unto Princes (except Chains and Fetters) or that confer a Right, Claim, and Security unto Subjects, the Poor Proteſtants in thoſe Places have been, and ſtill are, perſecuted with a Rage and Barbarity, which no Age can parallel, and for which it is difficult to find Words proper and ſevere enough, whereby to ſtamp a Character of Infamy upon the Treacherous, Cruel, and Savage Authors, Promoters, and Inſtruments of it. Nor does it proceed from a Malignancy of Nature peculiar to the *Emperor*, the *French* King, and the Duke of *Savoy*, above what is in other Princes of the ſame Communion, or that they are more regardleſs of Fame, and leſs concerned how future Generations will brand their Memories, than other Papal Monarchs ſeem to be, that they have ſuffered themſelves to be prevailed upon to violate the Promiſes and Oaths they were bound by to their Proteſtant Subjects; ſeeing the Emperor is characteriſed for a Perſon of a meek and gentle Temper, and of the Goodneſs of whoſe Nature there remain ſome Shadows, interwoven with the bloody Streaks of the *Hungarian* Perſecution. And the *French* King, tho' he ſtands not much commended for Sweetneſs and Benignity of Diſpoſition, is known to be unmeaſurably ambitious of having his Name tranſmitted to Poſterity in Letters of Greatneſs and Honour, which his Behaviour towards his Subjects of the Reformed Religion is no ways adapted unto, but calculated to make him hereafter liſted with *Nero* and *Julian*. As to the Duke of *Savoy*, there ſeems, by the whole Courſe of his other Actions, to be a certain Greatneſs of Mind in him, not eaſily conſiſting with that ſavage and brutal Temper, which the Cruelties he hath exerciſed upon the Proteſtants in *Piedmont* would intimate and denote. But it ariſeth from the Miſchievouſneſs and Peſtilency of their Religion, their Bigotry in it, and their having put themſelves ſo entirely under the Conduct of the Clergy, particularly of the Jeſuits, who are for the moſt part a Set of Men (eſpecially the latter) that through acting in the Proſpect of no other Ends but the Grandeur, Wealth, and Domination of the Church of *Rome*, do with an unlimited Rage, and a peculiar Kind of Malice, perſecute all that have renounced Fellowſhip with it, and care not if they ſacrifice the Honour, Glory and Safety of *Monarchs*, and bring their Kingdoms into Contempt and Deſolation, by rendering them weak, poor, and diſpeopled, provided they may wreck their Spleen and Revenge upon thoſe, whoſe Religion is not only diſſonant from theirs, but ſhould it prevail to be the Religion of the *Legiſlators* and Rulers of Nations, thoſe Springs of Wealth would be immediately dried up, by which their ſuperior *Clergy* and all their religious Orders are enriched and fed up in Idleneſs. And ſhould the People come to

be generally imbued with Principles of the Goſpel, Light and Liberty, they would immediately ſhake off a blind and ſlaviſh Dependency upon Pope and Prieſts, and thereby ſubvert the Foundation upon which the Monarchic Grandeur of the Romiſh Church and their whole Religion is ſuperſtructed, and deſtroy the Engine by which they are enabled to lord it over the Bodies, Eſtates, and Conſciences of Men. And if Proteſtants every where, eſpecially under Popiſh Rulers, were not under a ſtrange Infatuation, they would look for no fairer Quarter from Papiſts, than what their Brethren have met with in *France* and *Piedmont*, nor would they rely upon the Faith of any King that ſtiles himſelf a *Roman Catholick*, ſeeing ſacred Promiſes, tremendous Oaths, and the moſt authentic Declarations, are but *Papal* Arts and Tricks ſanctified at *Rome*, whereby to lull Subjects into a Security, and delude them into a Neglect of all Means for preſerving themſelves and their Religion, till their Rulers can be in a Condition of obeying the Decrees of the *fourth Lateran Council*, that enjoins *Kings to deſtroy and extirpate Hereticks, under Pain of Excommunication, and of having both their Subjects abſolved from Allegiance to them, and their Territories given away to others*; and till, without running any Hazard, they may comply with the Ordinance of the Council of *Conſtance*, which not only releaſeth them from all *Obligation of keeping Faith to Hereticks, but requires them to violate it*, and accordingly made *Sigiſmund* break his Faith to *John Hus*, whom, in Defiance of the Security given him by that King, they cauſed to be condemned and burnt. Nor is the Practice and late Example of the *Great Louis* deſigned for leſs than a Pattern, by which all *Popiſh Princes* are to act, and his Proceedings are to be the Copy and Model, which they who would merit the Name of zealous *Catholicks*, and be eſteemed dutiful Sons of the Church, are to tranſcribe and limn out in Lines of Force, Violence, and Blood, and for the better correſponding with the Original, to employ Dragoons for Miſſionaries.

And though I will not ſay, but that there may be ſome *Popiſh* Princes, who through an extraordinary Meaſure of Good-nature, and from Principles of Compaſſion woven into their Conſtitution, previouſly to all Notices of Revelation, whether real or pretended, and who through Sentiments imbibed from a generous Education, and their coming afterwards to be under the Influence and Management of wiſe and diſcreet Counſellors, may be able to reſiſt the malignant Impreſſions of their Religion, and ſo be preſerved from the Inhumanities, towards thoſe of different Perſuaſions from them in the Things of God, which their Prieſts would lay them under Obligations unto, by the Doctrines of the *Romiſh* Faith; yet there appears no Reaſon why an underſtanding Man ſhould be induced to believe, that the King of *England* is likely to prove a Prince of that great and noble Temper, there being more than enough, both to raiſe a Jealouſy and beget a Perſuaſion, that there is not a Monarch among all thoſe who are commonly ſtiled *Catholicks*, from whom *Proteſtants* may juſtly dread greater Severities, than from him, or look for worſe and more barbarous Treatment. I am not ignorant, with what Candor we ought, by the Rules of Charity and good Manners, to ſpeak of all Men, whatſoever their Religion is; nor am I unacquainted with what Veneration and Deference we are to diſcourſe of crowned Heads; but as I dare not give thoſe flattering Titles unto any, of which there are not a few in ſome of the late Addreſſes preſented to

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the King, by an inconſiderable and fooliſh Sort of *Diſſenting* Preachers, ſo I ſhould not know how to be accountable to God, my own Conſcience, or the World, ſhould I not in my Station as a *Proteſtant*, and as a Lover of the Laws and Liberties of my Country, offer ſomething whereby both to undeceive that weak and ſhort-ſighted People, whom their own being accommodated for a Seaſon by the Declaration of Indulgence, hath deluded into an Opinion, that his Majeſty cheriſheth no Thoughts of ſubverting our Religion, and alſo further to enlighten and confirm others in the juſt Apprehenſions they are poſſeſſed with, of the Deſign carrying on in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, for the Extirpation of *Proteſtancy*, and that the late *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience* is emitted in Subſerviency thereunto, and calculated by the Court toward the paving and preparing the Way for the more facile Accompliſhment of it. And while mercenary *Sycophants* by their Flatteries infect and corrupt Princes, and by their repreſenting them to the World in Colours diſagreeable from their Tempers and Diſpoſitions, and in milder and fairer Characters than any thing obſervable in them either deſerveth or correſpondeth with, do delude Subjects into ſuch Opinions of them, as beget a Neglect of Means for preſerving themſelves; 'tis become a neceſſary Duty, and an indiſpenſable Service to Mankind, to deal plainly and above-board, that ſo by deſcribing Kings as they are, and ſetting them in a true and juſt Light, we may prevent the People being further impoſed upon; or if, through ſuffering themſelves to be ſtill deceived, they come to fall under Miſeries and Perſecutions, they may lay all their Diſtreſſes and Deſolations at the door of their own Folly, in not having taken care how to avoid, what they were not only threatned with, but whereof they were warned and advertiſed. For as I am not of Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*'s Mind,* *That if we cannot avoid being diſtruſtful of our Safety, yet it is extreamly vain, fooliſh, and extravagant to talk of it*; ſo I am very ſenſible that many of the *French Miniſters*, by painting forth their King more like a God than a Man, and by poſſeſſing their People with a Belief of Wiſdom, Juſtice, Grace, and Mercy in him, of which they knew him deſtitute, have both embolden'd him to attempt what he hath perpetrated, and laid them under Snares which they knew not how to diſentangle themſelves from, in order to eſcape it. Nor would the King of *England* have acted with that Neglect of the future Safety of the *Papiſts*, nor have expoſed them to the Reſentment, and hereafter Revenge of three Nations, by the arbitrary and illegal Steps he hath made in their Favour, if he intended any thing leſs than the putting *Proteſtants* for ever out of a Capacity and Condition, of calling them to a Reckoning, and exacting an Account of them, which neither he, nor they about him, can have the Weakneſs to think they have ſufficiently provided againſt, without compelling us by an *Order* of *a la mode France Miſſionaries* to turn *Catholicks*, or by adjudging us to Mines and Galleys, according to the *Verſailles* Precedent, for our heretical Stubborneſs, or (which is the more expeditious Way of *converting three Kingdoms*) to cauſe to be murder'd the *Proteſtant* Inhabitants, according to the Pattern, which his Loyal *Iriſh Catholicks* endeavoured to have ſet *Anno* 1641. for the Converſion of that Nation. Had his Majeſty been contented with the bare avowing, and publiſhing himſelf to be of the Communion of the *Church of Rome*, and of challenging a Liberty, tho' againſt Law, for the Exerciſe of

* Hiſtory of the Times.

his Religion, it might have awaken'd our Pity and Compaſſion, to ſee him embrace a Religion, where there are ſo many Impediments of Salvation, and in doing whereof he was become obnoxious unto the Imprecation of his *Grandfather*, who *wiſhed the Curſe of God to fall upon ſuch of his Poſterity as ſhould at any Time turn Papiſt*; but it would have raiſed no intemperate Heats in the Minds of any againſt him, much leſs have alienated them from the Subjection and Obedience, which are due unto their Sovereign by the Laws of the ſeveral Kingdoms, and the fundamental Rules of the reſpective Conſtitutions. Or could he have been contented with waving the rigorous Execution of the Laws againſt *Papiſts*, of whatſoever Quality, Rank, or Order they were, and with the beſtowing perſonal and private Favours upon thoſe of his Religion, it would have been ſo far from begetting Rancor or Diſcontent in his *Proteſtant Subjects*, that they would not only have connived at, and approved ſuch a Procedure, and thoſe little Benignities and Kindneſſes, but had the *Papiſts* quietly acquieſced in them, and modeſtly improved them, it might have been a Means of reconciling the Nation to more Lenity towards them for the future, and might have influenced our Legiſlators, when God ſhall vouchſafe us a *Proteſtant* on the Throne, to moderate the Severities, to which by the Laws in being they are obnoxious, and to render their Condition as eaſy and ſafe as that of other Subjects, and only to take care for precluding them ſuch Places of Power and Truſt, as ſhould prevent their being able to hurt us, but could bring no Damage or Inconvenience upon themſelves. But the King, inſtead of terminating here, and allowing only ſuch Graces and Immunities to the *Papiſts*, as would have been enough for the placing them in the private Exerciſe of their Religion, with Security to them, and without any threatning Danger to us, hath not only ſuſpended all the penal Laws againſt *Roman Catholicks*, but he hath, by an uſurped Prerogative, that is paramount to the Rules of the Conſtitution, and to all Acts of Parliament, diſpenſed with and diſabled the Laws that enjoin the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, and which appoint and preſcribe the Teſts, that were the Fences which the Wiſdom of the Nation had erected, for preſerving the Legiſlative Authority, ſecuring the Government, and keeping Places of Power, Magiſtracy and Office in the Hands of *Proteſtants*, and thereby of continuing the *Proteſtant Religion*, and *Engliſh* Liberties, to ourſelves, and the Generations that ſhall come after us. And as if this were not ſufficient to awaken us to a Conſideration of the Danger we are in, of having our Religion ſupplanted and overthrown, he hath not only advanced the moſt violent *Papiſts* unto all Places of military Command, by Sea and Land, but hath eſtabliſhed many of them in the chief Truſts and Offices of Magiſtracy and civil Judicature; ſo that there are ſcarce any continued in Power and Employment, ſave they who have either promiſed to turn *Roman Catholicks*, or who have engaged to concur and aſſiſt to the ſubverting our Liberties and Religion, under the Maſk and Diſguiſe of *Proteſtants*. 'Tis already evident, that it is beyond the Help and Relief of all peaceable and civil Means, to preſerve and uphold the *Proteſtant Religion* in *Ireland*, and that nothing but Force and an inteſtine War can retrieve it unto, and re-eſtabliſh it there in any Degree of Safety. Nor is it leſs apparent, from the arbitrary and tyrannical Oath, ordained to be required of his Majeſty's *Proteſtant Subjects* in *Scotland*, whereby they are to ſwear *Obedience to him without Reſerve*, that our Religion

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is held only precariouſly in that Kingdom ; and that whenſoever he ſhall pleaſe to command the Eſtabliſhment of *Popery*, and to enjoin the People to enter into the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, he expects to have his Will immediately conformed unto, and not to be diſputed or controlled. But leſt what we are to expect from the King, as to the Extirpation of the reformed Religion, and the inflicting the utmoſt Severities upon his *Proteſtant Subjects* that papal Rage (armed with Power) can enable him unto, may not ſo fully appear, from what hath been already intimated, as either to awaken the *Diſſenters* out of the Lethargy, into which the late Declaration has caſt them, or to quicken thoſe of the Church of *England* to that zealous Care, Vigilancy, and Uſe of all lawful Means, for preſerving themſelves and the *Proteſtant Religion*, that the impending Danger, wherewith they are threatned, requires at their Hands ; I ſhall give that farther Confirmation of it, from Topicks and Motives of Credibility, Moral, Political and Hiſtorical, as may ſerve to place it in the brighteſt Light and fulleſt Evidence, that a Matter future and yet to come, which is only the Object of our Proſpect and Dread, and not of our Feeling and Experience, is capable of.

It ought to be of Weight upon the Minds of all *Engliſh Proteſtants*, that the *King* of *Great-Britain* is not only an open and avowed *Papiſt*, but, as moſt *Apoſtates* uſe to be, a fiery *Bigot* in the *Romiſh Religion*, and who, as the *Liege Letter* from a *Jeſuit* to a *Brother* of the *Order* tells us, is *reſolved either to convert* England *to Popery, or to die a Martyr*. Nor were the *Jewiſh* Zealots, of whoſe rageful Tranſports *Joſephus* gives us ſo ample an Account, nor the *Derviſes* among the *Turks* and *Indians*, of whoſe mad Attempts ſo many *Hiſtories* make mention, more brutal in their fanatical Heats, than a *Popiſh Bigot* uſeth to be when favoured with Advantages of exerting his Animoſity againſt thoſe who differ from him, if he be not carefully watched againſt and reſtrained. Beſide the innumerable Inſtances of the Tragical Effects of *Romiſh Bigotry* that are to be met with in Books of all Kinds, we need go no further for an Evidence of it, than to conſult the Life of *Dominick*, the great Inſtigator and Promoter of the Maſſacre of the *Waldenſes*, and the Founder of that *Order* which hath the Management of the bloody *Inquiſition*, together with the Life of *Henry* III. of *France*, who contrary to the Advice of *Maximilian* the *Emperor*, and the repeated Intreaties of the wiſeſt of his own Counſellors, the *Chancellor de l'Hoſpital*, and the *Preſident de Thou*, not only revived the War and Perſecution againſt his *reformed Subjects*, after he had ſeen what Judgments the like Proceedings had derived upon his Predeceſſors, and how prejudicial they had proved to the Strength, Glory and Intereſt of his *Crown* and *Kingdom*, but he entered into a *League* with thoſe that ſought to depreſs, abdicate and depoſe him, and became the Head of a Faction for the deſtroying that Part of his Subjects upon whom alone he could rely for the Defence of his Perſon and Support of his Dignity. Nor were the Furies of the Duke *d'Alva* heretofore, or the preſent Barbarities of *Louis* XIV. ſo much the Effects of their haughty and furious Tempers, as of their *Bigotry* in their inhumane and ſanguinary Religion. That the King of *England* is ſecond to none, in a blind and rageful Popiſh Zeal, his Behaviour both while a Subject, and ſince he arrived at the *Crown*, doth not only place it beyond the Limits of a bare Suſpicion, but affords us ſuch Evidences of it as that none, in Conſiſtency with Principles of Wiſdom and Diſcretion, can either queſtion

queſtion or contradict it. To what elſe can we aſcribe it, but to an exceſſive *Bigotry*, that when the *Frigate*, wherein he was ſailing to *Scotland*, *Anno* 1682, ſtruck upon the Sands, and was ready to ſink, he ſhould prefer the Lives of one or two pitiful Prieſts, to thoſe of Men of the greateſt Quality, and receive thoſe Muſhrooms into the Boat in which himſelf eſcaped, while at the ſame time he refuſed to admit, not only his own Brother-in-law, but divers Noblemen of the ſupremeſt Rank and Character, to the Benefit of the ſame Means of Deliverance, and ſuffered them to periſh, though they had undertaken the Voyage out of pure Reſpect to his Perſon, and to put an Honour upon him, at a Seaſon when he wanted not Enemies. Nor can it proceed from any thing but a violent and furious Bigotry, that he ſhould not only diſoblige and diſguſt the two Univerſities, of whoſe Zeal to his Service he hath received ſo many ſeaſonable and effectual Teſtimonies, but (to the Violation of the Laws of *God* and the *Kingdom*) offer Force to their Conſciences, as well as to their Rights and Franchiſes, and all this in Favour of Father *Francis*, whom he would illegally thruſt into a Fellowſhip at *Cambridge*, and of Mr. *Farmer*, whom he would arbitrarily obtrude into the Headſhip of a College at *Oxford*, who as they are too deſpicable to be owned, and ſtood for in Competition againſt two famous Univerſities, whoſe greateſt Crime hath been an Exceſs of Zeal for his Perſon and Intereſt, when he was Duke of *York*, and a Meaſure of Loyalty and Obedience to him, ſince he came to the Crown, beyond what either the Rules of Chriſtianity, or the Laws of the *Kingdom*, exact from them; ſo he hath Ways enough of expreſſing Kindneſs and Bounty to thoſe two little contemptable Creatures, and that in Methods as beneficial to them, as the Places, into which he would thruſt them, can be ſuppoſed to amount unto; and I am ſure with leſs Scandal to himſelf, and leſs Offence to any *Proteſtants*, as well as without offering Injury to the Rights of the Univerſity, or of compelling thoſe learned, grave, and venerable Men, to perjure themſelves, and act againſt their Duties and Conſciences. The late Proceedings towards Dr. *Burnet*, are not only contrary to all the Meaſures of Juſtice, Law, and Honour, but argue a ſtrange and furious Bigotry in his Majeſty for Popery, there being nothing elſe into which a Man can reſolve the whole Tenor of his preſent Actings againſt him: Seeing, ſetting aſide the Doctor's being a *Proteſtant*, and a Miniſter of the *Church of England*, and his having vindicated the Reformation in *England* from the Calumnies, and Slanders, wherewith it was aſperſed by *Sanders*, and others of the *Roman* Communion, and the approving himſelf in ſome other Writings worthy of the Character of a Reformed Divine, and of that Eſteem which the World entertains of him, for Knowledge in Hiſtory, and all other Parts of good Learning, there hath nothing occurred in the whole Tenor and Trace of his Life, but what, inſtead of Rebuke and Cenſure, hath merited Acknowledgments, and the Retributions of Favour and Preferment from the Court. Whoſoever conſiders his conſtant Preaching up Paſſive Obedience to ſuch a Degree and Height as he hath done, may very well be ſurpriſed at the whole Method of their preſent Actings towards him, and at the ſame time that they find Cauſe to juſtify the Righteouſneſs of God, in making them the Inſtruments of his Perſecution, whom in ſo many ways he had ſought to oblige, they may juſtly conclude that none ſave a bigoted *Papiſt* could be the Author of ſo unſuitable, as well

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as illegal and unrighteous Returns. For, as to all whereof he is accuſed, in the criminal Letters againſt him, bearing Date the 19th of *April*, 1687, I myſelf am both able to aſſert his Innocence, and dare aſſure the World, that none of the Perſons, with whom he is charged to have conſpired againſt the King, would have been ſo far void of Diſcretion (knowing his Principles) as to have tranſacted with him in Matters of that Kind; but whether his Letters ſince that to the Earl of *Middleton*, with the Paper incloſed in one of them, have adminiſtred any legal Ground for their ſecond Citation, I ſhall not take upon me to determine, and will only ſay, as I heartily wiſh he had not in thoſe Letters afforded them any probable Pretence for proceeding againſt him, ſo there are Exceſſes of Loyalty in them, to atone for the utmoſt Indiſcretions his Words are capable of being wreſted unto; nor can any Thing but Papal Malice, and *Romiſh* Chicanery, conſtrue and pervert them ſo far contrary to his Intentions, as to make Crimes, and much leſs to make Treaſons of them. Now as nothing can be of more portentous Omen to *Britiſh* and *Iriſh Proteſtants*, than to have a Popiſh Bigot exalted to rule over them; ſo through a Concurrence of Ill-Nature, and a Deficiency of Intellectuals, met in him with his furious Zeal and Bigotry, they are the more to expect, whatever his Power enables him to inflict that is ſevere and dreadful. 'Tis poſſible, that a Ruler may be poſſeſſed with a Fondneſs and Valuation of *Popery*, as the only Religion wherein Salvation is to be obtained, and thereupon, in his private Judgment and Opinion, ſentence all to eternal Flames, who cannot herd with him in the ſame Society; and yet he may, through a great Meaſure of Humanity, and from an extraordinary Proportion of Compaſſion and Meekneſs woven into his Nature, hate the imbruing his Hands in their Blood, or treating thoſe with any Harſhneſs whoſe ſuppoſed Miſbelief is their only Crime; and that finding them in all other Reſpects virtuous, peaceable and induſtrious, he may leave them to the decretive Sentence of the Sovereign and Infallible Judge, without diſturbing or meddling with them himſelf. Nor is it impoſſible, but that there may be a Prince ſo far bigoted in *Popery*, as to have Inclination and Propenſity to force all under his Authority to be of his Religion, or elſe to deſtroy and extirpate them; yet thro' being of that Largeneſs of Underſtanding and Political Wiſdom, as to be able to penetrate into the Hazards of attempting it, and to foreſee the Conſequences that may enſue upon it, in reference to the Peace and Safety of his Government, as well as the Wealth and Power of his Dominions, he may come to check and ſtifle his furious Inclinations, and chuſe rather to leave his Subjects at quiet, than to impoveriſh, weaken, and diſpeople his Country, either by deſtroying them, or by driving them to abandon his Territories, in order to find a Shelter and Sanctuary in other Places. But where (as in the King of *England*) a ſmall Meaſure of Underſtanding, accompanied with a large Share of a moroſe, fierce, and ill Nature, and theſe attended with Inſolency and Pride, as they uſually are in weak and froward People, come to have a Bigotry in ſuch a Religion as *Popery* ſuperadded to them, whoſe Doctrines and Principles inſtigate and oblige to Cruelty, towards all of other Perſuaſions, there *Proteſtants* find nothing that may encourage to hope for Security and Protection, under a Prince of that Temper and Complexion; but all that does affect and impreſs their Minds, bids them prepare for Perſecution, and to look for the utmoſt Rigours and Severities, that Pride, Malice, brutal Zeal, back'd and ſupported with

with Force and Power, can execute and inflict. And how much such a *Prince*'s Religion proves too weak to restrain him from Uncleannesses, and other Immoralities, by so much the more is he to be dreaded, in that he thinks to compound for and expiate Crimes of that Nature by his Cruelty to Hereticks, and his offering them up in Sacrifices of Atonement to the Triple Crown. Nor are the Priests either displeased with, or careful to dissuade Princes from Offences of that Kind, tho' they know them to be great Provocations to God, and of mischievous Example to Subjects, seeing they are Masters of the Art of improving them to the Service of Holy Church, and the Advantage of the Catholick Faith: For instead of imposing upon those royal Transgressors the little and slavish Penances of Pilgrimages, Whippings, and going bare foot, they require them to make Satisfaction for those and the like Crimes, by the pious and meritorious Acts of murdering *Protestants*, and of extirpating the Northern Heresy. And as one of the *French* Whores of State is reported to have been a Person that hath principally instigated to all the Cruelties against the Reformed in *France*, so no doubt but as she did it under the Influence and Conduct of her Confessors, to compensate for her Adulteries, she advised and persuaded *Louis* to it upon Motives of the same Nature. Nor do they who have the Guidance of Consciences at *Whitehall* want Matter of the same Kind to improve and work upon; and as there are of the licentious Females that will be glad of atoning for their filthy Pollutions by Acts so agreeable to the Articles of their Religion, so there are some who, as they have Influence enough upon the King to counsel him to the like Methods, so they will find him sufficiently disposed to compound for his loathsome and promiscuous Scatterings, at a Rate so suitable to his Temper, as well as to the Doctrines of the *Papal* Faith.

If any be deluded into a good Opinion of his Majesty, and brought to flatter themselves with Expectations of their being protected in the Profession of the Protestant Religion, they may be easily undeceived, and prevailed upon to change their Sentiments, if they will but consider his Behaviour towards *Protestants* in the Post wherein he formerly stood, and what his Carriage was to them, while he was fixed in a meaner and more subordinate Station than now he is. Though there have been many whose Behaviour in their private Condition would have rendered them thought worthy to rule, if their Actions, after their Advancement to governing Power, had not confuted the Opinion entertained concerning them; yet there have been very few that have approved themselves just and merciful after their attaining to Sovereignty, whose Carriage in an inferior Station had been to the Damage and general Hurt of Mankind, as far as their narrow Power and Interest would extend. It ought therefore to lay us under a Conviction, what we are to expect from his Majesty on the Throne, when we find the whole Thread and Series of his Conduct, while a Subject, to have been a continued Design against our Religion, and an uninterrupted Plot for the Subversion of our Laws and Liberties. 'Tis sufficiently known how active he always was to keep up and inflame the Differences among *Protestants*, and how he was both a great Promoter of all the severe Laws made against *Dissenters*, and a continual Instigator to the rigorous Execution of them: So that his affirming it *to have been ever his Judgment that none ought to be oppressed and persecuted for Matters of Religion*, nor to be hindred in worshipping God according

cording to their ſeveral Perſuaſions, ſerves only to inform us, either with what little Honeſty, Honour, and Conſcience he acted, in concurring to the making of the aforeſaid Laws, or what ſmall Faith and Credit is now to be given to his Declaration, and to what he hath ſince the Emiſſion of it repeated, both in his Speech to Mr. *Penn* and in his Letter to Mr. *Alſop*: And to omit many other Inſtances of his Kindneſs and Benignity to the *Fanaticks*, whom he now ſo much hugs and careſſes, it may not be amiſs to remember them, and all other *Proteſtants*, of that barbarous and illegal Commiſſion iſſued forth by the Council of *Scotland*, while he, as the late King's High Commiſſioner, had the Management of the Affairs of that Kingdom; by which every Military Officer, that had Command over twelve Men, was impowered to impannel Juries, try, condemn, and cauſe to be put to Death, not only thoſe who ſhould be found to diſclaim the King's Authority, but ſuch as ſhould refuſe to acknowledge the King's new modelled Supremacy over that Church; in the Purſuance and Execution of which Commiſſion, ſome were ſhot to Death, others were hang'd or drowned, and this not only during the Continuance of the Reign of his late Majeſty, but for above a Year and a half after the preſent King came to the Crown. But what need is there of inſiſting upon ſuch little Particulars, wherein he was at all Times ready to expreſs his Malice to *Proteſtants*, ſeeing we have not only Dr. *Oates*'s Teſtimony, and that of divers others, but moſt authentic Proofs from Mr. *Coleman*'s Letters, of his having been in a Conſpiracy ſeveral Years for the Subverſion of our Religion, upon the meritorious and ſanctified Motive of extirpating the *Northern Hereſy*? Of which, beſide all the Evidence that four ſucceſſive Parliaments arrived at, I know ſeveral who (ſince the Duke of *York* aſcended the Throne) have had it confirmed unto them by divers foreign *Papiſts*, that were leſs reſerved, or more ingenuous than many of that Communion uſe to be. To queſtion the Exiſtence of that Plot, and his preſent Majeſty's having been acceſſory unto, and at the Head of it, argues a ſtrange Effrontery and Impudence, in caſting an Aſperſion of Weakneſs, Folly and Injuſtice, not only upon thoſe three Parliaments that ſeem'd to have retained ſome Zeal for *Engliſh* Liberties, but by faſtening the ſame Imputations upon the Long Parliament, which had ſhew'd itſelf at all Times more obſequious to the Will of the Court, than was either for their own Honour, or the Safety and Intereſt of the Kingdom, and who had expreſſed a Veneration for the Royal Family, that approached too much unto a Degree of Idolatry. Whoſoever conſiders that Train of Counſels wherein the King was many Years engaged, and whereof we felt the woeful Effects in the Burning of *London*, the frequent Prorogation and Diſſolution of Parliaments, the widening and exaſperating Differences among *Proteſtants*, the ſtirring up and provoking Civil Magiſtrates and Eccleſiaſtical Courts to perſecute *Diſſenters*; and the maintaining Correſpondencies with the *Pope* and *Catholick Princes* abroad, to the Diſhonour of the Nation and Danger of our Laws and Religion, cannot avoid being apprehenſive what we are now to look for at his Hands; nor can we eſcape thinking, that he eſteems his Advancement to the Crown, both a Reward from Heaven for what he hath done and plotted againſt theſe three Kingdoms, and an Opportunity and Advantage adminiſtred unto him for the Perfecting and Accompliſhment of all thoſe Deſigns with which he hath been ſo long big, and

in Travail, for the Deſtruction of our Religion, the Subverſion of our Laws, and the Re-eſtabliſhment of *Popery* in theſe Dominions.

The Conduct and Guidance under which His Majeſty hath put himſelf, and the fiery Temper of that Order, to whoſe Government he hath reſigned his Conſcience, may greatly add to our Fears, and give us all the Jealouſy and Dread that we are capable of being impreſſed with in Reference to Matters to come, that there is nothing which can be fatal to our Religion or Perſons, that we may not expect the being called to conflict with and ſuffer. For though moſt of the *Popiſh* Eccleſiaſticks, eſpecially the Regulars, bear an inveterate Malice to *Proteſtants*, and hold themſelves under indiſpenſable Obligations of eradicating whatſoever their Church ſtiles Hereſy, and have accordingly been always forward to ſtir up and provoke Rulers to the Uſe and Application of Force, for the Deſtruction of *Proteſtants*, as a Company of Perverſe and Obſtinate *Hereticks*, adjudged and condemned to the Stake and Gibbet by the infallible Chair; yet of all Men in the Communion of the *Romiſh Church*, and of their religious Orders, the *Jeſuits* are they who do moſt hate us, and whoſe Counſels have been the moſt ſanguinary, and always tending to influence thoſe Monarchs, whoſe Conſciences they have had the guiding and conducting of, to the utmoſt Cruelties and Barbarities towards us. What our Brethren have had meaſured out to them in *France* through Father *De la Chaiſe*'s Influence upon that King, and through the bewitching Power and Domination he hath over him in the Quality of his Confeſſor, and as having the Direction of his Conſcience, may very well alarm and inform us what we ought to expect from his Majeſty of *Great-Britain*, who hath ſurrendered his Conſcience to the Guidance of Father *Peters*, a Perſon of the ſame Order, and of the like miſchievous and bloody Diſpoſition that the former is. 'Tis well obſerved by the *Author* of the *Reaſons againſt repealing the Acts of Parliament concerning the Teſt*, that Cardinal *Howard*'s being of ſuch a meek and gentle Temper, that is able to withſtand the Malignity of his Religion, and to preſerve him from concurring in thoſe miſchievous Counſels, which his Purple might ſeem to oblige him unto, is the Reaſon of his being ſhut out from Acquaintance with, and Intereſt in the *Engliſh* Affairs tranſacted at *Rome*; and that whatſoever His Majeſty hath to do in that Court is managed by his Ambaſſador, under the ſole Direction of the *Jeſuits*: So that it is not without Cauſe, that the *Jeſuit* of *Liege*, in his intercepted and lately printed Letter, tells a Brother of that Order, what a wonderful Veneration the King hath for the Society, and with what profound Submiſſion he receives thoſe reverend Fathers, and hearkens to whatſoever they repreſent. Nor is His Majeſty's being under the Influence of the *Jeſuits*, thro' having one of them for his Confeſſor, and ſeveral of them for his chief Counſellors and principal Confidents, the only thing in this Matter that awakens our Fear in what we are to expect from his armed Power, excited and ſtirred by that fiery Tribe; but there is another Ground why we ought more eſpecially to dread him, and that is, his being entered and enrolled into the Order, and become a Member of the Society, whereby he is brought into a greater Subjection and Dependance upon them, and ſtands bound by Ties and Engagements of being obedient to the Commands of the General of the *Jeſuits*, and that not only in Spirituals, but in whatſoever they ſhall pretend to be ſubſervient to the Exaltation of the Church, and for upholding the Glory of the Triple Crown.

Crown. This is a Myſtery which few are yet acquainted with, and which both his Majeſty and the Order judged it their Intereſt to have induſtriouſly conceal'd, but whereof the World may e're long receive that convictive Intelligence, that there will be no room left for ſuſpecting the Truth of it, and whereof a *Jeſuit*, in the late printed Letter from *Liege*, hath given us already ſufficient Intimation, both in telling us, *That the King of* England *ſtiles himſelf a Son of the Society*, and how that he wrote to Father *De la Chaiſe*, *that he would account every Injury done to the* Jeſuits *to be a Wrong committed againſt himſelf.* Neither is it ſo ſurpriſing as it may ſeem at firſt View, that the King ſhould liſt himſelf a Member of the Order, ſeeing there have been four other crowned Heads, of whoſe Entrance and Matriculation into the Society there is all the Evidence and Aſſurance imaginable. And tho' one of them is acknowledged to have been in the Claſſis of the Directors, while the other three are generally believed to have been in the Form of the Directed, yet ſuch was the Power of the Society over them all, that a great Part of the Cruelty exerciſed towards *Proteſtants*, both in the laſt Age and in this, is to be aſcribed to that implicit and blind Obedience, which they were bound to yield to the Injunctions of the Order, and to the Commands of the General, *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, who was the firſt King that entered into the Order, and who did it upon Motives of Policy, in hopes by their Means to have compaſſed Univerſal Monarchy, which he was aſpiring after; and who, by being in the Claſſis of Directors, had Advantages of uſing and improving, and not of being in that Degree of Servitude unto them, which the others have been; yet to what barbarous Cruelties did they over-rule and inſtigate him, not only to the Deſtruction of inconceivable Numbers of his Subjects, whoſe only Crime was, that they could not believe as the Church of *Rome* doth (which iſſued in the depopulating ſome of his Dominions, and his being depoſed from the Sovereignty in others) but to the Sacrificing his Son and Heir Prince *Charles*, whom, to gratify the Society, he cauſed, upon an Accuſation of his favouring the *Low-Country* Hereticks, and the being himſelf tainted with *Lutheraniſm*, to be murdered in his own Court and Palace. *Sigiſmond* of *Poland*, who was the ſecond crowned Head admitted into the Order, thro' complying with the Counſels, and ſerving the Wrath, Rage, and Paſſions of the *Jeſuits*, in endeavouring to ſuppreſs the *Proteſtant* Religion in *Sweden*, to which he was Heir, and ſtriving to ſubvert their Civil Rights, drew upon himſelf the Reſentment and Wrath of that Nation to ſuch a Degree, that they abdicated him and his Heirs from the Government, and advanced another to the Throne. *Caſimire*, who was alſo King of *Poland*, is reckoned to be the third Sovereign Prince that entered into the Society, and he, by coming under the Domination of the *Jeſuits*, and being bound to follow their Directions, and to execute whatſoever the General of the Order thought fit to enjoin for the Promotion and Benefit of the Church, became not only an Inſtrument of a ſevere Perſecution againſt all Sort of Diſſenters from the *Romiſh* Faith, ſo that many were put to death, and more driven to abandon their Country, but through committing many Things in the Courſe of his Government that were prejudicial to the Rights, and thereupon diſguſtful to the *Poliſh* Nobility, they conceived ſuch an Averſion and Hatred for him, that to avoid the Effects of their Reſentment and Indignation, he was forced to lay down his Crown, and to chuſe to end his Days in *France* in no higher a Character than that of Abbot of *St. Germains*. There is a fourth

Prince, and who is yet in being, that is generally believed to be enrolled into the Order; and the Perſecution he hath carried on in *Hungary*, contrary to his natural Temper, and to all the Rules of Intereſt and Policy, and in Violation of his Promiſes and Oaths for continuing unto them the Liberty of their Religion, is both too probable an Evidence of it, and a ſtrong Confirmation of the Cruelties which the *Jeſuits* inſtigate Princes unto, over whom they have Influence, and whom they have wheedled into Engagements of obeying their Commands, and purſuing their Injunctions. And as the Deſolating of *Hungary* through a long and bloody War, and the tempting the *Turks* to invade the *Auſtrian* Territories, are ſome of the Effects that have enſued upon the Emperor's complying with the fierce and heady Counſels of the *Jeſuits*, ſo we have not ſeen all the Miſchiefs that the Perſecution, which they have engaged him in againſt Proteſtants, is like to iſſue in; tho' beſide the diſguſting ſeveral Electoral Princes and States in *Germany*, and the furniſhing the *Ottoman* Potentate with Encouragements of continuing the War, there are wonderful Advantages afforded by it, to embolden the *French* King in his Encroachments upon the Empire, which otherwiſe he would not have dared to attempt, and whereof the Reſult at laſt may prove fatal to the Imperial Dignity, and to the whole Houſe of *Auſtria*. Now what the Proteſtants in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* ought to dread from the King, upon his being entered into a Society that hath breathed nothing but Fire and Blood ſince its firſt Inſtitution, I leave to the ſerious Conſideration of all Men who value their Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates, and that do not think of renouncing their Religion, and turning Papiſts. Nor is it to be imagined that the King, before he can be ſuppoſed well ſettled on the Throne, and while under a declining State of Body, as well as in an advanced Age, having the Weight of four and fifty upon his Shoulders, beſide ſomething elſe that he is obliged to the Earl of *Southeſk* for, which I ſhall not mention, would have taken ſo many bold, wide, and illegal Steps, for the ſupplanting our Religion and Laws, and for the introducing and eſtabliſhing of Popery and Tyranny (and this not only to the loſing and diſobliging his former Votaries and Partizans, but to the ſtrange alarming and diſguſting moſt Perſons of Honour, Quality, and Intereſt in the three Kingdoms) were he not, beſide the being under the Sway of his own Bigotry, and the ſtrong Ballance of a large Meaſure of Ill-nature, bound by Ties of implicit Obedience to the Commands of that extravagant and furious Society, to the promoting of whoſe Paſſions and Malice, rather than his own Safety and Glory, or the laſting Benefit of the *Roman Catholicks* themſelves, the whole Courſe of his Government hitherto ſeems to have been ſhapen and adapted. The Occaſion and Subject of the late Conteſt between him and the Pope, which hath made ſo great a Noiſe not only at *Rome* but through all *Europe*, may ſerve to convince us both of the extraordinary Zeal he hath for the Society, and of the tranſcendent Power they have over him, and that it is no wonder he ſhould *exact an Obedience without Reſerve from his Subjects in Scotland*, ſeeing he himſelf yeilds an Obedience without Reſerve to the *Jeſuits*. It is known, that by the Rules of their Inſtitution no *Jeſuit* is capable of the Mitre, and that if the Ambition of any of them ſhould tempt him to ſeek or accept the Dignity of a Prelate, he muſt, for being capacitated thereunto, renounce his Memberſhip in the Order: Yet ſo great is his Majeſty's Paſſion for the Honour and Grandeur of the Society,

ciety, and such is their Domination and absolute Power over him, that no less will serve him (neither would they allow him to insist upon less) than that the Pope should dispense with Father *Peters* being made a Bishop, without his ceasing to be a *Jesuit*, or the being transplanted into another Order. And this the old Gentleman at *Rome* hath been forced at last to comply with, and to grant a Dispensation whereby Father *Peters* shall be capable of the Prelature, notwithstanding his remaining in the *Ignatian* Order; the *Jesuits*, through their Authority over the King, not suffering him to recede from his Demand, and his Majesty's Zeal for the Society not permitting him to comply either with the Prayers or the Conscience and Honour of the Supreme Pontiff.

Not only the King's Unthankfulness unto, but his illegal Proceedings against, and his arbitrary Invading the Rights of those who stood by him in all his Dangers and Difficulties, and who were the Instruments of preventing his Exclusion from the Crown, and the chief Means both of his Advancement to the Throne, and his being kept in it, are so many new Evidences of the Ill-will he bears to all *Protestants*, and what they are to dread from him as Occasions are administred of injuring and oppressing them; and may serve to convince all impartial and thinking People, that his popish Malice to our Religion is too strong for all Principles of Honour and Gratitude, and able to cancel the Obligations which Friendship for his Person, and Service to his Interest, may be supposed to have laid him under to any heretofore. Had it not been for many of the Church of *England*, who stood up with a Zeal and Vigour for preserving the Succession in the right Line, beyond what Religion, Conscience, Reason, or Interest could conduct them unto, he had never been able to have out-wrestled the Endeavours of three Parliaments for excluding him from the imperial Crown of *England*: And had it not been for their abetting and standing by him with their Swords in their Hands, upon the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Descent into the Kingdom, *Anno* 1685, he could not have avoided the being driven from the Throne, and the having the Scepter wrested out of his Hand. Whosoever had the Advantage of knowing the Temper and Genius of the late King, and how afraid he was of embarking into any Thing that might import a visible Hazard to the Peace of the Government, and draw after it a general Disgust of his Person, will be soon satisfied that if all his Protestant Subjects had united in their Desires, and concurred in their Endeavours, to have had the Duke of *York* debarred from the Crown, that his late Majesty would not have once scrupled the complying with it, and that his Love to his dear Brother would have given Way to the Apprehension and Fear of forfeiting a Love for himself in the Hearts of his People, especially when what was required of him was not an Invasion upon the Fundamentals of the Constitution of the *English* Monarchy, nor dissonant from the Practice of the Nation in many repeated Instances. Nor can there be a greater Evidence of the present King's Ill-nature, Romish Bigotry, and prodigious Ingratitude, as well as of the Design he is carrying on against our Religion and Laws, than his Carriage and Behaviour towards the Church of *England*; though I cannot but acknowledge it a righteous Judgment upon them from God, and a just Punishment for their being not only so unconcerned for the Preservation of

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our Religion and Liberties, in avoiding to close with the only Methods that were adapted thereunto, but for being so passionate and industrious to hasten the Loss of them, by putting the Government into the Hands of one, who (as they might have foreseen) would be sure to make a Sacrifice of them to his beloved Popery, and to his inordinate Lust after despotical and arbitrary Power. And as the only Example, bearing any Affinity to it, is that of *Lewis* XIV. who in Recompence to his Protestant Subjects for maintaining him on the Throne, when the late Prince of *Conde*, assisted by Papists, would have wrested the Crown from him, hath treated them with a Barbarity, whereof that of *Antiochus* towards the *Jews*, and that of *Diocleſian* and *Maximian* towards the primitive Christians, were but scanty and imperfect Draughts; so there wants nothing for compleating the Parallel between *England* and *France*, but a little more Time and fortunate Opportunity, and then the deluded Church-men will find that Father *Peters* is no less skilful at *Whitehall*, for transforming their Acts of Loyalty and Merit towards the King into Crimes and Motives of their Ruin, than Pere *De la Chaiſe* hath shewn himself at *Verſailles*, where, by an Art peculiar to the *Jeſuits*, he hath improved the Loyalty and Zeal of the *Reformed* in *France*, for the House of *Bourbon*, into a Reason of alienating that Monarch from them, and into a Ground of his destroying that dutiful and obedient People. It will not be amiss to call over some of his Majesty's Proceedings towards the Church of *England*, that from what hath been already seen and felt, both they and all *Engliſh* Protestants may the better know what they are to expect and look for hereafter. And as it is a Method very unbecoming a Prince, so it shews a great deal of Spleen, to turn the former Persecution of the Dissenters so maliciously upon the prelatical and conforming Clergy, as his Majesty doth in his Letter to Mr. *Alſop*, stiling them "A Party of Protestants who think the only Way to "advance their Church, is by undoing those Churches of Christians that differ "from them in smaller Matters:" Whereas the Severity that the Fanaticks met with had much of its Original at Court, where it was formed and designed upon Motives of Popery and Arbitrariness; and the Resentment and revengeful Humour of some of the old Prelates, and other Churchmen that had suffered in the late Times, was only laid hold of, the better to justify and improve it. And tho' it be too true, that many of the dignified Rank as well as of the little Levites were both extremely fond of it, and contentiously pleaded for it, yet it is as true, that most of them did it not upon Principles of Judgment and Conscience, but upon Inducements of Retaliation for conceived Injuries, and upon a Belief of its being the most compendious Method to the next Preferment and Benefice, and the fairest Way of standing recommended to the Favour of the two Royal Brothers.

Nor is it unworthy of Observation, that some of the most virulent Writers against Liberty of Conscience, and others of the most fierce Instigators to the Persecuting *Diſſenters*, among whom we may reckon *Parker* Bishop of *Oxford*, and *Cartwright* Bishop of *Cheſter*, are since addressing for the Declaration of Indulgence, became the Means of being graciously look'd upon at *Whitehall*, turned forward Promoters of it, though their Success in their Dioceses with their Clergy hath not answered their Expectations and Endeavours: For as these two mitred Gentlemen will fall in with and justify whatsoever the King hath a Mind to do, if they may but keep their Sees, and enjoy their Revenues, which I dare

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ſay that rather than loſe, they will ſubſcribe not only to the *Tridentine* Faith, but to the Alcoran; ſo it is moſt certain, that they two as well as the Biſhop of *Durham* have promiſed to turn *Roman* Catholicks; and that as *Crew* hath been ſeveral times ſeen aſſiſting at the Celebration of the Maſs, and that as *Cartwright* pay'd a particular Reſpect to the Nuncio at his ſolemn Entrance at *Windſor*, which ſome temporal Lords had ſo much Conſcience and Honour as to ſcorn to do; ſo the Author of the *Liege* Letter tells us, that *Parker* not only extreamly favours Popery, but that he brands in a manner all ſuch for Atheiſts who continue to plead for the Proteſtant Religion. 'Tis an Act of the ſame Candor and Good-nature in the King with the former, and another royal Effect of his princely Breeding as well as of his Gratitude, when he endeavours to caſt a further Odium upon the Church of *England*, and to exaſperate the Diſſenters againſt her, by ſaying in the aforementioned Letter to Mr. *Alſop*, that *the Reaſon why the Diſſenters enjoyed not Liberty ſooner, is wholly owing to the Solicitation of the* Conforming Clergy; whereas many of the learned and ſober Men of the Church of *England* could have been contented that the Nonconforming Proteſtants ſhould have had Liberty long ago, provided it had been granted in a legal Way, and the chief Executioners of Severity upon them were ſuch of all Ranks, Orders, and Stations, as the Court both ſet on and rewarded for it. 'Tis not their Brethren having Liberty that diſpleaſeth modeſt and good Men of the Church of *England*; but 'tis the having it in the Virtue of an uſurped Prerogative over the Laws of the Land, and to the ſhaking all the legal Foundations of the Proteſtant Religion itſelf in the Kingdom. And had the Declaration of Indulgence imported only an Exemption of Diſſenters and Papiſts from Rigours and Penalties, I know very few that would have been diſpleaſed at it; but the extending it to the removing all the Fences about the reformed Doctrine and Worſhip, and laying us open both to the Tyranny of Papiſts, and the being overflowed with a Deluge of their Superſtitions and Idolatries, as well as the deſigning it for a Means to overthrow the eſtabliſhed Church, is that which no wiſe Diſſenter, no more than a conformable Man, knows how to digeſt: For I am not of Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*'s Mind, who after he had been writing for many Years againſt Diſſenters, with all the Venom and Malice imaginable, and to diſprove the Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Convenience of granting them Liberty, hath now the Impudence to publiſh, * *That whatſoever he formerly wrote bears an exact Conformity to the preſent Reſolutions of State, in that the Liberty now vouchſafed is an Act of Grace iſſuing from the ſupreme Magiſtrate, and not a Claim of Right in the People.* And as to recited Expreſſions of the King, they are only a papal Trick, whereby to keep up Heats and Animoſities among Proteſtants, when both the inward Heats of Men are much allay'd, and the external Provocations to them are wholly removed; and they are merely Jeſuitical Methods, by which our Hatred of one another may be maintained, tho' the Laws enabling one Party to perſecute the other, which was the chief Spring of all our mutual Rancour and Bitterneſs, be ſuſpended. It would be the Sport and Glory of the *Ignatian* Order, to be able to make the diſabling of Penal Laws as effectual to the ſupporting Differences among Proteſtants, as the enacting and rigorous Execution of them, was to the firſt raiſing and the continuing them afterwards for many Years. And if the foregoing Topicks can furniſh the

* Preface to his Hiſtory of the Times, *Page* 8.

the King with Arguments whereby to reproach the Church of *England*, when he thinks it ſeaſonable and for the Intereſt of *Rome* to be angry with them; I dare affirm he will never want Pretences of being diſcontented with, and of aſperſing Fanaticks, when he finds the doing ſo, to be for the Service of the Papal Cauſe. And if the aforementioned Inſtances of his Majeſty's Behaviour to the Church of *England*, to which he ſtands ſo ſuperlatively obliged, be neither Teſtimonies of his Ingenuity, Evidences of his Gratitude, nor Effects of common, much leſs royal Juſtice; yet what remains to be intimated does carry more viſible Marks of his Malice and Deſign, both againſt the legally eſtabliſhed Church and our Religion: For not being ſatisfied with the Suſpenſion of all thoſe Laws, by which Proteſtants, and they of the national Communion, might ſeem to be injurious to Papiſts in their Perſons and Eſtates, ſuch as the Laws which make thoſe, who ſhall be found to have taken Orders in the Church of *Rome*, obnoxious to Death, or thoſe other Statutes, by which the King hath Power and Authority for levying two Thirds of their Eſtates who ſhall be convicted of Recuſancy; but by an uſurped Prerogative, and an abſolute Power, he is pleaſed to ſuſpend all the Laws, by which they were only diſabled from hurting us, as ſtanding precluded from Places of Power and Truſt in the Government. So that the whole Security we have in Time to come for our Religion, depends upon the temperate Diſpoſition and Good-nature of thoſe *Roman* Catholicks that ſhall be advanced to Offices and Employments, and does no longer bear upon the Protection and Support of the Law; and I think we have not had that Experience of Grace and Favour from Papiſts, as may give us juſt Confidence of fair and candid Treatment from them for the future. Now that we may be the better convinced, how little Security we have from his Majeſty's Promiſe in his Declaration, of his protecting the *Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Clergy, and all other his Subjects of the Church of* England, *in the free Exerciſe of their Religion as by Law eſtabliſhed, and in the quiet and full Enjoyment of their Poſſeſſions, without any Moleſtation or Diſturbance whatever*, which is all the Tenour that is left us; it is not unworthy of Obſervation, how that, beſide the ſuſpending the Biſhop of *London ab Officio*, and the Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge* both *ab Officio* and *Beneficio*, and this not only for Actions which the Laws of God and the Kingdom make their Duty, but by a Sentence inflicted upon them by no legal Court of Judicature, but of five or ſix mercenary Perſons, ſupported by a tyrannous and arbitrary Commiſſion, his Majeſty in his Proclamation for Toleration in *Scotland*, bearing Date the 12th of *February*, doth, among many other Laws, caſs, diſable, and diſpenſe with the Law enjoining the *Scots* Teſt, tho' it was not only enacted by himſelf while he repreſented his Brother as his High Commiſſioner, but hath been confirmed by him in Parliament ſince he came to the Crown. Surely it is as eaſy to depart from a Promiſe made in a Declaration, as it is to abſolve and diſcharge himſelf from the Obligation of a Law, which he firſt concurred to the enacting of, and gave the creating Fiat unto, as the late King's Commiſſioner, and hath ſince ratified in Parliament, after he came to the Throne. As there is no more Infidelity, Diſhonour, and Injuſtice, ſo there is leſs of abſolute Power and Illegality, in doing the one than the other. Nor is it poſſible for a rational Man to place a Confidence in his Majeſty's royal Word, for the Protection of our Religion, and thoſe of the Church of *England* enjoying their Poſſeſſions, ſeeing he hath

hath not only departed from his Promiſe made to the Council immediately after his Brother's Death, but hath violated his Faith given to the Parliament of *England* at their firſt Seſſion, which we might have thought would have been the more ſacred and binding, by reaſon of the Grandeur, State, and Quality of the Aſſembly to which it was pledged.

If we conſider how much Proteſtants ſuffered, what Numbers of them were burnt at the Stake, as well as murdered in Gaols, beſide the vaſt Multitudes who, to avoid the Rage and Power of their Enemies, were forced to abandon their Country, and ſeek for Shelter in foreign Parts, and what Endeavours of all Kinds were uſed for the Extirpation of our Religion under Queen *Mary*; we may gather and learn from thence what is to be dreaded from *James* II. who is the next Popiſh Prince to her that ſince the Reformation hath ſat on the Throne of *England*. For though there be many Things that adminiſter Grounds of Hope, that the Papiſts will not find it ſo eaſy a Matter to bring us in Shoals to the Stake, nor of that quick and eaſy Diſpatch to ſuppreſs the Proteſtant Religion, and ſet up Popery, at this Time as they found it then; yet every thing that occurs to our Thoughts, or that can affect our Underſtandings, ſerves not only to perſuade us into a Belief that they will ſet upon and endeavour it, but to work us up to an Aſſurance that his Majeſty would take it for a Diminution of his Glory, as well as Reflection upon his Zeal for the Church of *Rome*, not to attempt what a Woman had both the Courage to undertake, and the Fortune to go thro' with. And there is withal a Concurrence of ſo many Things both abroad and at home at this Juncture, which, if laid in the Ballance with the Motives to our Hope of the Papiſts miſcarrying, may juſtly raiſe our Fears of their proſpering to a very ſad uncomfortable Height. Whoſoever ſhall compare theſe two Princes together will find, that there was leſs Danger to be apprehended from *Mary* (and that not only upon the Score of her Sex, but by reaſon of a certain Gentleneſs and Goodneſs of Nature, which all Hiſtorians of Judgment and Credit aſcribe unto her) than is to be expected from the preſent King, in whom a Sourneſs of Temper, Fierceneſs of Diſpoſition, and Pride, joined with a Peeviſhneſs of Humour not to bear the having his Will diſputed or controlled, are the principal Ingredients in his Conſtitution, and which are all ſtrangely heightned and enflamed by contracted Diſtempers of Body, and by furious Principles of Mind, which he hath imbibed from the *Jeſuits*, who of all Men carry the Obligations ariſing from the Doctrines of the Popiſh Religion, to the moſt outrageous and inhumane Exceſſes. Nor can I forbear to add, that whereas the Cruelty which that Princeſs was hurried into, even to the making her Cities common Shambles, and her Streets Theatres of Murder for innocent Perſons (for which ſhe became hated while ſhe lived, and her Memory is render'd infamous to all Generations that come after) was wholly and entirely owing to her Religion, which not only proclaims it lawful, but a neceſſary Duty of Chriſtianity, and an Act meriting a peculiar Crown of Glory in Heaven, to deſtroy Hereticks; it is to be feared there will be found in the preſent King a Spice of Revenge againſt us as we are *Engliſhmen*, as well as a Meaſure heap'd up and running over of furious Papal Zeal againſt us as we are Proteſtants. Beſide the Wrath he bears unto us for our Departure from the Communion of the *Romiſh* Church, and our Rebellion againſt the Triple Crown; the War wherein many of the Kingdom were engaged againſt his Father, and

the Iſſue of it in the Execution of that Monarch, is what he hath been heard to ſay, *That he hopes to revenge upon the Nation*; and all that the City of *London* underwent through that *dreadful Conflagration* in 1666, of which he was the great Author and Promoter, as well as the Reſcuer and Protector of the Varlets that were apprehended in their ſpreading and carrying on the Fire, is but Earneſt in reſpect of what is deſigned further to be paid them, for the having been the great Supporters of that War, both by continued Recruits of Men, and repeated Supplies of Treaſure.

Tho' it was Q. *Mary*'s Misfortune, and proved the Miſery of Proteſtants that ſhe was under the Influence of Popiſh Biſhops, and of Religious of ſeveral Orders, by whom ſhe was whetted on and provoked to thoſe Barbarities wherewith her Reign is ſtained and reproached, yet ſhe had no *Jeſuits* about her, to whom all the other Orders are but Punies in the Arts of wheedling and frightening Princes forward to Cruelty; the Society being then but in its Infancy, and the Diſtance between its Inſtitution, which was in the Year 1540, and the Time of her coming to the Crown, which was *Anno* 1553, not affording Seaſon enough for their ſpreading ſo far abroad as they have ſince done, nor for the perfecting themſelves to that Degree in the Methods of Butchery, and in the Topicks whereby to delude Monarchs to ſerve and promote their ſanguinary Paſſions, as they have in Proceſs of Time attained unto. Nor have the Proteſtants now any Security for their Religion, whereby it or themſelves may be preſerved from the Attempts of his Majeſty for the Extirpation of both, but what our Predeceſſors in the ſame Faith had in the like Kind, though not to the ſame Meaſure and Degree, when Queen *Mary* arrived at the Throne: For though our Religion was of late fenced about with more Laws, and we had royal Promiſes oftener repeated for the having it preſerved, and ourſelves protected in the Profeſſion of it; yet it is certain, that it had not only received a legal Eſtabliſhment under King *Edward* the VIth, but had the royal Faith of Queen *Mary* laid to pledge in a Promiſe made to the Men of *Suffolk*, that nothing ſhould be done towards its Subverſion, or whereby they might be hindered in the free Exerciſe of it. But as neither Law nor Promiſe could prove Reſtraints upon *Mary*, to hinder her from ſubverting Religion, and burning Proteſtants; ſo the Obligation of Gratitude that ſhe was under to the Men of *Suffolk*, for their coming in ſo ſeaſonably to her Aſſiſtance againſt the Duke of *Northumberland*, who was in the Field with an Army in the Name of the Lady *Jane Grey*, whom the Council had proclaimed Queen, could not excuſe them from ſharing in the Severity that others met with, it being obſerved that more of that County were burnt for Religion, than of any other Shire in *England*. And it is greatly to be feared, that this Piece of her Example will not eſcape being conformed unto by the King, in his Carriage towards thoſe that eminently ſerved him, as well as all the reſt of it in his Behaviour towards Proteſtants in general. Nor is it poſſible to conceive, that the Papiſts, living at that Eaſe and Quietneſs which they did under his late Majeſty, of whoſe being of their Religion they were not ignorant, as appears by the Proofs they have vouchſafed the World of it ſince his Death, would have been in ſo many Plots for deſtroying him, and at laſt have haſtened him to his Fathers, as can be demonſtrated whenſoever it is ſeaſonable, had they not been aſſured of more to be attempted by his Succeſſor for the Extirpation of Proteſtants, than *Charles* could

could be wrought up unto, or prevailed upon to expoſe his Perſon and Crown to the Danger and Hazard of. For as it is not merely a Prince's being a Papiſt, mild, gentle, and favourable to Catholicks, that will content the fiery Zealots of the *Roman* Clergy, and the regular Orders, but he muſt both gratify their Ambition in exalting them to a Condition above all others, and ſerve their inhuman Luſts and brutal Paſſions, in not ſuffering any to live in his Dominions, that will not renounce the Northern Hereſy; ſo it is not more incredible that they ſhould diſpatch a Prince by an Infuſion in a Cup of Tea or Chocolate, whom though they knew to be a Papiſt, yet they found too cold and ſlow in promoting their Deſigns, than that they ſhould have murdered another by a conſecrated Dagger in the Hand of *Ravilliac*; the one being both more eaſy to be detected, and likelier to derive an univerſal Hatred and Revenge upon them than the other. And as the King, being conſcious of that Parricide committed upon his Brother, plainly tell us, that there is nothing ſo abominable and barbarous, which he hath not a Conſcience that will ſwallow and digeſt; ſo the Promotion of the Catholick Cauſe being the Motive to that horrid Crime, we may be ſure, that what is hitherto done in Favour of Papiſts falls much ſhort of what is intended, there being ſomething more meritorious than all this amounts unto, needful to atone for ſo barbarous a Villainy, which can be nothing elſe but the extirpating the Proteſtant Religion out of the Three Kingdoms: Nor is it probable that the preſent King, who is repreſented for a Perſon ambitious of Glory, would loſe the Opportunities, wherewith the preſent Poſture of Affairs in the World preſents him, of being the Umpire and Arbiter of *Chriſtendom*, and of giving check to the Grandeur and Uſurpations of a neighbouring Monarch, to whom all *Europe* is in Danger of becoming enſlaved; if he were not ſwallowed up in the Thoughts of a Conqueſt over the Conſciences, Laws, and Liberties of his own People, and of ſubjugating his Dominions to the See of *Rome*, and had he not Hopes and Aſſurances of Aid and Aſſiſtance therein from that Monarch, as he is embolden'd and encouraged thereunto by his Pattern and Example.

What the Papiſts have all along been endeavouring for the Subverſion of our Religion, during and under the Reigns of Proteſtant *Princes*, may yet farther inform and confirm us, what they will infallibly attempt upon their having gotten one into the Throne, who is not only in all Things of their own Faith, but of an Humour agreeable unto their Deſires, and of a Temper every way ſuited and adapted to their Deſigns. Though the Proteſtant Religion had obtained ſome Entrance into ſeveral States and Kingdoms, and had made ſome conſiderable Spread in *Europe*, before it came to be generally received and eſtabliſhed upon Foundations of Law in *England*; yet they of other Countries were little able to defend themſelves from the Power and Malice of the Church of *Rome*, and of Popiſh Princes, and many of them were very unſucceſsful in Endeavours of that Nature, till *England* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, by eſpouſing their Cauſe, and undertaking their Quarrel, not only wrought out their Safety, but made them flouriſh. This the Court of *Rome* and the Prieſts grew immediately ſenſible of, and have therefore moulded all their Counſels ever ſince againſt *England*, as being both the Bulwark of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Ballance of *Europe*. All the late Attempts for the Extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion in *France*, and elſewhere, are

much to be aſcribed to the Confidence the Papiſts had in the late King and his Brother, of their giving no Diſcouragement nor Obſtruction to ſo holy a Deſign; and thereupon as the firſt Edicts for infringing the Liberty, and weakening and oppreſſing Proteſtants in *France*, and the Perſecution in *Hungary*, commenced and bore Date with the Reſtoration of the Royal Family, and multiplied and increaſed from Year to Year, as they grew into farther Aſſurance of the royal Brothers approving as well as conniving at what was done, ſo that for the Abolition of the Edict of *Nantz*, and the total Suppreſſion of the Reformed Religion in *France*, was emitted upon his preſent Majeſty's being exalted to the Throne, and the Encouragement he gave them to a Procedure which, as he now juſtifies, he will hereafter imitate. It were to ſuppoſe *Engliſh* Proteſtants exceedingly unacquainted with the Hiſtory of their own Nation, to give a long Deduction of what the Papiſts have attempted for the Extirpation of our Religion, while we had Princes on the Throne whoſe Belief and Principles in Chriſtianity led them to aſſert and defend the Reformation, and who had Courage as well as Integrity to puniſh thoſe that conſpired againſt it. Their many Conjurations againſt Queen *Elizabeth*'s Perſon, and their repeated Endeavours of bringing in *Foreigners*, and of betraying the Nation to the *Spaniards*, who were to convert the Kingdom as they had done the *Weſt-Indies*, by killing the Inhabitants, are ſufficiently known to all who have allowed themſelves Leiſure to read, or who have been careful to remember what they have been often told by thoſe that have inſpected the Memoirs of thoſe Times. The *Gun-powder Plot*, with the Motives unto it, and the Extent of the Miſchief it was ſhapen for, together with the Inſurrection they were prepared for in caſe it had ſucceeded, and the foreign Aid they had been ſoliciting and were promiſed, and all for the Extirpation of *Engliſh* Hereticks, are Things ſo modern, and which we have had ſo many times related to us by our Fathers, that it is enough barely to intimate them. The *Iriſh* Maſſacre, in which above two hundred thouſand were murder'd in cold Blood, and to which there was no Provocation but that of Hatred to our Religion, and furious Zeal to extirpate Hereticks, ought at this Time to be more particularly reflected upon, as that which gives us a true Scheme of the Manner of the Church of *Rome*'s converting Proteſtant Kingdoms, and being the Copy they have a Mind to write after, and that in ſuch Characters and Lines of Blood, as may be ſure to anſwer the Original. At the Seaſon when they both enter'd upon and executed that helliſh Conjuration, they were in a quiet and peaceable Enjoyment of the private Exerciſe of their Religion, yea had many publick Meeting-places, through the Means of the Queen and many great Friends which they had at Court, and were neither diſturbed for not coming to Church, nor ſuffered any Severities upon the Account of their Profeſſion; but that would not ſatisfy, nor will any thing elſe unleſs they may be allowed to cut the Throats or make Bonfires of all that will not join with them in a blind Obedience to the See of *Rome*, and of worſhipping St. *Patrick*. The little harſh Uſages which the Papiſts at any Time meet with there or in *England*, they derived upon themſelves by their Crimes againſt the State, and for their Conſpiracies againſt our Princes and their Proteſtant Subjects. For till the Pope had taken upon him to depoſe Queen *Elizabeth*, and abſolve her Subjects from their Allegiance, and till the

the Papists had so far approved that Act of his Holiness, as to raise Rebellions at home, and enter into treasonable Confederacies abroad, there were no Laws (that could be stiled severe) enacted in *England* against *Papists*, and the making of them was the Result of Necessity, in order to preserve ourselves, and not from an Inclination to hurt any for Matters of mere Religion. Such hath always been the Moderation of our Rulers, and so powerful are the Incitements to Lenity, which the Generality of Protestants, through the Influence and Impression of their Religion, especially those of a more generous Education, have been under towards those of the *Roman* Communion, that nothing but their unwearied Restlessness to disturb the Government and destroy Protestants, hath been the Cause either of enacting those Laws against them that are stiled rigorous, or of their having been at any Time put into Execution. And notwithstanding that some such Laws were enacted as might appear to savour of Severity, yet could they have but submitted to have dwelt peaceably in the Land, they would have found that their mere Belief, and the private Practice of their Worship, would not have much prejudiced or endangered them, and that though the Laws had been continued unrepealed, yet it was only as a Hedge about us for our Protection, and as Bonds of Obligation upon them to their good Behaviour; to which may be added, that more Protestants have suffered in one Year, by the Laws made against Dissenters, and to the utmost Height of the Penalties which the Violation of them imported (and that by the Instigation of Papists, and their Influence over the late King, and his present Majesty) than there have Papists from the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign to this very Day, though there was a Difference in the Punishments they underwent. However, we may, from their many and repeated Attempts against us, while we had Princes that both would and could chasten their Insolencies, and inflict upon them what the Law made them obnoxious unto for their Outrages, gather and conclude what we are now to expect, upon their having obtained a King imbued with all the persecuting and bloody Principles of Popery, and perfectly baptized into all the Doctrines of the Council of *Lateran*, and *Constance*. And it may strengthen our Faith as well as increase our Fear, of what is purposed against and impends over us, in that they cannot but think, that the suffering our Religion to remain in a Condition to be at any Time hereafter the Religion of the State, and of the Universality of the People, may not only prove a Means of retrieving Protestants in *France*, and of assisting to revenge the Barbarities perpetrated there upon a great and innocent People, but may leave the *Roman* Catholicks in *England* exposed to the Resentment of the Kingdom, for what they have so foolishly and impudently acted, both against our Civil Rights and Established Religion, since *James* the Second came to the Crown; and may also, upon the Government falling into good Hands, and Magistrates coming to understand their true Interest, which is for an *English* Prince to make himself the Head of the Protestant Cause, and to espouse their Quarrel in all Places, give such a Revolution in *Europe*, as will not only check the present Career of *Rome*, but cause them to repent the Methods in which they have been engaged. These Things we may be sure the Papists are aware of, and that having proceeded so far, they have nothing left for their Security from Punishments because of Crimes committed, but to put us out of all

Capacity

Capacity of doing ourſelves Right, and them Juſtice; and he muſt be dull, who does not know into what that muſt neceſſarily hurry them.

It being then as evident as a Matter of this Nature is capable of, What are we to expect and dread from the King, both as to our Religion and Laws? We may do more than preſume, that the late *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience*, and the *Proclamation for a Toleration*, are not intended or deſigned for the Benefit and Advantage of the Reformed Religion, and that whatſoever Motives have influenced to the granting and emitting of them, they do not in the leaſt flow or proceed from any Kindneſs and Good-will to Proteſtant Diſſenters. And tho' many of thoſe weak and eaſy People may flatter themſelves with a Belief of an Intereſt in the King's Favour, and ſuffer others to delude them into a Perſuaſion of his bearing a gracious Reſpect towards them; yet it is certain, that they are the People in the World whom he moſt hates, and who when Things are ripe for it, and that he hath abuſed their Credulity into ſerving his Ends as far as they can be prevailed upon, and as long as the preſent Juggle can be of any Advantage for promoting the Papal Cauſe, will be ſure not only to have an equal Share in his Diſpleaſure with their Brethren of the Church of *England*, but will be made to drink deepeſt in the Cup of Fury and Wrath that is mingling and preparing for all Proteſtants. No Provocation from their preſent Behaviour, tho' it is ſuch as might warm a Perſon of a very cool Temper, much leſs Offences of another Complexion adminiſtred by any of them, ſhall ever tempt me to ſay they deſerve it, or cauſe me to ravel into their former and paſt Carriages, ſo as to faſten a Blot or Imputation on the Party or Body of them, whatſoever I may be forced to do as to particular Perſons among them. For as to the Generality, I do believe them to be as honeſt, induſtrious, uſeful, and virtuous a People (tho' many of them be none of the wiſeſt, nor of the greateſt Proſpect) as any Party of Men in the Kingdom, and that wherein ſoever their Carriage (even abſtracting from their Differences with their Fellow Proteſtants in Matters of Religion) hath varied from that of other Subjects, they have been in the Right, and have acted moſt agreeably to the Intereſt and Safety of the Kingdom. But it can be no Reflection upon them, to recall into their Memories, that the whole Tenour of the King's Actings towards them, both when Duke of *York*, and ſince he came to the Crown, hath been ſuch, as might render it beyond Diſpute, that they are ſo far from having any ſingular room in his Favour, that he bears them neither Pity nor Compaſſion, but that they are the Objects of his unchangeable Indignation. For not to mention how the Perſecutions, that were obſerved always to relent both upon his being at any Diſtance from the late King, and upon the Abatement of his Influence at any Time in the Councils, were conſtantly revived upon his Return to Court, and were carried on in Degrees of Severity proportionable to the Figure he made at *Whitehall*, and his Brother's Diſpoſedneſs and Inclination to hearken to him; ſurely their Memories cannot be ſo weak and untenacious, but they muſt remember how their Sufferings were never greater, nor the Laws executed with more Severity upon them, than ſince his Majeſty came to aſcend the Throne. As it is not many Years ſince he ſaid publickly in *Scotland*, That it were well if all that Part of the Kingdom (which is above half of the Nation) where the Diſſenters were known to be moſt numerous, were turned into a hunting Field; ſo none were favoured and promoted either there or in *England*, but ſuch as were taken to be

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the moſt fierce and violent againſt Fanaticks: Nor were Men preferred either in Church or State for their Learning, Virtue, or Merit, but for their paſſionate Heats and brutal Rigour to Diſſenters. And whereas the Papiſts, from the very firſt Day of his Arrival at the Government, had, beſides many other Marks of his Grace, this ſpecial Teſtimony of it, of not having the Penal Statutes to which they ſtood liable, put in Execution againſt them; all the Laws, to which the Diſſenters were obnoxious, were by his Majeſty's Orders to the Judges, Juſtices of Peace, and all other Officers Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, moſt unmercifully executed. Nor was there the leaſt Talk of Lenity to Diſſenters, till the King found that he could not compaſs his Ends by the Church of *England*, and prevail upon the Parliament for repealing the Teſts, and cancelling the other Laws in force againſt Papiſts; which if they could have been wrought over unto, the Fanaticks would not only have been left pitileſs, and continued in the Hands of the furious Churchmen to exerciſe their Spleen upon, but would have been ſurrender'd as a Sacrifice to new Flames of Wrath, if they of the prelatical Communion had retained their wonted Animoſity, and thought it for their Intereſt to exert it, either in the old or in freſh Methods. But that Project not ſucceeding, his Majeſty is forced to ſhift Hands, and to uſe the Pretence of extending Compaſſion to Diſſenting Proteſtants, that he may the more plauſibly, and with leſs Hazard, ſuſpend and diſable the Laws againſt Papiſts, and make way for their Admiſſion into all Offices Civil and Military, which is the firſt Step, and all that he is in a Condition to take, for the Subverſion of our Religion. And all the celebrated Kindneſs to Fanaticks is only to uſe them as the Cat's Paw for pulling the Cheſnut out of the Fire to the Monkey, and to make them Stales under whoſe Shroud and Covert the Church of *Rome* may undermine and ſubvert all the legal Foundations of our Religion; which to ſuffer themſelves to be inſtrumental in, will not in the Iſſue turn to the Commendation of the Diſſenters Wiſdom or their Honeſty. Nor is there more Truth in the King's declaring it to *have been his conſtant Opinion, That Conſcience ought not to be conſtrained, nor People forced in Matters of mere Religion*, than there is of Juſtice in that malicious Inſinuation (in his Letter to Mr. *Alſop*) againſt the Church of *England, That ſhould he ſee Cauſe to change his Religion, he ſhould never be of that Party of Proteſtants, who think the only Way to advance their Church, is by undoing thoſe Churches of Chriſtians that differ from them in ſmaller Matters*; foraſmuch as he is in the mean time a Member of the moſt perſecuting and bloody Society, that ever was cloathed with the Name of a Church, and whoſe Cruelty towards Proteſtants he is careful not to arraign, by faſtening his Offence at Severity upon Indifferences in ſmaller Matters, which he knows that thoſe between *Rome* and us are not, nor ſo accounted by any of the Papal Fellowſhip. It were to be wiſhed, that the Diſſenters would reflect and conſider, that when the late King had emitted a Declaration of Indulgence, *Anno* 1672, upon pretended Motives of Tenderneſs and Compaſſion to his Proteſtant Subjects, but in Truth to keep all quiet at home, when, in Conjunction with *France*, he was engaging in an unjuſt War againſt a Reformed State abroad, and in order to ſteal Liberty for the Papiſts to practiſe their Idolatries, without incurring a Suſpicion himſelf of being of the *Romiſh* Religion, and in hope to wind up the Prerogative to a paramount Power of the Law; and that when the Parliament condemned the Illegality of it, and would have the Declaration recalled, all his Kindneſs

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to Diſſenters not only immediately vaniſhed, but turned into that Rage and Fury, that tho' both that Parliament addreſſed for ſome Favour to be ſhewed them, and another voted it a betraying of the Proteſtant Religion, to continue the Execution of the Penal Laws upon them, yet inſtead of their having any Mercy or Moderation exerciſed towards them, they were thrown into a Furnace made ſeven times hotter than that wherein they had been ſcorched before. And without pretending to be a Prophet I dare prognoſticate and foretell, that whenſoever the preſent King hath compaſſed the Ends, unto which this Declaration is deſigned to be ſubſervient, namely the placing the Papiſts both in the open Exerciſe of their Religion, and in all publick Offices and Truſts, and the getting a Power to be acknowledged veſted in him over the Laws; that then, inſtead of the ſtill Voice calmly whiſpered from *Whitehall*, they will both hear and feel the Blaſts of a mighty ruſhing Wind, and that upon pretended Occaſions ariſing from the Abuſe of this Indulgence, or for ſome alledged Crimes wherein they and all other Proteſtants are to be involved (though their Supineneſs and Exceſs of Loyalty continue to be their greateſt Offences) this Liberty will not only be withdrawn, and the old Church of *England* Severities revived, but ſome of the new *a la mode a France* Treatments come upon the Stage, and be purſued, againſt them and all other perverſe and obſtinate *Britiſh* Hereticks.

The Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience being injurious to the Church of *England*, and not proceeding from any inward and real Good-will to the Diſſenters, it will be worth our Pains to inquire into, and make a more ample Deduction of the Reaſons upon which it was granted, that the Grounds of emitting it being laid under every Man's View, they who have addreſſed may come to be aſhamed of their Simplicity and Folly, they who have not may be farther confirmed both of the Unlawfulneſs and Inconveniency of doing it, and that all who preſerve any Regard to the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws of *England*, may be quickened to the Uſe of all legal and due Means for preventing the miſchievous Effects which it is ſhapen for, and which the Papiſts do promiſe themſelves from it. The Motives upon which his Majeſty publiſhed the Declaration may be reduced to three, of which as I have already made ſome mention, ſo I ſhall now place every one of them in its ſeveral and proper Light, and give ſuch Proofs and Evidence of their being the great and ſole Inducements for the emitting of it, that no rational Man ſhall be able henceforth to make a Doubt of it. The firſt is, the King's winding himſelf into a Supremacy and Abſoluteneſs over the Law, and the getting it acknowledged, and calmly ſubmitted unto and acquieſced in by the Subjects. For the Monarchy's being legal and not deſpotical, bounded and regulated by Laws, and not to be exerciſed according to mere Will and Pleaſure, was that which he could not digeſt the Thoughts of when a Subject, and had been heard to ſay, *That he had rather reign a Day in that Abſoluteneſs that the* French *King doth, than an Age tied up and reſtrained by Rules as his Brother did:* And therefore to perſuade the Prince of *Orange* to approve what he had done in diſpenſing with the Laws, and to obtain him and the Princeſs to join with his Majeſty, and to employ their Intereſt in the Kingdom for the repealing the Teſt Acts, and the many other Statutes made againſt *Roman* Catholicks; he uſed this Argument in a Meſſage he ſent to their Royal Higneſſes upon that Errand, that the getting it done would be greatly

greatly to the Advantage, and for the Increaſe of the Prerogative; but this theſe two noble Princes, of whoſe Aſcent to the Throne all Proteſtants have ſo near and comfortable a Proſpect, were too generous as well as wiſe to be wheedled with, as knowing that the Authority of the Kings and Queens of *England* is great enough by the Rules of the Conſtitution, without graſping at a new Prerogative Power, which as the Laws have not veſted in them, ſo it would be of no Uſe but to enable them to do Hurt. And indeed it is more neceſſary both for the Honour and Safety of the Monarch, and for the Freedom and Security of the People, that the Prerogative ſhould be confined within its ancient and legal Channels, than be left to that illimited and unbounded Latitude, which the late King and his preſent Majeſty have endeavoured to advance and ſcrew it up unto. That both the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience in *England*, and the Proclamation for a Toleration in *Scotland*, are calculated for raiſing the Soveraign Authority to a tranſcendent Power over the Laws of the two Kingdoms, may be demonſtrated from the Papers themſelves, which lay the diſpenſing Power before us in Terms that import no leſs than his Majeſty's ſtanding free and abſolved from all Ties and Reſtraints, and his being cloathed with a Right of doing whatſoever he will: For if the Stile of *Royal Pleaſure* to ſuſpend the Execution of ſuch and ſuch Laws, and to forbid ſuch and ſuch Oaths to be required to be taken, and this in the Virtue of no Authority declared by the Laws to be reſident in his Majeſty, but in the Virtue of a certain vagrant and indeterminate Thing called *Royal Prerogative*, as the Power exerciſed in the *Engliſh* Declaration is worded and expreſſed, be not enough to enlighten us ſufficiently in the Matter before us; the Stile of *Abſolute Power* which all the Subjects are to obey without Reſerve, whereby the King is pleaſed to chalk before us the Authority exerted in the *Scots* Proclamation, for the ſtopping, diſabling, and diſpenſing with ſuch and ſuch Laws as are there referred unto, and for the granting the Toleration, with the other Liberties, Immunities, and Rights there mentioned, is more than ſufficient to ſet the Point we are diſcourſing beyond all Poſſibility of rational Controul. As it is one and the ſame Kind of Authority that is claimed over the Laws and the Subjects of both Kingdoms, tho' for ſome certain Reaſons it be more modeſtly deſigned and expreſſed in the Declaration for a Liberty in *England*, than it is in the Proclamation for a Toleration in *Scotland*; ſo the utmoſt that the Czar of *Muſcovy*, the Great Mogul, or the *Turkiſh* Sultan, ever challenged over their reſpective Dominions, amounts only to an abſolute Power, which the King both owns the Exertion of, and makes it the Fountain of all the Royal Acts exerciſed in the forementioned Papers. And as the improving this challenged abſolute Power into an Obligation upon the Subjects to obey his Majeſty without Reſerve, is a Paraphraſe upon deſpotical Dominion, and an advancing it to a Pitch above what any of the ancient or modern Tyrants ever dreamt of, and beyond what the moſt ſervile Part of Mankind was ever acquainted with, till the preſent *French* King gave an Inſtance of it, in making his mere Will and Pleaſure to be the Ground and Argument upon which his reformed Subjects were to renounce their Religion, and to turn *Roman* Catholicks; ſo it is worth conſidering whether his Majeſty, who glories to imitate that foreign Monarch, may not in a little Time make the like Application of his abſolute Power, which his Subjects are bound to obey without Reſerve; and whether in that caſe, they who have

addreſſed to thank him for his Declaration, and thereby juſtified the Claim of this abſolute Power, being that upon which the Declaration is ſuperſtructed, and from which it emergeth, can avoid paying the Obedience that is demanded as a Duty in the Subject inſeparably annexed thereunto. That which more confirms us, that the *Engliſh* Declaration, and the *Scots* Proclamation, are not only deſigned for the obtaining from the Subjects an Acknowment of an abſolute Power veſted in the King, but that no leſs than the Uſurpation and Exerciſe of ſuch a Power can warrant and ſupport them, are the many Laws and Rights, which a Juriſdiction is challenged over and exerted in reference unto, in Papers ſtiled by the aforementioned Names.

All confeſs a royal Prerogative ſettled on the Crown, and appertaining to the royal Office; nor can the ſupreme Magiſtrature be executed and diſcharged to the Advantage and Safety of the Community, without a Power affixed unto it of ſuperſeding the Execution of ſome Laws at certain Junctures, nor without having an Authority over the Rights of particular Men in ſome incident Caſes; but then the received Cuſtoms of the reſpective Nations, and the univerſal Good, Preſervation, and Safety of the People in general, are the Meaſures by which this Prerogative in the Crown is to be regulated, and beyond which to apply or exert it, is an Uſurpation and Tyranny in the Ruler. All the Power belonging to the Kings and Queens of *England* and *Scotland* ariſeth from an Agreement and Conceſſion of the People, wherein it is ſtipulated what Rights, Liberties, and Privileges they reſerved unto themſelves, and what Authority and Juriſdiction they delegated and made over unto the Sovereign, in order to his being in a Condition to protect and defend them, and that they may the better live in Peace, Freedom, and Safety, which are the Ends for which they have choſen Kings to be over them, and for the compaſſing whereof they originally ſubmitted unto, and pitched upon ſuch a Form of Civil Adminiſtration. Nor are the Opinions of particular Men, of what Rank or Order ſoever they be, to be admitted as an Expoſition of the Extent of this Prerogative, ſeeing they through their Dependencies upon the King, and their Obnoxiouſneſs to be influenced by ſelfiſh and perſonal Ends, may enlarge it beyond what is for the Benefit of the Community; but the immemorial Courſe of Adminiſtration, with the Senſe of the whole Society, ſignified by their Repreſentatives in Parliament, upon emergent Occaſions, are to be taken for the Senſe, Paraphraſe, and Declaration of the Limits of this Royal and Prerogative Power; and for any to determine the Bounds of it from the Teſtimonies of mercenary Lawyers, or ſycophant Clergymen, in Caſes wherein the Parliament have by their Votes and Reſolutions ſettled its Boundaries, is a Crime that deſerves the ſevereſt Animadverſion, and which it is to be hoped a true *Engliſh* Parliament will not let paſs unpuniſhed. Now a Power ariſing from royal Prerogative to ſuſpend and diſable a great Number of Laws at once, and they of ſuch a Nature and Tendency, that the great Security of the People conſiſts in their being maintained, and which the whole Community repreſented in Parliaments have often diſallowed and made void Princes meddling with, ſo as to interrupt their Execution and Courſe, is ſo far from being a Right inherent in the Crown, that the very pretending unto it, is a changing of the Government, and an overthrowing of the Conſtitution.

tion. *Forteſcue* ſays, That * *Rex Angliæ populum gubernat non mera poteſtate regia, ſed politica; quia populus iis legibus gubernatur quas ipſe fert:* The King of *England* doth not ſo properly govern by a Power that is regal, as by a Power that is political, in that he is bound to rule by the Laws which the People themſelves chuſe and enact. And both *Bracton* and *Fleta* tell us, That † *Rex Angliæ habet ſuperiores, viz. legem per quam factus eſt Rex, ac Comites & Barones qui debent ei frænum ponere:* The King of England hath for Superiors, both the Laws by which he is conſtituted King, and which is the Meaſure of his governing Power, and the Parliament, which is to reſtrain him, if he do amiſs. And thereupon we have not only that other Saying of *Bracton*, That ‡ *Nihil aliud poteſt Rex, niſi id ſolum quod Jure poteſt:* The King can do nothing, but what he can do by Law. But we have that famous Paſſage in our Parliaments Roll, § *Non eſt ulla Regis Prerogativa, quæ ex Juſtitia & Æquitate quicquam derogat:* That there is no Prerogative belongs to the King, by which he can decline from acting according to Law and Juſtice. So careful were our Anceſtors, both in *England* and *Scotland*, to preſerve our Laws from being invaded and ſuperſeded by their Kings, that they have not only by divers parliamentary Votes and Reſolutions, and by ſeveral Statutes, declared all Diſpenſations by the King, from Laws and enjoined Oaths, to be null and void, and not admittable by the Judges or other Executors of Law and Juſtice; but they have often impeached, arraigned, and condemned thoſe to one Penalty or another, that have been found to have counſelled and adviſed Kings to an Uſurpation of Power over the Laws, and to a Violation of eſtabliſhed and enacted Rules. It would draw this Diſcourſe to a Length beyond what is intended, ſhould I mention the ſeveral Laws againſt Papiſts as well as againſt Diſſenters, that are ſuſpended, ſtopt, diſabled, and diſpenſed with, in the two forementioned royal Papers; and it would be an extending it much more, ſhould I make the ſeveral Reflections that the Matter is capable of, and which a Perſon of a very ordinary Underſtanding cannot be greatly to ſeek for; I ſhall therefore only take notice of two or three Efforts, which occur there, of this royal Prerogative and abſolute Power, which as they are very bold and ample Exertions of them for the firſt Time, ſo (ſhould the next Exerciſes of them be proportionable) there will be nothing left us of the Proteſtant Religion, or of *Engliſh* Liberties, and we muſt be contented to be Papiſts and Slaves, or elſe to ſtand adjudged to *Tyburn* and *Smithfield*. One is the ſuſpending the Laws which enjoin the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the prohibiting that theſe Oaths be at any time hereafter required to be taken; by which ſingle Exerciſe of royal Prerogative and abſolute Power, the two Kingdoms are not only again ſubjected to a foreign Juriſdiction, the Miſeries whereof they groaned under for ſeveral Ages; but as the King is hereby deprived of the greateſt Security he had from his Subjects both to himſelf and the Government, ſo the Crown is rob'd of one of its chiefeſt Jewels, namely an Authority over all the Subjects, which was thought ſo eſſential to Sovereignty and royal Dignity, that it was annex'd to the Imperial Crown of *England*, and adjudged inherent in the *Monarch*,

* De Laudib. Leg. Ang. *c.* 9. † Bract. *l.* 2. *c.* 16. Flet. *l.* 1. *c.* 17. ‡ *Lib.* 3. *c.* 9. § Rol. Parl. 7. Hiſt. 4. *n.* 59.

before the reform'd Religion came to be received and eſtabliſh'd. And it concerns their Royal Highneſſes of *Orange*, to whom the Right of ſucceeding to the Crown of *Great-Britain* unqueſtionably belongs, to conſider whether his Majeſty may not by the ſame Authority, whereby he alienates and gives away ſo conſiderable and inherent a Branch of the Royal Juriſdiction, transfer the Succeſſion itſelf, and diſpoſe the Inheritance of the Crown to whom he pleaſeth. Nor will they about him, who thruſt the late King out of the Throne, to make room for his preſent Majeſty, much ſcruple to put a Proteſtant Succeſſor by it, if they can find another Papiſt as bigoted as this to advance unto it. However, were they on the Throne to-morrow, here is both a foreign Juriſdiction brought in and ſet up to rival and controll theirs, and they are deprived of all Means of being ſecured of the Loyalty and Fealty of a great Number of their Subjects: Nor will his Majeſty's certain Knowledge and long Experience (whereof he boaſts in the *Scots* Proclamation) that the Catholicks, as it is their Principle to be good Chriſtians, ſo it is to be dutiful Subjects, be enough for their Royal Highneſſes to rely upon, their Religion obliging them to the contrary towards Princes, whom the Church of *Rome* hath adjudged to be Hereticks. A ſecond Inſtance wherein this pretended royal Prerogative is exerciſed paramount to all Laws, and which nothing but a Claim of abſolute Power in his Majeſty can ſupport, and an Acknowledgement of it by the Subjects make them approve the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, and the Proclamation for Toleration, is the ſtopping, diſabling, and ſuſpending the Statutes whereby the Teſts were enacted, and thereby letting the Papiſts in to all Benefices, Offices, and Places of Truſt, whether Civil, Military, or Eccleſiaſtic. I do not ſpeak of ſuſpending the Execution of thoſe Laws, whereby the being Prieſts, or taking Orders in the Church of *Rome*, or the being reconciled to that Church, or the Papiſts meeting to celebrate Maſs, were in one Degree or another made puniſhable (though the King's diſpenſing with them by a challenged Claim in the Crown be altogether illegal) for as divers of theſe Laws were never approved by many Proteſtants, ſo nothing would have juſtified the making of them, but the many Treaſons and Conſpiracies that they were from Time to Time found guilty of againſt the State. And as the Papiſts of all Men have the leaſt Cauſe to complain of the Injuſtice, Rigour, and Severity of them, conſidering the many Laws more cruel and ſanguinary that are in Force in moſt Popiſh Countries againſt Proteſtants, and theſe enacted and executed merely for their Opinions and Practices in the Matters of GOD, without their being chargeable with Crimes and Offences againſt the Civil Government under which they live; ſo were it neceſſary, from Principles of Religion and Policy, to relieve the *Roman* Catholicks from the aforementioned Laws, yet it ought not to be done but by the Legiſlative Authority of the Kingdom, and for the King to aſſume a Power of doing it in the Virtue of a pretended Prerogative, is both a high Uſurpation over the Laws, and a Violation of his Coronation Oath. Nor is it any Commendation either of the Humanity of the Papiſts, or of the Meekneſs and Truth of their Religion, that while they elſewhere treat thoſe who differ from them in Faith and Worſhip with that Barbarity, they ſhould ſo clamorouſly inveigh againſt the Severities which in ſome reformed States they are liable unto, and which their

Treaſons

Treaſons gave the Riſe and Provocation unto at firſt, and have been at all Times the Motives to the Inflict on of. But they alone would have the Allowance to be cruel, wherein they act conſonantly to their own Tenets; and I wiſh that ſome Proviſion might be made for the future, for the Security of our Religion, and our Safety in the Profeſſion of it, without the doing any thing that may unbecome the merciful Principles of Chriſtianity, or be unſuitable to the meek and generous Temper of the *Engliſh* Nation, and that the Property of being ſanguinary may be left to the Church of *Rome* as its peculiar Privilege and Glory, and as a more diſtinguiſhing Character than all the other Marks which ſhe pretends unto: That which I am ſpeaking of is, the ſuſpending the Execution of thoſe Laws, by which the Government was ſecured of the Fidelity of its Subjects, and by which they, in whom it could not confide, were merely ſhut out from Places of Power and Truſt, and were made liable to very ſmall Damages themſelves, and only hindered from getting into Condition of doing Miſchief to us. All Governments have a Right to uſe Means for their own Preſervation, provided they be not ſuch as are inconſiſtent with the Ends of Government, and repugnant to the Will and Pleaſure of the ſupreme Sovereign of Mankind; and it is in the Power of every Legiſlative Aſſembly to declare, who of the Community ſhall be capable or incapable of publick Employs, and of poſſeſſing Offices, upon which the Peace, Welfare, and Security of the whole political Body does dedend. Without this no Government could ſubſiſt, nor the People be in Safety under it; but the Conſtitution would be in conſtant Danger of being ſubverted, and the Privileges, Liberties, and Religion of the Subjects laid open to be overthrown. And ſhould ſuch a Power in Legiſlators be, upon weak Suſpicions and ill-grounded Jealouſies, carried at any Time too far, and ſome prove to be debarred from Truſts, whoſe being employed would import no Hazard; yet the worſt of that would be only a Diſreſpect ſhewn to individual Perſons, who might deſerve more Favour and Eſteem, but could be of no Prejudice to the Society, there being always a ſufficient Number of others, fit for the Diſcharge of all Offices, in whom an entire Confidence may be repoſed. And it is remarkable, that the States-General of the United Provinces, who afford the greateſt Liberty to all Religions that any known State in *Europe* giveth, ſuffer no *Papiſts* to come into Places of Authority and Judicature, nor to bear any Office in the Republic that may either put them into a Condition, or lay them under a Temptation of attempting any thing to the Prejudice of Religion, or for the betraying the Liberty of the Provinces. And as it is lawful for any Government to preclude all ſuch Perſons from public Truſts, of whoſe Enmity and Ill-will to the Eſtabliſhment in Church or State, they have either a moral Certainty, or juſt Grounds of Suſpicion; ſo it is no leſs lawful to provide Teſts for their Diſcovery and Detection, that they may not be able to maſk or vizor themſelves in order to getting into Offices, and thereupon of promoting and accompliſhing their miſchievous and malicious Intentions. Nor is it poſſible in ſuch a Caſe, but that the Teſts they are to be tried by muſt relate to ſome of thoſe Principles by which they are moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of the national Settlement, and in reference whereunto they think it moſt piacular to diſſemble their Opinion. Nor have the

Papiſts

Papiſts Cauſe to be offended that the Renouncing the Belief of Tranſubſtantiation ſhould be required as the diſtinguiſhing Mark whereby, upon their Refuſal, they may be diſcerned, when all the Penalty, upon their being known, is only to be excluded from a Share in the Legiſlation, and not to be admitted to Employments of Truſt and Profit; ſeeing it hath been and ſtill is their Cuſtom, to require the Belief of the Corporal Preſence in the Sacrament, as that upon the not acknowledging whereof we are to be accounted Hereticks, and to ſtand condemned to be burnt; which is ſomewhat worſe than the not being allowed to ſit in the two Houſes of Parliament, or to be ſhut out from a Civil or Military Office: Neither are they required to declare, much leſs to ſwear, that the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is falſe, or that there is no ſuch thing as Tranſubſtantiation (as is affirmed in a ſcurrilous Paper written againſt the Loyalty of the Church of *England*) but all that is enjoined in the Teſt Acts is, that *I* A. B. *do declare, That I do believe that there is not any Tranſubſtantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, or the Elements of Bread and Wine, at or after the Conſecration thereof by any Perſon whatſoever.* Tho' the Parliament was willing to uſe all the Care they could for the diſcovering Papiſts, that the Proviſion for our Security, unto which thoſe Acts were deſigned, might be the more effectual, yet they were not ſo void of Underſtanding, as to preſcribe a Method for it, which would have expoſed them to the World for their Folly: 'Tis much different to ſay, ſwear, or declare, that *I do believe there is not any Tranſubſtantiation*, and the ſaying or declaring that *there is not a Tranſubſtantiation*, the former being only expreſſive of what my Sentiment or Opinion is, and not at all affecting the Doctrine itſelf, to make or unmake it, other than what it is independently upon my Judgment of it; whereas the latter does primarily affect the Object, and the Determination of it's Exiſtence to ſuch a Mode, as I conceive it; and there are a thouſand Things which I can ſay that I do not believe, but I dare not ſay that they are not. Now as 'tis the Diſpenſing with theſe Laws that argues the King's aſſuming an abſolute Power, ſo the Addreſſing by way of Thanks for the Declaration wherein this Power is exerted, is no leſs than an owning and acknowledging of it, and that it rightfully belongs to him. There is a third Thing which Shame or Fear would not ſuffer them to put into the *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience in England*, but which they have had the Impudence to inſert into the *Proclamation for a Toleration in Scotland*, which as it carries abſolute Power written in the Forehead of it, ſo it is ſuch an unprecedented Exerciſe of Deſpotickneſs, as hardly any of the *Oriental* Tyrants, or even the *French Leviathan*, would have ventured upon: For having ſtopt, diſabled and ſuſpended all Laws enjoining any Oaths whereby our Religion was ſecured, and the Preſervation of it to us and our Poſterity was provided for, he impoſeth a new Oath upon his *Scots* Subjects, whereby they are to be bound *to defend and maintain him, his Heirs and lawful Succeſſors, in the Exerciſe of their abſolute Power and Authority againſt all deadly.* The impoſing an Oath upon Subjects hath been always looked upon as the higheſt Act of Legiſlative Authority, in that it affects their Conſciences, and requires the Approbation or Diſapprobation of their Minds and Judgments, in reference to whatſoever it is enjoined for; whereas a Law that affects only Men's Eſtates may be ſubmitted unto, tho' in the mean time they think that which is exacted of them to be unreaſonable and unjuſt: And as it concerns both the Wiſdom and Juſtice of Lawgivers to be very tender in ordaining Oaths that are to be taken by Subjects,

jects (and that not only from a Care that they may not proſtitute the Name of God to Prophanation, when the Matter about which they are impoſed is either light and trivial, or dubious and uncertain, but becauſe it is an Exerciſe of Juriſdiction over the Souls of Men, which is more than if it were only exerciſed over their Goods, Bodies and Privileges) ſo never any of our Kings pretended to a Right of enjoining and requiring an Oath that was not firſt enacted and ſpecified in ſome Law; and it would have been heretofore accounted a good Plea for refuſing ſuch or ſuch an Oath, to ſay there was no Statute that had required it. It was one of the Articles of High-Treaſon (and the moſt material) charged upon the Earl of *Strafford*, that being Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, he required an Oath of the *Scots* who inhabited there, which no Law had ordained or preſcribed; which may make thoſe Counſellors who have adviſed the King to impoſe this new Oath, as well as all others that ſhall require it to be taken upon his Majeſty's bare Authority, to be a little apprehenſive whether it may not at ſome time riſe in Judgment againſt them, and prove a Forfeiture of their Lives to Juſtice. And as the impoſing an Oath not warranted by Law is an high Act of Abſolute Power, and in the King an altering of the Conſtitution, ſo if we look into the Oath itſelf, we ſhall find this Abſolute Power ſtrangely manifeſted and diſplayed in all the Parts and Branches of it, and the People required to ſwear themſelves his Majeſty's moſt obedient Slaves and Vaſſals. By one Paragraph of it, they are required to *ſwear that it is unlawful for Subjects on any Pretence, or for any Cauſe whatſoever, to riſe in Arms againſt him, or any commiſſioned by him, and that they ſhall never reſiſt his Power or Authority*; which as it may be intended for a Foundation and Means of keeping Men quiet when he ſhall break in upon their Eſtates and overthrow their Religion, ſo it may be deſigned as an Encouragement to his Catholic Subjects, to ſet upon the cutting of Proteſtants Throats, when by this Oath their Hands are tied up from hindering them. It is but for the Papiſts to come authoriſed with his Majeſty's Commiſſion, which will not be denied them for ſo meritorious a Work, and then there is no Help nor Remedy, but we muſt ſtretch out our Necks, and open our Breaſts, to their conſecrated Swords and ſanctified Daggers. Nay, if the King ſhould transfer the Succeſſion to the Crown from the Rightful Heir to ſome zealous Romaniſt, or alienate and diſpoſe his Kingdoms in way of Donation and Gift to the Pope, or to the Society of the *Jeſuits*, and for the better ſecureing them in the Poſſeſſion hereafter, ſhould inveſt and place them in the Enjoyment of them while he lives; the *Scots* are bound in the Virtue of this Oath tamely to look on, and calmly to acquieſce in it. Or ſhould his Phyſicians adviſe him to a nightly Variety of Matrons and Maids, as the beſt Remedy againſt his malignant and venomous Heats; all of that Kingdom are bound to ſurrender their Wives and Daughters to him, with a dutiful Silence and a profound Veneration. And if by this Oath he can ſecure himſelf from the Oppoſition of his Diſſenting Subjects, in caſe through Recovery of their Reaſon a Fit of ancient Zeal ſhould ſurpriſe them, he is otherways ſecured of an *Aſiatick* Tameneſs in his prelatical People, by a Principle which they have lately imbibed, but neither learned from their Bibles nor the Statutes of the Land: For the Clergy, upon thinking that the Wind would always blow out of one Quarter, and being reſolved to make that a Duty by their Learning, which their Intereſt at that Seaſon made convenient, have preached up the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience

to ſuch a boundleſs Height, that they have done what in them lies, to give up themſelves, and all that had the Weakneſs to believe them, fetter'd and bound for Sacrifices to Popiſh Rage and Deſpotical Tyranny. But for myſelf (and I hope the like of many others) I thank God, I am not tainted with that Slaviſh and Adulatory Doctrine, as having always thought that the firſt Duty of every Member of a Body Politic, is to the Community, for whoſe Safety good Governors are inſtituted, and that it is only to Rulers as they are found to anſwer the main Ends they are appointed for, and to act by the legal Rules that are chalk'd out unto them. Whether it be from my Dulneſs, or that my Underſtanding is of a perverſer Make than other Mens, I cannot tell; but I could never yet be otherways minded, than that the Rules of the Conſtitution, and the Laws of the Republic or Kingdom, are to be the Meaſures both of the Sovereign's Commands, and of the Subjects Obedience, and that as we are not to invade what by Conceſſions and Stipulations belongs unto the Ruler, ſo we not only lawfully may, but we ought to defend what is reſerved to ourſelves, if it be invaded and broken in upon. And as without ſuch a Right in the Subjects, all legal Governments, and mix'd Monarchies, were but empty Names and ridiculous Things; ſo whereſoever the Conſtitution of a Nation is ſuch, there the Prince who ſtrives to ſubvert the Laws of the Society is the Traitor and Rebel, and not the People who endeavour to preſerve and defend them. There is yet another Branch of the aforeſaid Oath, that is of a much more unreaſonable Strain than the former, which is, *That they ſhall to the utmoſt of their Power aſſiſt, defend and maintain him in the Exerciſe of this Abſolute Power and Authority*, which being tack'd *to our Obeying without Reſerve* makes us the greateſt Slaves, that either are, or ever were in the Univerſe. Our Kings were heretofore bound to govern according to Law (and ſo is his preſent Majeſty, if a Coronation Oath and Faith to Hereticks were not weaker than *Samſon*'s Cords proved to be) but inſtead of that, here is a new Oath impoſed upon the Subjects, by which they are bound to protect and defend the King in his ruling arbitrarily. It had been more than enough to have required only a calm ſubmitting to the Exerciſe of Abſolute Power; but to be enjoined to ſwear to aſſiſt and defend his Majeſty and Succeſſors in all Things wherein they ſhall exert it, is a plain deſtroying of all Natural as well as Civil Liberty, and a robbing us of that Freedom that belongs unto us, both as we are Men and as we are born under a free and legal Government. For by this we become bound to drag our Brethren to the Stake, to cut their Throats, plunder their Houſes, embrue our Hands in the Blood of our Wives and Children, if his Majeſty pleaſe to make theſe the Inſtances wherein he will exert his Abſolute Power, and require us to aſſiſt him in the Exerciſe of it. As it was neceſſary to cancel all other Oaths and Teſts, as being directly inconſiſtent with this; ſo the requiring the *Scots* to ſwear this Oath, is the higheſt Revenge he could take for their Solemn League and Covenant, and for all other Oaths, that Luſt after Arbitrarineſs and Popiſh Bigotry will pronounce to have been injurious to the Crown. But no Words are ſufficient to expreſs the Miſchiefs wrapt up in that new Oath, or to declare the Abhorrency that all who value the Rights and Liberties of Mankind ought to entertain for it, nor to proclaim the Villainy of thoſe who ſhall by Addreſſes give Thanks for the Proclamation. There may a fourth Thing be added, whereby it will appear that his Majeſty's aſſuming Abſolute Power ſtands recorded in

capital

capital Letters in his Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience. For not being contented to omit the requiring the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and the Teſt Oaths to be taken, nor being ſatisfied to ſuſpend for a Seaſon the enjoining any to be demanded to take them, he tells us that it is his Royal Will and Pleaſure that the aforeſaid *Oaths ſhall not at any Time hereafter be required to be taken*; which is a full and direct Repealing of the Laws in which they are enacted. It hath hitherto paſſed for an undoubted Maxim, That *eorum eſt tollere quorum eſt condere, they can only abrogate Laws who have Power and Authority to make them*; and we have heretofore been made to believe, that the Legiſlative Power was not in the King alone, but that the two Houſes of Parliament had at leaſt a Share in it; whereas here, by diſabling and ſuſpending Laws for ever, the whole Legiſlative Power is challenged to be veſted in the King, and at one daſh the Government of *England* is ſubverted and changed. Tho' it hath been much diſputed whether the King had a Liberty of refuſing to aſſent to Bills relating to the Benefit of the Publick that had paſſed the two Houſes, (and if there be any Senſe in thoſe Words of the Coronation Oath, of his being bound to govern according to the Laws *quas vulgus elegerit*, he had not) yet none till now, that his Majeſty doth it, had the Impudence to affirm that he might abrogate Laws, without the Concurrence and Aſſent of the Lords and Commons: For to ſay that Oaths enjoined by Laws to be required to be taken, *ſhall not at any Time hereafter be required to be taken*, is a plain cancelling and repealing of theſe Laws, or nothing of this World ever was or is; nor can the Wiſdom of the Nation in Parliament aſſembled find Words more emphatical to declare their Abrogation, without ſaying ſo, which at this Time was neceſſary to forbear, for fear of alarming the Kingdom too far, before his Majeſty be ſufficiently provided againſt it. For admitting them to continue ſtill in Being and Force, though the King may promiſe for the Non-execution of them, during his own Time (which is even a pretty bold Undertaking) yet he cannot aſſure us that the *Oaths ſhall not be required to be taken at any Time hereafter*, unleſs he hath provided for an eternal Line of Popiſh Succeſſors, which God will not be ſo unmerciful as to plague us with, or hath gotten a Leaſe of a longer Life than *Methuſelah*'s, which is much more than the full Century of Years wiſhed him in a late Dedication, by one that ſtiles himſelf an *Iriſhman*; a thing he might have forborne telling us, becauſe the Size of his Underſtanding fully declares it. However, here is ſuch a Stroke and Exerciſe of Abſolute Power as diſſolves the Government, and brings us all into a State of Nature, by diſcharging us from the Ties which, by virtue of Fundamental Stipulations and Statute Laws, we formerly lay under; foraſmuch as we know no King but a King by Law, nor no Power he has but a Legal Power: Which thro' diſclaiming by a Challenge that the whole Legiſlative Authority does reſide in himſelf, he hath thrown the Gauntlet to three Kingdoms, and provokes them to a Trial, whether he be ableſt to maintain his Abſoluteneſs, or they to juſtify their being a Free People. And by virtue of the ſame Royal Will and Pleaſure that he annulls (which he calls ſuſpending) the Laws enjoining the Teſts, and the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and commands that none of theſe Oaths and Declarations ſhall at any Time hereafter be required to be taken, he may, in ſome following Royal Papers, give us *Whitehall* or *Hampton-Court* Edicts, conformable to thoſe at *Verſailles*, *which at all Times hereafter* we ſhall be bound to ſubmit unto, and ſtand obliged

to be ruled by, inſtead of the Common-Law and Statute-Book. Nor is the taking upon him to ſtamp us new Laws, excluſively of Parliamentary Concurrence, in the virtue of his Royal Prerogative, any thing more uncouth in itſelf, or more diſagreeable to the Rules of the Conſtitution, and what we have been conſtantly accuſtomed unto, than the caſſing, diſabling, and abrogating ſo many old ones, which that obſolete, out of date, as well as ill-favoured thing upon Monarchs called a Parliament, had a Share in the enacting of. I will not ſay that our Addreſſors were conſcious, that the getting an Abſolute Power in his Majeſty to be owned and acknowledged, was one of the Ends for which the Declaration was calculated and emitted, but I think I have ſufficiently demonſtrated both that ſuch a Power it iſſues and flows from, and that ſuch a Power is plainly exerciſed in it: Which whether their coming now to be told, and made acquainted with it, may make them repent what they have done, or at leaſt prevent their being acceſſary to the Support of this Power in other miſchievous Effects that are to be dreaded from it, I muſt leave to Time to make the Diſcovery, it being impoſſible to foretell what a People fallen into a Frenſy may do in their Paroxiſms of Diſtraction and Madneſs.

Nor was the ſcrewing himſelf into the Poſſeſſion of an Abſolute Power, and the getting it to be owned by at leaſt a Part of the People, the only Motive to the publiſhing the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience in *England*, and the Proclamation for a Toleration in *Scotland*; but a ſecond Inducement, that ſway'd unto it, was the undermining and ſubverting the Proteſtant Religion, and the opening a Door for the Introduction and Eſtabliſhment of Popery. Nor was it from any Compaſſion to Diſſenters, that theſe two Royal Papers were emitted, but from his Majeſty's tender Love to Papiſts, to whom as there ariſe many Advantages for the preſent, ſo the whole Benefit will be found to redound to them in the Iſſue. We are told (as I have already mentioned) *That the King is reſolved to convert* England, *or to die a Martyr*; and we may be ſure that if he did not think the ſuſpending the Penal Laws, and the diſpenſing with requiring of the Teſts, and the granting Liberty and Toleration, to be Means admirably adapted thereunto, he would not have acted ſo inconſiſtently with himſelf, nor in that Oppoſition to his own Deſigns, as to have diſabled theſe Laws, and vouchſafed the Freedom that reſults thereupon: Eſpecially when we are told by the *Liege Jeſuit*, That the King, being ſenſible of his growing old, finds himſelf thereby obliged to make the greater Haſte, and to take the larger Steps, leſt through not living long enough to effect what he intends, he ſhould not only loſe the Glory of converting three Kingdoms, but *ſhould leave the Papiſts in a worſe Condition than he found them.* His Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* very juſtly concludes this to be the Thing aim'd at by the preſent Indulgence, and therefore being deſired to approve the Suſpenſion of the Teſt Acts, and to co-operate with his Majeſty for the obtaining their being repealed, was pleaſed to anſwer, *That while he was, as well as profeſſeth himſelf a Proteſtant*, he would *not act ſo unworthily as to betray the Proteſtant Religion*, which he neceſſarily muſt, if he ſhould do as he was deſired. Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Orange* has likewiſe the ſame Apprehenſion of the Tendency of the Toleration and Indulgence, and therefore was pleaſed to ſay to ſome *Scotch* Miniſters, that did themſelves the Honour, and performed the Duty that became them, in going to wait upon

upon her, that ſhe greatly commended their having no Acceſſion to the betraying of the Proteſtant Religion, by their returning home to take the Benefit of the Toleration. What an indelible Reproach will it be to a Company of Men, that pretend to be ſet for the Defence of the Goſpel, and who ſtile themſelves Miniſters of *Jeſus Chriſt*, to be found betraying Religion, through juſtifying the Suſpenſion of ſo many Laws whereby it was eſtabliſhed and ſupported, and whereby the Kingdoms were fenced about, and guarded againſt Popery; while theſe two noble Princes, to the Neglect of their own Intereſt in his Majeſty's Favour, and to the Provoking him to do them all the Prejudice he can in their Right of Succeſſion to the Imperial Crowns of *Great-Britain*, do ſignify their open Diſlike of that Act of the King, and that not only upon the Account of it's Illegality and Arbitrarineſs, but by reaſon of it's Tendency to ſupplant and undermine the Reformed Religion! And they are ſtrangely blind that do not ſee how powerfully it operates, and conduceth to the effecting of this, and that in more Ways and Methods than are eaſy to be accounted: For thereby our Diviſions are not only kept up, at a Time when the united Councils and Strength of all Proteſtants is too little againſt the Craft and Power of *Rome*; but they who have addreſſed to thank the King for his Royal Papers, are become a liſted and enrolled Faction, to abet and ſtand by the King in all that naturally follows to be done for the maintaining his Declaration, and juſtifying of the uſurped Authority from which it iſſues. 'Tis Matter of a melancholy Conſideration, and turns little to the Credit of the Diſſenters, that when they of the Church of *England*, who had with ſo great Indiſcretion promoted Things to that paſs, which an eaſy Improvement of would produce what hath ſince enſued, are (through being at laſt enlightened in the Deſigns of the Court) come ſo far to recover their Wits, as that they can no longer do the Service they were wont, and which was ſtill expected from them; there ſhould be a new Tribe of Men muſter'd up to ſtand in their Room, and who, by their Vows and Promiſes made to the King in their Addreſſes, have undertaken to perform what others have the Conſcience and Honeſty, as well as the Wiſdom, to refuſe and decline. Nor are the Diviſions among Proteſtants only hereby upheld and maintained, but our Animoſities and Rancours are both continued and inflamed: For while they of the eſtabliſhed Way are provoked and exaſperated to ſee all the legal Foundations both of the Proteſtant Religion and their Church ſubverted, the Addreſſing Diſſenters are embolden'd to revenge themſelves upon the National Clergy, in Terms of the utmoſt Opprobry, Virulence and Reproach, for their Acceſſion to the Sufferings which they had endured.

Surely it would have been not only more generous, but much more Chriſtian, and becoming good as well as wiſe Men, to have made no other Retaliations but thoſe of Forgiveneſs and Pardon for the Injuries they had met with, and to have offered all the Aſſiſtances they could give to their conformable Brethren, for the ſtemming and withſtanding the Deluge of Popery and Tyranny that is impetuouſly breaking in upon the Kingdoms. And as this would have united all Proteſtants in Bonds of Forbearance and Love, not to be diſſolved through petty Differences about Diſcipline, Forms of Worſhip, and a few Rites and Ceremonies; ſo it would, in the Senſe and Judgment of all Men, have given them a more triumphant Victory over thoſe that had been their imprudent and peeviſh Enemies, than if they were to enjoy the Spoils of the

conformable Clergy, by being put into Poſſeſſion of their Cures and Benefices. The Relation I have ſtood in to the Diſſenting Party, and the Kindneſs I retain for them above all other, make me heartily bewail their loſing the happieſt Opportunity that was ever put into their Hands, not only of improving the Compaſſion which their Calamities had raiſed for them in the Hearts of the Generality into Friendſhip and Kindneſs, but of acquiring ſuch a Merit upon the Nation, that the utmoſt Favours which a true *Engliſh* Proteſtant Parliament could hereafter have ſhewed them, would have been accounted but ſlender as well as juſt Recompences. Nor can I forbear to ſay, that I had rather have ſeen the Furnace of Afflictions made hotter for them, though it ſhould have been my own Lot to be thrown into the moſt ſcorching Flames, than to have beheld them guilty of thoſe Exceſſes of Folly towards themſelves, and of Treachery to Religion and the Laws of their Country, which their preſent Caſe and a ſhort Opportunity afforded them of acquiring again, have hurried and tranſported ſo many of them into. It plainly appears with what Aſpect upon our Religion the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience was emitted, if we do but obſerve the Advantages the Papiſts have already reaped by it. How is the whole Nation thereupon not only overflowed with Swarms of Locuſts, and all Places filled with Prieſts and *Jeſuits*, but the whole executive Power of the Government, and all Preferments of Honour, Intereſt and Profit, are put into *Roman* Catholick Hands? So that we are not only expoſed to the unwearied and reſtleſs Importunities of Seducers, but through the Advancement of Papiſts to all Offices Civil and Military, if not Eccleſiaſtic, the Covetous become bribed, the Timorous threatened, and the Prophane are baited with Temptations ſuitable to their Luſts; and they that ſtand reſolved to continue honeſt, are laid open not only to the bold Affronts of Prieſts and Friars, the Inſolencies of petulant Popiſh Juſtices, the Chicaneries and Oppreſſions of the arbitrary Commiſſion-Court, but to the Rage of his Majeſty, and the Danger of being attacked by his armed Squadrons: To which may be added, that by the ſame Prerogative and abſolute Power that his Majeſty hath ſuſpended the Laws made for the Protection of our Religion, he may diſable and diſpenſe with all the Laws by which it is ſet up and eſtabliſhed. And as it will not be more illegal and arbitrary to make void the Laws for Proteſtancy, than to have ſuſpended thoſe againſt Popery; ſo I do not ſee how the Addreſſes, that have approved the one, can diſallow or condemn the other: For the King having obtained an Acknowledgment of his Abſolute Power, and of his Royal Prerogative, paramount to Laws on his exerciſing it in one Inſtance, it now depends merely upon his own Will (for any thing theſe Thankſgiving Gentlemen have to ſay againſt it) whether he may not exert in another, wherein they are not likely to find ſo much of their Eaſe and Gain.

There is a third Inducement to the emitting thoſe royal Papers, which, tho' at the firſt View it may ſeem wholly to regard Foreigners, yet ultimately terminates in the Subverſion of our Religion at home, and in the King's putting himſelf into a Condition of exerciſing his Abſolute Power in whatſoever Acts he pleaſeth over his own Subjects; whether after the *French* Faſhion, in commanding them to turn Catholicks, becauſe he will have it ſo, or after the Manner of the Grand Seignior, to require them to ſubmit their Necks to the Bow-ſtring, becauſe he is jealous of them, or wants their Eſtates to pay his Janizaries. The

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United Provinces are they whom he bore a particular Spleen and Indignation unto when he was a Subject, and upon whom (as he is now in the Throne) he resolves not only to wreak all his old Malice, but by conquering and subduing them (if he can) to strengthen his Absoluteness over his own People, and to pave his Way for overthrowing the Protestant Religion in *Great-Britain*, without lying open to the Hazards that may otherwise attend and ensue upon the attempting it. And instead of expecting nothing from him, but what may become a brave and generous Enemy, they ought to remember the Encouragement that he gave heretofore to two Varlets, to burn that Part of their Fleet which belonged to *Amsterdam*; an Action as ignominious as fraudulent, and that might have been fatal to all the Provinces, if thro' a happy and seasonable Detection, and the Apprehension of one of the Miscreants, it had not been prevented. He knows that the States-General are not only zealous Asserters of the Protestant Religion, but always ready to afford a Sanctuary and a Place of Refuge to those who, being oppressed for the Profession of it elsewhere, are forced to forsake their own Countries, and to seek for Shelter and Relief in other Parts. And as he is not insensible, how easy the Withdrawment and Flight is into these Provinces, for such as are persecuted in his Dominions; so he is aware, that if Multitudes, and especially Men of Condition and Estates, should for the avoiding his Cruelty betake themselves thither, that they would not be unthoughtful of all Ways and Means, whereby they might redeem their Country from Tyranny, and restore themselves to the quiet Enjoyment of their Estates and Liberties at home. But that which most enrages him, is the Figure which the two Princes make in that State (of whose Succession to the Crown the Protestants in *Britain* have so near a Prospect) and the Post which the Prince filleth in that Government, so that he dare neither venture to disinherit them, nor impose upon them such Terms and Conditions, as their Consciences will not suffer them to comply with, while either these States remain Free, or while such *English* and *Scots*, as retain a Zeal for Religion and the ancient Laws and Rights of their respective Countries, can retreat thither, under Hopes of Admission and Protection. And so closely are the Interests of all Protestants in *England* and *Scotland* woven and inlaid with the Interest of the *United Netherlands*, and such is the singular Regard that both the one and the other bear to the reformed Religon, the Liberty of Mankind, and their several Civil Rights, that it is impossible for his Majesty to embark in a Design against the one, without resolving at the same time upon the Ruin of the other. Neither will the one be able to subsist, when once the other is subdued and enslaved. As *Philip* II. of *Spain* saw no Way so compendious for the restoring himself to the Soveraignty and tyrannous Rule over the *Dutch*, as the subjugating of *England*, that helped to support and assist them, which was the Ground of rigging out his formidable Armado, and of his Design against *England* in 1588, so his *British* Majesty thinks no Method so expeditious for enslaving his own People, as endeavouring first to subdue the *Dutch*. And as on the one hand it would be of a threatening Consequence to *Holland*, could the King subjugate his own People, extirpate the Protestant Religion out of his Dominions, and advance himself to a despotical Power; so on the other hand, could he conquer the *Dutch*, we might with the greatest Certainty date the woeful Fate of *Britain*, and the Loss of all that is valuable to them as Men and Christians, from the same Period of Time. They

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are like the Twins we read of, whose Destiny was to live and die together; and which soever of the two is destroyed first, all the Hope and Comfort that the other can pretend unto is, to be last devoured. Now after the Advances which his Majesty hath made towards the enslaving his Subjects, and the subverting the reformed Religion in his Kingdoms, he finds it necessary before he ventures to give the last and fatal Stroke at home, and to enter upon the plenary Exercise of his Absolute Power, in laying Parliaments wholly aside, in cancelling all Laws, to make way for royal Edicts or Declarations of the Complexion of the former, and in commanding us to turn *Roman* Catholicks, or to be dragoon'd; I say, he thinks it needful before he proceeds to these, to try whether he can subdue and conquer the *Dutch*, and thereby remove all Hope of Shelter, Relief, Comfort, and Assistance from his own People, when he shall afterwards fall upon them. And how much soever the Court endeavours to conceal its Design, and strives to compliment the States-General into a Confidence that all Alliances between them and the Crown of *England* shall be maintained and preserved; yet they not only speak their Intentions by several open and visible Actions, but some of them cannot forbear to tell it, when their Blood is heated, and their Heads warmed with a liberal Glass, and a lusty Proportion of Wine. Thence it was that a governing Papist lately told a Gentleman, after they had drank hard together, *That they had some Work in* England *that would employ them a little Time, but when that was over they would make the* Dutch *fly to the End of the World, to find a resting Place. Delenda est Carthago* is engraven upon their Hearts, as being that without which *Rome* cannot arrive at the universal *Monarchy* that it aspires after. It was upon a formed Design of War against the *United Provinces*, that the King hath for these two Years stirred up and incited, as well as countenanced and protected the *Algerines* in their Pyracies, that through their weakening and spoiling the *Dutch* before-hand, it may be the more easy Matter for him to subdue them, when he shall think fit to begin his Hostilities. 'Tis in order to this, that he hath entred into new and secret Alliances with other Princes, the Purport of which is boldly talk'd of in *London*, but whether believed at the *Hague* I cannot tell. For as Monsr. *Barrillon* and Monsr. *Bonrepo*'s present Transactions at *Whitehall* relate to something else than merely to the Affair of *Hudson's-Bay*; so Prince *George*'s Errand to *Denmark* is of more Importance than a bare Visit, or a naked Compliment to his Brother. 'Tis upon this Design that all that great Marine Preparation hath been so long making in the several Ports of *England*, but to the hindering the Execution whereof some unexpected and not foreseen Accidents have interposed. And it is in Subserviency not to be disquieted at home, while he is carrying on this holy War abroad, that the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience in *England*, and the Proclamation for a Toleration in *Scotland*, are granted and published. 'Tis well enough known that after the *French* King had, among many other Severities exercised against Protestants, made them incapable of Employments and Commands, yet to avoid the Consequences that might have ensued thereupon, while he was engaged in War against the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the States of *Holland*, and to have the Aid of his reformed Subjects, he not only intermitted and abated in many Rigours towards them, but in *Anno* 1674 restored them to a Capacity of being employed and preferred. And that this did not flow

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from any Compaſſion, Tenderneſs, or Good-will towards them, his Carriage ſince the Iſſue of that War, and the miſerable Condition he hath reduced them unto, ſufficiently teſtify and declare. Nor can we forget, that the late King, after a rigorous Execution of the Penal Laws for ſeveral Years againſt Diſſenters, being to enter into an unjuſt War againſt the *United Provinces*, *Anno* 1672, not only forbore all Proceedings of that Kind, but publiſhed a Declaration for ſuſpending the Execution of all thoſe Laws, and for allowing them Liberty of aſſembling to worſhip God in their ſeparate Meetings, without being hindered or diſturbed. What Principle that proceeded from, and to what End it was calculated, appeared in his Behaviour to them afterwards, when neither the Danger the Nation was in from the Papiſts, nor the Application of ſeveral Parliaments, could prevail for Lenity towards them, much leſs for a legal Repeal of thoſe impolitic and unreaſonable Statutes. Nor does the preſent Indulgence flow from any Kindneſs to Fanaticks; but it is only an Artifice to ſtifle their Diſcontents, and to procure their Aſſiſtance for the deſtroying of a foreign Proteſtant State. And it may not be unworthy of Obſervation, that as the Declaration of Indulgence, *Anno* 1672, bore Date much about the ſame Time with the Declaration of War againſt the *Dutch*; ſo at the very Seaſon that his preſent Majeſty emitted his Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, there were Commiſſions of Repriſal prepared and ready to be granted to the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company againſt the *Hollanders*, but which were ſuppreſſed upon the Court's finding that they whom the ſuſpending the Execution of ſo many Laws, and the granting ſuch Liberties, Rights and Immunities to the Papiſts, had diſguſted and provoked, were far more numerous, and their Reſentments more to be apprehended, than they were, whoſe Murmurings and Diſcontents they had ſilenced and allayed by the Liberty that was granted. Now as it will be at this Conjuncture, when the Proteſtant Intereſt is ſo low in the World, and the reformed Religion is in ſo great Danger of being deſtroyed, a moſt wicked as well as an imprudent Act, to contribute Help and Aid to the ſubjugating a People, that are the chief Protectors of the Proteſtant Religion that are left, and almoſt the only Aſſerters of the Rights and Liberties of Mankind; ſo it may fill the Addreſſers with Confuſion and Shame, that they ſhould have not only juſtified an Act of his Majeſty, that is plainly deſigned to ſuch a miſchievous End, but that they ſhould, by the Promiſes and Vows that they have made him, have embolden'd his Majeſty to continue his Purpoſes and Reſolutions of a War againſt the *Dutch*; which as it muſt be funeſtous and fatal to the Proteſtant Cauſe, in caſe he ſhould proſper and ſucceed; ſo however it ſhould iſſue, yet the Addreſſers, who have done what in them lies to give Encouragement unto it, will be held Betrayers of the Proteſtant Religion both abroad and at home, and judged guilty of all the Blood of thoſe of the ſame Faith with them, that ſhall be ſhed in this Quarrel.

That Liberty ought to be allowed to Men in Matters of Religion, is no Plea whereby the King's giving it in an illegal and arbitrary Manner, can be maintained and juſtified. Since ever I was capable of exerciſing any diſtinct and coherent Acts of Reaſon, I have been always of that Mind, that none ought to be perſecuted for their Conſciences towards God in Matters of Faith and Worſhip: Nor is it one of thoſe Things that lie under the Power of the Sovereign and Legiſla-

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tive Authority, to grant or not to grant; but it is a Right ſettled upon Mankind, antecedent to all civil Conſtitutions and human Laws, having its Foundation in the Law of Nature, which no Prince or State can legitimately violate and infringe. The Magiſtrate, as a civil Officer, can pretend or claim no Power over a People, but what he either derives from the Divine Charter, wherein God the ſupreme Inſtitutor of Magiſtracy has chalked out the Duty of Rulers in general, or what the People, upon the firſt and original Stipulation, are ſuppoſed to have given him in order to the Protection, Peace, and Proſperity of the Society. But as it does no where appear, that God hath given any ſuch Power to *Governors*, ſeeing all the Revelations in the Scripture, as well as all the Dictates of Nature, ſpeak a contrary Language, ſo neither can the People, upon their chuſing ſuch a one to be their Ruler, be imagined to transfer and veſt ſuch a Power in him, for as much as they cannot diveſt themſelves of a Power, no more than of a Right of believing Things, as they arrive with a Credibility to their ſeveral and reſpective Underſtandings. As it is in no Man's Power to believe as he will, but only as he ſees Cauſe; ſo it is the moſt irrational Imagination in the World, to think they ſhould transfer a Right to him whom they have choſen to govern them, of puniſhing them for what it is not in their Power to help. Nor can any thing be plainer, than that God has reſerved the Empire over Conſcience to himſelf, and that he hath circumſcribed the Power of all human Governors to Things of a civil and inferior Nature. And had God conveyed a Right unto Magiſtrates of commanding Men to be of this or that Religion, and that becauſe they are ſo, and will have others to be of their Mind, it would follow that the People may conform to whatſoever they require, tho' by all the Lights of Senſe, Reaſon, and Revelation, they are convinced of the Falſhood of it; ſeeing whatſoever the Sovereign rightfully commands, the Subjects may lawfully obey. But tho' the perſecuting People for Matters of mere Religion be repugnant to the Light of Nature, inconſiſtent with the fundamental Maxims of Reaſon, directly contrary to the Temper and Genius as well as to the Rules of the Goſpel, and not only againſt the Safety and Intereſt of Civil Societies, but of a Tendency to fill them with Confuſion, and to arm Subjects to the cutting one another's Throats; yet Governors may both deny Liberty to thoſe whoſe Principles oblige them to deſtroy thoſe that are not of their Mind, and may in ſome meaſure regulate the Liberty which they vouchſafe to others, whoſe Opinions, tho' they do not think them dangerous to the Peace of the Community, yet through judging them erroneous and falſe, they conceive to be dangerous to the Souls of Men. As there is a vaſt Difference betwixt tolerating a Religion, and approving the Religion that is tolerated; ſo what a Government doth not approve, but barely permits and ſuffers, may be brought under Reſtrictions as to Time, Place and Number of thoſe profeſſing it, that ſhall aſſemble in one Meeting; which it were an Indecency to extend to thoſe of the juſtified and eſtabliſhed Way. Now whatſoever Reſtrictions or Regulations are enacted and ordained by the Legiſlative Authority, in reference to Religion, or Religious Aſſemblies, they are not to be ſtopt, diſabled, or ſuſpended but by the ſame Authority that enacted and ordained them. The King ſays very truly, *that Conſcience ought not to be conſtrained, nor People forced in Matters of mere Religion*; but it does not from hence follow (unleſs by the Logic

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of *Whitehall*) that without the Concurrence of a Parliament he ſhould ſuſpend and diſpenſe with the Laws, and by a pretended Prerogative relieve any from what they are obnoxious unto by the Statutes of the Realm. His ſaying, that the forcing People in Matters of Religion *ſpoils Trade, depopulates Countries, diſcourageth Strangers, and anſwers not the End of bringing all to an Uniformity for which it is employed*, would do well in a Speech to the Houſes of Parliament, to perſuade them to repeal ſome certain Laws, or might do well to determine his Majeſty to aſſent to ſuch Bills as a Parliament may prepare and offer, for relieving Perſons in Matters of Conſcience; but it does not ſerve for what it is alledged, nor can it warrant his ſuſpending the Laws by his ſingle Authority. And by the way, I know when theſe very Arguments were not only deſpiſed by his Majeſty, and ridiculed by thoſe who took their Cue from Court, and had Wit to do it, as by the preſent Biſhop of *Oxford*, in a very ill-natured Book called *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*; but when the daring to have mentioned them, would have provoked the then Duke of *York*'s Indignation, and have expoſed the Party that did it to Diſcountenance and Diſgrace. The Queſtion is not, what is convenient to be done in ſome Meaſure and Degree, and in reference to thoſe whoſe Religion does not oblige them to deſtroy all that differ from them, when they have Opportunity for it; but the Point in Debate is, who hath the legal Power of doing it, and of fixing it's Bounds and Limits. It was never pretended that the King ought to be ſhut out from a Share in ſuſpending and repealing Laws; but that the ſole Right of doing it belongs to him, is what cannot be allowed, without changing the Conſtitution, and placing the whole Legiſlative Authority in his Majeſty. And as it is an Uſurpation in the King to challenge it, and a Treachery in *Engliſh* Subjects to acknowledge it; ſo the Inconveniences, that this or that Party are in the mean time expoſed unto, through the Laws remaining in Force, are rather to be endured, than that a Power of giving Eaſe and Relief (farther than by Connivance) ſhould be confeſſed to reſide in any one, in whom the Laws of the Community have not placed it. 'Tis better to undergo Hardſhips under the Execution of unjuſt Laws, than be releaſed from our Troubles by a Power uſurped over all Laws: For by the one, the Meaſures of Government, as well as the Rights and Privileges of a Nation, are deſtroyed; whereas by the other, only a Part of the People are afflicted and unduly dealt with. While we are governed by Laws, tho' ſeveral of them may be unjuſt and inconvenient, yet we are under a Security as to all other Things which thoſe Laws have not made liable; but when we fall under an unlimited Prerogative and Abſolute Power, we have no longer a Title unto, or a Hedge about any thing, but all lies open to the Luſt and Pleaſure of him in whom we have owned that Power to be ſeated. A Liberty is what Diſſenters have a Right to claim, and which the Legiſlative Authority is bound by the Rules of Juſtice and Duty, as well as by Principles of Wiſdom and Diſcretion, to grant: And I am ſorry, that while they ſtood ſo fair to obtain it in a legal and parliamentary way, any of them, by acknowledging a Right in another to give it, and that in a Manner ſo ſubverſive of the Authority of Parliament, ſhould have render'd themſelves unworthy to receive it from them, to whom the Power of beſtowing it does belong. Not but that a Toleration will be always due to their Principles, but I know not whether the particular Men of thoſe Principles, who have by their Addreſſes betrayed the Kingdom, may not come to be judged to have forfeited all Share

in it, for their Crime committed againſt the Conſtitution, and the whole Politic Society. Nor is there any thing more juſt and equal, than that they who ſurrender and give away the Rights both of Legiſlators and Subjects, ſhould loſe all Grace and Favour from the former, and all Portion among the latter.

And how much ſoever ſome Proteſtant Diſſenters may pleaſe themſelves with the Liberty that at preſent they enjoy, in the Virtue of the two royal Papers, yet this may ſerve to moderate them in their Tranſports of Gladneſs, that they have no ſolid Security for the Continuance of it: For ſhould a Parliament null and make void the Declaration for Liberty, and impeach the Judges for declaring a Power veſted in the King to ſuſpend ſo many Laws, and for forbearing upon the King's Mandate to execute them; the Freedom that the Diſſenters poſſeſs would immediately vaniſh, and have much the ſame Deſtiny that the Liberty had, which was granted unto them by the Declaration of Indulgence, *Anno* 1672. Or ſhould the Parliament be willing to grant Eaſe and Indulgence to all Proteſtants, by a Bill prepared for repealing of all the Laws formerly made againſt them, and ſhould only be deſirous to preſerve in Force the Laws relating to the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the Statutes which enjoin the Teſts, of whoſe Execution we never more wanted the Benefit, in order to our Preſervation from Popery, and which an *Engliſh* Parliament cannot be ſuppoſed willing to part with, at a Time when our Lives, Eſtates, and Religion, are ſo viſibly threatened to be ſwallowed up and deſtoyed by the Papiſts; in that Caſe we may confidently believe that the King, inſtead either of aſſenting to ſuch a Bill for ſeparate Favour to Proteſtants, or perſevereing in his Compaſſion and Kindneſs of continuing the Suſpenſion of the Laws againſt Diſſenters, would from an inveterate Enmity, as well as from a new contracted Reſentment, be ſtirred up and enraged to the putting the Laws in Execution with greater Rigour and Severity than hath been ſeen or felt heretofore. And all that the Addreſſers would then reap by the Declaration, would be to undergo the furious Effects of brutal Rage in their Perſecutors, and to be unpitied by the Kingdom, and unlamented by their Fellow Proteſtants. Or ſhould his Majeſty, in Favour to his good Catholicks, reſolve againſt the meeting of a Parliament, or to adjourn and prorogue them, whenſoever he ſhall find, that inſtead of confirming what he hath done, they ſhall make null his Declaration, vote his pretended Prerogative illegal and arbitrary, and fall upon thoſe mercenary and perjured Villains, who have allowed him a Power tranſcendent to Law; yet even upon that Suppoſal, which is the beſt that can be made to ſupport Mens Hopes in the Continuance of the preſent Liberty, the Proteſtant Diſſenters would have but ſlender Security, all the Tenure they have for the Duration of their Freedom being only precarious, and depending merely upon the King's Word and Promiſe, which there is ſmall Ground to rely upon. Nor can he be true to them, without being falſe to his Religion, which not only gives him Leave to break his Faith with Hereticks, but obligeth him to it, and to deſtroy them to boot; and that both under the Pain of Damnation, and of forfeiting his Crown, and loſing his Dominions. And how far the Promiſe and royal Word of a Catholic Monarch is to be truſted unto and depended upon, we have a modern Proof and Evidence in the Behaviour of *Louis le Grand* towards his reformed Subjects, not only in repealing the many Edicts, made and confirmed by himſelf as well

well as his Anceſtors, for the free Exerciſe of their Religion; but in the Methods he hath always obſerved, namely, to promiſe them Protection in the Profeſſion of their Faith, and Practice of their Worſhip, when he was moſt ſtedfaſtly reſolved to ſubvert their Religion, and was about making ſome freſh Advance, and taking ſome new Step for its Extirpation. Thus when he had firmly purpoſed not to ſuffer a Miniſter to continue a Year in the Kingdom, he at the ſame time publiſhed an Edict, requiring Miniſters to ſerve but three Years in one Place, and not to return to the Church where they had firſt officiated, till after the Expiration of twenty Years. In the ſame Manner, when he had reſolved to repeal the Edict of *Nantz*, and had given Injunction for the Draught by which it was to be done, he at the ſame Seaſon gave the Proteſtants all Aſſurances of Protection, and of the ſaid Edict being kept inviolable. To which may be added, that ſhameful and deteſtable Chicanery, in paſſing his ſacred and royal Word, that no Violence ſhould be offered any for their Religion, though at that very Moment the Dragoons were upon their March, with Orders of exerciſing all Manner of Cruelties and Barbarities upon them. So that his Majeſty of *Great-Britain* hath a Pattern lately ſet him, and that by the illuſtrious Monarch whom he ſo much admires, and whom he makes it his Ambition and Glory to imitate. Nor are we without Proofs already, how inſignificant the King's Promiſes are (except to delude) and what little Confidence ought to be put in them. The diſabling and ſuſpending the 13th Statute of his late Parliament in *Scotland*, wherein the Teſt was confirmed, and his departing from all his Promiſes regiſtred in his Letter, as well as from thoſe contained in the Speech made by the Lord Commiſſioner, purſuant to the Inſtructions which he had undoubtedly received, together with his having forgotten and receded from all his Promiſes made to the Church of *England*, both when Duke of *York*, and ſince he came to the Crown, are undeniable Evidences, that his royal Word is no more ſacred nor binding, than that of ſome other Monarchs; and that whoſoever of the Proteſtants ſhall be ſo fooliſh as to rely upon it, will find themſelves as certainly diſappointed and deceived, as they of the reformed Religion elſewhere have been. And while they of the eſtabliſhed Way find ſo ſmall Security by the Laws, which the King is bound by his Coronation Oath to obſerve, the Diſſenters cannot expect very much from a naked Promiſe, which as it hath not a ſolemn Oath to enforce it, ſo it is both illegal in the making, and contrary to the Principles of his Religion to keep. Nor is it unworthy of Obſervation, that he hath not only departed from his Promiſes made to the Church of *England*, but that we are told, in a late *Popiſh Pamphlet*, intituled *A new Teſt of the Church of* England's *Loyalty*, publiſhed (as itſelf ſays) by Authority, that they were all conditional (to wit, by Virtue of ſome mental Reſervation in his Majeſty's Breaſt) and that the conformable Clergy having failed in performing the Conditions upon which they were made, the King is abſolved and diſcharged from all Obligation of obſerving them. "The Church of *England* (ſays he) muſt give his Majeſty Leave not to nouriſh a Snake in his Boſom, but rather to withdraw his royal Protection, which was promiſed upon the Account of her conſtant Fidelity." Which as it is a plain Threatning of all the legal Clergy, and a Denunciation of the unjuſt and hard Meaſure they are to look for, ſo it ſhakes the Foundation upon

which all Credit unto, and Reliance upon his Majesty's Word, can be any ways placed. For though Threatnings may have tacit Reserves, because the Right of executing them resides in the Threatner, yet Promises are incapable of all latent Conditions, because every Promise vests a Right in the Promise, and that in Virtue of the Words in which it is made. But it is the less to be wonder'd at, if his Majesty fly to Equivocations and mental Reserves, being both under the Conduct of that Order, and a Member of the Society, that first taught and practised this treacherous Piece of Chicanery. However, it may inform the Dissenters, that if they be not able to answer the End for which they were depended upon, or be not willing in the Manner and Degree that is expected, or if it be not for the Interest of the Catholic Cause to have them indulged; in all these Cases, and many more, the King may be pronounced to be acquitted and discharged from all the Promises he hath given them, as having been merely stipulatory and conditional. And as he will be sure then *Finem facere ferendæ alienæ personæ*, to lay aside the Disguise that he hath now put on; so if they would reflect either upon his Temper, or upon his Religion, they might now know, *haud gratuitam in tanta superbia comitatem*, that a Person of his Pride would not stoop to such Flattery (as his Letter to Mr. *Alsop* expresseth) but in order to some Design. But what need other Proof of the Fallaciousness of the two royal Papers, and that no Protestant can reasonably depend upon the royal Word there laid to pledge for the Continuation of their Liberty, than to look into these two Papers themselves, where we shall meet Expressions that may both detract from our Belief of his Majesty's Sincerity, and awaken us to a just Jealousy, that the Liberty and Toleration granted by them are intended to be of no long Standing and Duration. For while he is pleased to tell us, That the granting his Subjects the free Use of their Religion for the Time to come, is an Addition to the perfect Enjoyment of their Property, which has never been invaded by his Majesty since his coming to the Crown; he doth in Effect say, that his Fidelity, Truth, and Integrity, in what he grants in reference to Religion, is to be measured and judged, by the Verity that is in what he tells us, as to the never having invaded our Property. And that I may borrow an Expression from Mr. *Alsop*, and to no less a Person than the King himself, namely, That though we pretend to no refined Intellectuals, nor presume to philosophise upon Mysteries of Government, yet we make some Pretence to the Sense of feeling, and whatever our Dulness be, can discern between what is exacted of us according to Law, and what we are rob'd of by an Exercise of Arbitrary Power. For not to insist upon the violent Seizure of Men's Goods, by Officers as well as Soldiers, in all Parts of *England*, which looks like an Invasion upon the Properties of the Subject, nor to dwell upon his keeping an Army on foot in Time of Peace, against the Authority, as well as without the Countenance of Law, which our Ancestors would have stiled an Invasion upon the whole Property of the Kingdom; I would fain know, by what Name we are to call his levying the Customs, and the additional Excise, before they were granted unto him by the Parliament, all the legal Establishment of them upon the Nation having been only during the late King's Life, till the Settlement of them upon the Crown was again renewed by Statute.

It were alſo worth his Majeſty's telling us, what Titles are due to the ſuſpending the Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge a Beneficio*, the turning the Preſident of *Maudlin*'s in *Oxford* out of his Headſhip, and the ſuſpending Dr. *Fairfax* from his Fellowſhip, if they be not an Invaſion upon our Property; ſeeing every Part of this is againſt all the known Laws of the Kingdom, and hath been done by no legal Court, but by a Set of mercenary Villains, armed with an arbitrary Commiſſion, and who do as arbitrarily exerciſe it. And as the End unto which that Inquiſition Court was inſtituted, was to rob us of our Rights and Privileges at the mere Pleaſure of the King; ſo the very Inſtitution of it is an Invaſion both upon all our Laws, and upon the whole Property of the Nation, and is one of the higheſt Exerciſes of deſpotical Power, that it is poſſible for the moſt abſolute and unlimited Monarch to exert. Among all the Rights reſerved unto the Subjects by the Rules of the Conſtitution, and whereof they are ſecured by many repeated Laws and Statutes, there are none that have been hitherto leſs diſputed, and in reference to which our Kings have been farther from claiming any Power and Authority, than thoſe of levying Money without the Grant as well as the Conſent of Parliament, and of abſolving and diſcharging Debtors from paying their Creditors, and of acquitting them from being ſued and impriſoned in Caſe of Non-payment; and yet in Defiance of all Law, and to the ſubverting the Rights of the People and the moſt eſſential Privilege and Juriſdiction of Parliaments, and to a plain changing the ancient legal Conſtitution into an abſolute and deſpotical governing Power, the King (they ſay) is aſſuming to himſelf an Authority, both of impoſing a Tax of five Pounds *per Annum* upon every Hackney Coach, and of releaſing and diſcharging all Debtors, of whom their Creditors cannot claim and demand above ten Pounds Sterling: Which as they will be ſignal Invaſions upon Property, and leading Caſes for the raiſing Money in what other Inſtances he pleaſeth, by a *Hampton-Court* or a *Whitehall* Edict, without ſtanding in need of a Parliament, or being obliged to a Dependance upon their Grant, for all Taxes to be levied upon the Subjects, as his Predeceſſors have heretofore been; ſo they may ſerve fully to inſtruct us, what little Security either the Diſſenters have as to being long in the Poſſeſſion of their preſent Liberty, or Proteſtants in general of having a Freedom continued unto them of profeſſing the reformed Religion, if we have nothing more to rely upon for preventing our being abridged and denied the Liberty of our Religion, than we have had for preſerving our Property from being invaded and broken in upon. We may ſubjoin to the Clauſe already mentioned, that other Expreſſion, which occurs in the aforeſaid Declaration, *viz. That as he freely gives them Leave to meet and ſerve God after their own Way and Manner, ſo they are to take ſpecial Care, that nothing be preached or taught amongſt them, which may any ways tend to alienate the Hearts of the People from his Majeſty or his Government*; which Words, as they import the Price at which the Diſſenters are to purchaſe their Freedom (whereof we ſhall diſcourſe anon) ſo they admirably ſerve to furniſh the King with a Pretence of retrenching their Liberty whenſoever he pleaſeth; nor are they inſerted there for any other End, but that upon a Plea, of their having abuſed his gracious Indulgence to the alienating the Hearts of his People from him, they may be adjudged to have thereby deſervedly forfeited both

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all the Benefits of that, and of his royal Favour. Nor is it poſſible for a Proteſtant Miniſter to preach one Sermon, which a Popiſh Critic or a Romiſh Bigot may not eaſily miſconſtrue and pervert to be an Alienation of the People's Hearts from the King's Perſon and Government: And of which as we have heard many late Examples in *France*, ſo it will be eaſy to draw them into Precedent, and to imitate them in *England*. I might add the Obſervation of the ingenious Author of the *Reflections on his Majeſty's Proclamation for a Toleration in Scotland*, namely, that whereas the King gives all Aſſurance to his *Scotch* Subjects, that he will not uſe invincible Neceſſity againſt any Man on the Account of his Perſuaſion, he does thereby leave himſelf at a Liberty of dragooning, torturing, burning, and doing the utmoſt Violences, all theſe being vincible to a Perſon of an ardent Love to God, and of a lively Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and which accordingly many Thouſands have been triumphantly victorious over. Nor is it likely, that this new and uncooth Phraſe, of not uſing an invincible Neceſſity, would have found Room in a Paper of that Nature, if it had not been firſt to conceal ſome malicious and miſchievous Deſign, and then to juſtify the Conſiſtency of its Execution with what is promiſed in the Proclamation. Moreover, were there that Security intended by theſe two royal Papers, that Proteſtant Diſſenters might ſafely rely upon; or did the King act with that Sincerity which he would delude his People into a Belief of, there would then be a greater Agreeableneſs than there is, betwixt the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience in *England*, and the Proclamation for a Toleration in *Scotland*. The Principle his Majeſty pretends to act from, that Conſcience ought not to be conſtrained, and that none ought to be perſecuted for mere Matters of Religion, would oblige him to act uniformly, and with an equal Extention of Favour to all his Subjects whoſe Principles are the ſame, and againſt whom he hath no Exception, but in Matters merely religious. Whereas the Diſparity of Grace, Kindneſs, and Freedom, that is exerciſed in the Declaration, from that which is exerted in the Proclamation, plainly ſhews, that the whole is but a Trick of State, and done in Subſerviency to an End which it is not yet ſeaſonable to diſcover and avow. For his circumſcribing the Toleration in *Scotland* to ſuch Preſbyterians as he ſtiles moderate, is not only a taking it off from its true Bottom, Matters of mere Religion, and a founding it upon an internal Quality of the Mind that is not diſcernable, but it implies the reſerving a Liberty to himſelf of withdrawing the Benefits of it from all *Scotch* Diſſenters, by faſtening upon them a contrary Character, whenſoever it ſhall be ſeaſonable to revive Perſecution. And even as it is now exerted to theſe moderate ones, it is attended with Reſtrictions that his Indulgence in *England* is no ways clog'd with. All that the Declaration requires from thoſe that are indulged is, "That their Aſſemblies be peaceably, openly, and publickly held; that all Perſons be freely admitted to them; that they ſignify and make known to ſome Juſtice of the Peace, what Places they ſet apart for theſe Uſes; and that nothing be preached or taught amongſt them, which may any ways tend to alienate the Hearts of the People from the King or his Government;" whereas the Proclamation not only reſtrains the Meetings of the *Scots* Preſbyterians to private Houſes, without allowing them either to build Meeting-houſes, or to uſe Out-houſes or Barns, but it prohibits

hibits the hearing any Miniſters, ſave ſuch as ſhall be willing to ſwear, "That they ſhall to the utmoſt of their Power aſſiſt, defend, and maintain the King in the Exerciſe of his Abſolute Power againſt all deadly." Nor is it difficult to aſſign the Reaſon of the Deformity that appears in his Majeſty's preſent Actings towards his diſſenting Proteſtant Subjects in thoſe two Kingdoms: For ſhould there be no Reſtrictions upon the Toleration in *Scotland*, to hinder the greateſt Part of the Preſbyterians from taking the Advantage of it, the Biſhops and conforming Clergy would be immediately forſaken by the Generality, if not all the People, and ſo an Iſſue would not only be put to the Diviſion among Proteſtants in that Kingdom, but they would become an united, and thereupon a formidable Body againſt Popery, which it is not for the Intereſt of the Roman Catholics to ſuffer, or give way unto. Whereas the more unbounded the Liberty is that is granted to Diſſenters in *England*, the more are our Diviſions not only kept up, but increaſed and promoted, (eſpecially through this Freedom's arriving with them in an illegal Way, without both the Authority of the Legiſlative Power, and the Approbation of a great Part of the People) it being infallibly certain, that there is a vaſt Number of all Ranks and Conditions, who prefer the abiding in the Communion of the Church of *England*, before the joining in Fellowſhip with thoſe of the ſeparate and diſſenting Societies. Upon the whole, this different Method of proceeding towards diſſenting Proteſtants in Matters merely religious, ſhews that all Indulgence and Toleration is a Trick to ſerve a preſent Juncture of Affairs, and to advance a popiſh and arbitrary Deſign; and that the Diſſenters have no Security for the Continuance of their Liberty, but that when the Court and Jeſuitic End is compaſſed and obtained, there is another Courſe to be ſteered towards them; and inſtead of their hearing any longer of Liberty and Toleration, they are to be told, that it is the Intereſt of the Government, and the Safety and Honour of his Majeſty, to have but one Religion in his Dominions, and that all muſt be Members of the Catholic Church, and this becauſe the King will have it ſo, which is the Argument that hath been made uſe of in the making ſo many Converts in *France*. They who now ſuffer themſelves to be deluded into a Confidence in the royal Word, will not only come to underſtand what Mr. *Coleman* meant, in his telling *Pere de la Chaiſe*, that the Catholics in *England* "had a great Work upon their Hand, being about the Extirpation of that Hereſy, which hath borne Sway ſo long in this northern Part of the World;" but they will alſo ſee and feel, how much the Deſigns of *Rome* were repreſented in that Paſſage of the *Pope's Nuncio's Letter*, dated at *Bruxels*, *Aug.* 9. 1674. wherein, upon the Confidence which they placed in the Duke of *York*, which is not leſſened ſince he came to the Crown, he takes the Confidence to write, "That they hoped ſpeedily to ſee the total and final Ruin of the Proteſtant Party."

And as Proteſtant Diſſenters have no Security (by the Declaration and Proclamation) for the Continuance of their Liberty, ſo they that have by way of Thankſgiving addreſſed the King for thoſe royal Papers, have not only acted very ill, in reference both to the Laws and Rights of the Kingdoms and of Religion in general, but they have carried very unwiſely in relation to their own Intereſt, and the avoiding the Effects of that Reſentment,

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which moſt Men are juſtly poſſeſſed with, upon the illegal Emiſſion of theſe arbitrary and prerogative Papers. I ſhall not enter upon any long Diſcourſe concerning this new Practice of addreſſing in general, it having been done elſewhere ſome Years ago, but I ſhall only briefly intimate, that it was never in Faſhion, unleſs under a weak and precarious Government, or under one that took illegal Courſes, and purſued a different Intereſt from that of the People and Community. As he who ruleth according to the ſtanding Laws of a Country over which he is ſet needs not ſeek for an Approbation of his Actions from a Part of his Subjects, the Legality of his Proceedings being the beſt Juſtification of him that governs, and giving the trueſt Satisfaction to them that are ruled; ſo he who enjoys the Love of all his People needs not look for Promiſes of being aſſiſted, ſtood by, and defended by any one Party or Faction among them, there being none from whom he can have the leaſt Apprehenſion of Oppoſition and Danger. It was the Want of a legal Title in *Oliver Cromwel* and his Son *Richard* to the Government, that firſt begot this Device of Addreſſing, and brought it upon the Stage in theſe *Britiſh* Nations; and it was the arbitrary Proceedings of the late King, as it is of his preſent Majeſty, and their acting upon a diſtinct Bottom from that of the Three Kingdoms, that hath revived and does continue it. Nor is there any thing that hath render'd thoſe two Princes more contemptible Abroad, and proclaimed them weaker at Home, than their recurring unto and ſoliciting the Flatteries and Aid of the Mercenary, Timorous, Servile, and for low and perſonal Ends biaſſed Part of their Subjects, and thereby telling the World, that neither the Generality nor the moſt Honourable of their People have been united in their Intereſt, nor approve of the Counſels that have been taken and purſued. And if any thing did ever caſt a Diſhonour upon the *Engliſh* Nation, it hath been that loathſome Flattery, and ſlaviſh Sycophancy, wherewith the Addreſſers both now, and for ſome Years paſt have ſtuffed their Applications to the two royal Brothers. The Throne, that is ſuſtained and upheld by the Pillars of Law and Juſtice, need not to hew out unto itſelf other Supporters, nor lean upon the crooked and weak Stilts of the Inſignificant, and for the moſt Part deceitful as well as bribed Vows of a Sort of Men, who will be as ready, upon the leaſt Diſguſt, to cry *Crucify* tomorrow, as they were, for being gratified (it may be in their Luſts, Humours, and Revenges, and at the beſt in ſome ſeparate Concern) to cry *Hoſanna*. I ſhall decline proſecuting what concerns the Honour or Diſhonour of him to whom the Addreſſes are made, or how politic or impolitic the countenancing and encouraging them is; and ſhall apply myſelf to this new Set of Addreſſers, and endeavour to ſhew how fooliſhly as well as criminally they have acted. Nor is it an Argument either of their Prudence or Honeſty, or of their acting with any Conſiſtency to themſelves, that having ſo ſeverely inveighed againſt the Addreſſes that were in Faſhion a few Years ago, and having faſtened all the Imputations and Reproaches upon thoſe that were acceſſary to them, which that Rank of Addreſſers could be ſuppoſed to have deſerved, they now eſpouſe the Practice which they had condemned, and in reference to as arbitrary and an unjuſtifiable an Act of his preſent Majeſty, as the moſt illegal one the late King was guilty of, or the worſt Exerciſe of Prerogative, for which any heretofore either commended or promiſed to ſtand by him. For though the Matter and Subject of the arbitrary Act of him now

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upon the Throne be not, as to every Branch of it, ſo publickly ſcandalous as ſome of the arbitrary Proceedings of the late King were, as relating to a Favour which Mankind hath a juſt Claim unto; yet it is every way as illegal, being in reference to a Privilege which his Majeſty hath no Authority to grant and beſtow: And were it not that there are many Diſſenters, who preſerve themſelves innocent at this Juncture, and upon whom the Temptation that is adminiſter'd makes no Impreſſion, the World have juſt Ground to ſay that the Fanaticks are not governed by *Principles*, but that the Meaſures they walk by are what conduce to their private and perſonal Benefit, or what lie in a Tendency to their Loſs and Prejudice; and that it was not the late King's uſurping and exerting an arbitrary and illegal Power that offended them, but that they were not the Objects in whoſe Favour it was exerciſed. 'Tis alſo an Aggravation of their Folly as well as their Offence, that they ſhould revive a Practice which the Nation was grown aſhamed of, and whereof they who had been guilty began to repent, thro' having ſeen that all the former Declarations, Aſſurances, and Promiſes of the Royal Brothers, which tempted to Applications of that Kind, were but ſo many Juggles, peculiar to the late Breed of the Family, for the deceiving of Mankind; and that never one of them was performed and made good. But the Tranſgreſſion as well as the Imprudence of the preſent Addreſſers is yet the greater, and they are the more criminal and inexcuſeable before God and Men, in that they might have enjoyed all the Benefits of the King's Declaration, without acknowledging the Juſtice of the Authority by which it was granted, or making themſelves the Scorn and Contempt of all that are truly honeſt and wiſe, by their ſervile Adulations and their gratulatory Scribbles, unbecoming *Engliſhmen* and Proteſtants.

They had no more to do but to continue their Meetings, as they had ſometime heretofore uſed to do, without taking notice that the preſent Suſpenſion of the Laws made their aſſembling together more ſafe, and freed them from the Apprehenſion of Fines and Impriſonments: Nor could the King, how much ſoever diſpleaſed with ſuch a Conduct, have at this Time ventured upon the expreſſing Diſpleaſure againſt them; ſeeing as that would have been both to have proclaimed his Hypocriſy, in ſaying *that Conſcience ought not to be conſtrained, nor People forced in Matters of mere Religion*, and a Diſcovering the villainous Deſign in Subſerviency to which the Declaration had been emitted; ſo it were not poſſible for him, after what he hath publiſhed, to ſingle out the Diſſenters from amongſt other Proteſtants: And to fall upon all, before Matters are more ripe for it, might be a Means of the Abortion of all his Popiſh Projections, and of ſaving the whole Reformed Intereſt in *Great-Britain*. Neither would the Church of *England* Men have envied their Tranquillity, or have blamed their Carriage; but would have been glad that their Brethren had been eaſed from Oppreſſions, and themſelves delivered from the grievous and diſhonourable Taſk of proſecuting them, which they had formerly been forced unto by Court Injunctions and Commands. And as they would have by a Conduct of this Nature had all the Freedom which they now enjoy, without the Guilt and Reproach which they have derived upon themſelves by Addreſſing; ſo ſuch a Carriage would have wonderfully recommended them to the Favour of a true *Engliſh* Parliament; which as it will ſee Cauſe to condemn the King's uſurping a Power of ſuſpending the Laws, and to make void his Declaration, ſo in Gratitude to Diſ-

ſenters for ſuch a Behaviour, as well as in Pity and Compaſſion to them as *Engliſh* Proteſtants, ſuch a Parliament would not fail to do all it could, to give them Relief in a legal Way: Whereas if any thing inflame and exaſperate the Nation to revive their Sufferings, it will ariſe from a Reſentment of the unworthy and treacherous Carriage of ſo many of them, in this critical and dangerous Juncture. But the Terms, which thro' their Addreſſing they have owned the receiving their Liberty and Indulgence upon, does in a peculiar Manner enhance their Guilt againſt God and their Country, and ſtrangely adds to the Diſguſt and Anger, which the Lovers of Religion and the Laws of the Nation have conceived againſt them: For it is not only upon the Acknowledgment of a Prerogative in the King over the Laws, that they have received and now hold their Liberty; but it is upon the Condition, *that nothing be preached or taught amongſt them that may any ways tend to alienate the Hearts of the People from his Majeſty's Perſon and Government.* He muſt be of an Underſtanding very near allied unto and approaching to that of an *Iriſhman*, who does not know what the Court Senſe of that Clauſe is; and that his Majeſty thereby intends, that they are not to preach againſt Popery, nor ſet forth the Doctrines of the Romiſh Church in Terms that may prevent the People being infected by them, much leſs in Colours that may render them hated and abhorred. To accuſe the King's Religion of Idolatry, or to affirm the Church of *Rome* to be the Apocalyptic *Babylon*, and to repreſent the Articles of the *Tridentine* Faith as faithful Miniſters of Chriſt ought to do, would be accounted *alienating the Hearts of their Hearers from the King and his Government*; which as they are in the aforeſaid Clauſe required not to do, ſo they have by their Addreſſing confeſſed the Juſtice of the Terms, and have undertaken to hold their Liberty by that Tenor. And to give them their Due, they have been very faithful hitherto, in conforming to what the King exacts, and in obſerving what themſelves have aſſented to the Equity of: For notwithſtanding all the Danger from Popery that the Nation is expoſed unto, and all the Hazard that the Souls of Men are in of being poiſoned with Romiſh Principles; yet inſtead of Preaching or Writing againſt any of the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, they have agreed among themſelves, and with ſuch of their Congregations as approve their Procedure, not ſo much as to mention them, but to leave the Province of defending our Religion, and of detecting the Falſehood of Papal Tenets, to the Paſtors and Gentlemen of the Church of *England*. And being aſk'd (as I know ſome of them have been) why they do not preach againſt Antichriſt, and confute the Papal Doctrines, they very gravely reply, that by preaching Chriſt they preach againſt Antichriſt, and that by teaching the Goſpel they refute Popery; which is ſuch a Piece of fraudulent and guileful Subterfuge, that I want Words to expreſs the Knavery and Criminalneſs of it. What a Reſerve and Change have I lived to ſee in *England*, from what I beheld a few Years ago! It was but the other Day that the conformable Clergy were repreſented by ſome of the Diſſenters, not only as Favourers of Popery, but as endeavouring to hale it in upon us by all the Methods and Ways that lay within their Circle, and yet now the whole Defence of the Reformed Religion muſt be entirely devolved into their Hands; and when all the Sluices are pulled up, that had been made to hinder Popery from overflowing the Nation, they muſt be left alone to ſtem the Inundation, and prevent the Deluge. They among the Fanaticks that boaſted to be the moſt avowed and irreconcileable Enemies of

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the Church of *Rome*, are not only become altogether silent, when they see the Kingdom pester'd with a Swarm of busy and seducing Emissaries, but are both turned Advocates for that Arbitrary Paper, whereby we are surrendered as a Prey unto them, and do make it their Business to detract from the Reputation, and discourage the Labours of the National Ministers, who with a Zeal becoming their Office, and a Learning which deserves to be admired, have set themselves in Opposition to that croaking Fry, and have done enough by their excellent and inimitable Writings to save the People from being deluded and perverted, if either unanswerable Confutations of Popery, or demonstrative Defences of the Articles and Doctrines of the Reformed Religion, can have any Efficacy upon the Minds of Men. Among other fulsome Flatteries adorning a Speech made to his Majesty by an Addressing Dissenter, I find this hypocritical and shameful Adulation, namely, *that if there should remain any Seeds of Disloyalty in any of his Subjects, the transcendent Goodness exerted in his Declaration would mortify and kill them*; to which he might have added with more Truth, that the same transcendent Goodness had almost destroyed all the Seeds of their Honesty, and mortified their Care and Concernment for the Interest of *Jesus Christ*, and for the Reformed Religion. Their old Strain of zealous Preaching against the Idolatry of *Rome*, and concerning the *coming out of* Babylon *my People*, are grown out of Fashion with them in *England*, and are only reserved, and laid by, to recommend them to the Kindness and Acceptation of Foreign Protestants, when their Occasions and Conveniences draw them over to *Amsterdam*. Whosoever comes into their Assemblies would think, for any thing that he there hears delivered from their Pulpits, that she which was the Whore of *Babylon* a few Years ago were now become a chaste Spouse, and that what were heretofore the damnable Doctrines of Popery were of late turned innocent and harmless Opinions. The King's Declaration would seem to have brought some of them to a *melius inquirendum*, and as they are already induced to believe a Roman Catholic the best King, they may in a little Time come to esteem Papists for the best Christians. *The keeping back nothing that is profitable to save such as hear them*, and *the declaring the whole Counsel of God*, which are the Terms upon which they received their Commission from *Jesus Christ*, and wherein they have *Paul*'s Practice and Example for a Pattern, would seem to be Things under the Power of the Royal Prerogative, and that the King may supersede them by the same Authority by which he dispenses with the Penal Statutes: Which as it is very agreeable unto, and imported in his Majesty's Claim of being obeyed without Reserve, so the owning this Absolute Power, with that Annex of challenged Obedience, does acquit them from all Obligations to the Laws of *Christ*, when they are found to interfere with what is required by the King. But whether God's Power or the King's be superior, and which of the two can cassate the other's Laws, and whose Wrath is most terrible, the Judgment Day will be able and sure to instruct them, if all Means in this World prove insufficient for it. The Addressers know upon what Conditions they hold their Liberty; and they have not only observed how several of the National Clergy have been treated for preaching against Popery, but they have heard how divers of the Reformed Ministers in *France* (before the general Suppression) were dealt with, for speaking against the Monarch's Religion; and therefore they must be pardoned, if they [illegible] to provoke his Majesty, tho' in the mean time, thro' their Si-

lence, they both betray the Cauſe of their Lord and Maſter, and are unfaithful to the Souls of thoſe, of whom they have taken upon them the Spiritual Guidance. As for the Papers themſelves that are ſtiled by the Name of *Addreſſes*, I ſhall not meddle with them, being, as to the greateſt Part of them, fitter to be expoſed and ridiculed either for their Dulneſs and Pedantry, or for the Adulation and Sycophancy with which they are fulſomly ſtuff'd, than to deſerve any ſerious Conſideration, or to merit Reflections that may prove inſtructive to Mankind. Only as that Addreſs, wherein his Majeſty is thanked for his reſtoring God to his Empire over Conſcience, deſerveth a Rebuke for its Blaſphemy, ſo that other which commends him for promiſing to force the Parliament to ratify his Declaration (tho' by the way all he ſays is, that he does not doubt of their Concurrence, which yet his ill Succeſs upon the cloſetting of ſo many Members, and his ſince diſſolving that Parliament, ſhews that there was ſome Cauſe for the doubting of it) I ſay, that other Addreſs merits a ſevere Cenſure for it's Inſolence againſt the Legiſlative Authority: And the Authors of it ought to be puniſhed for their Crime committed againſt the Liberty and Freedom of the Two Houſes, and for encouraging the King to invade and ſubvert their moſt eſſential and fundamental Privileges, without which they can neither be a Council, Judicature, nor Lawgivers.

After all, I hope the Nation will be ſo ingenuous as not to impute the Miſcarriages of ſome of the Non-conformiſts to the whole Party, much leſs to aſcribe them to the Principles of Diſſenters: For as the Points wherein they differ from the Church of *England* are purely of another Nature, and which have no Relation to Politicks, ſo the Influence that they are adapted to have upon Men, as Members of civil Societies, is to make them in a ſpecial Manner regardful of the Right and Franchiſes of the Community. But if ſome neither underſtand the Tendency of their own Principles, nor are true and faithful unto them; theſe Things are the perſonal Faults of thoſe Men, and are to be attributed to their Ignorance, or to their Diſhoneſty; nor are their Carriages to be counted the Effects of their Religious Tenets, much leſs are others of the Party to be involved under the Reproach and Guilt of their imprudent and ill Conduct: Which there is the more Cauſe to acknowledge, becauſe tho' the Church of *England* has all the Reaſon in the World to decline Addreſſing, in that all her legal Foundation, as well as Security, is ſhaken by the Declaration, yet there are ſome of her Dignitaries and Clergy, as well as divers Members of her Communion, who upon Motives of Ambition, Covetouſneſs, Fear, or Courtſhip, have enrolled themſelves into the Liſt of Addreſſers; and under Pretence of giving Thanks to the King for his Promiſe of protecting the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Clergy, and all others of the Church of *England*, in the free Exerciſe of their Religion as by Law eſtabliſh'd, have cut the Throat of their Mother, at whoſe Breaſts they have ſuck'd till they are grown fat, both by acknowledging the uſurped Prerogative upon which the King aſſumes the Right and Authority of emitting the Declaration, and by exchanging the legal Standing and Security of their Church into that precarious one of the Royal Word, which they fly unto as the Bottom of her Subſiſtence, and truſt to as the Wall of her Defence: And as moſt of the Members of the ſeparate Societies are free from all Acceſſion to Addreſſing, and the few that concurred were merely drawn in by the Wheedle and Importunity of their Preachers; ſo they who are of the chiefeſt Character, and greateſt Reputation for Wiſdom

Wiſdom and Learning among the Miniſters, have preſerved themſelves from all Folly and Treachery of that Kind. The *Apoſtle* tells us, that *not many Wiſe, not many Noble are called*; which as it is verified in many of the Diſſenting Addreſſers, ſo it may ſerve for ſome kind of Apology for their low and ſneaking, as well as ſo their indiſcreet and imprudent Behaviour in this Matter. And it is the more venal in ſome of them, as being not only a Means of ingratiating themſelves (as they fanſy) with the King, who heretofore had no very good Opinion of them, but as being both an eaſy and compendious Method of atoning for Offences againſt the Crown, of which they were ſtrongly ſuſpected, and a cheap and expert celeſs Way of purchaſing the Pardon of their Relations, that had ſtood actually accuſed of High-Treaſon: Nor is it to be doubted, but that as the King will retain very little Favour and Mercy for Fanaticks, when once he has ſerved his Ends upon them; ſo they will preſerve as little Kindneſs for the Papiſts, if they can but obtain Relief in a legal Way. And as there is not a People in the Kingdom that will be more loyal to Princes, while they continue ſo to govern, as that Fealty by the Laws of God or Man remain due to them; ſo there are none, of what Principles or Communion ſoever, upon whom the Kingdom, if its whole Intereſt come to lie at Stake, may more aſſuredly and with greater Confidence depend, than upon the Generality of Diſſenting Proteſtants, and eſpecially upon thoſe that are not of the Paſtoral Order. The Severities that the Diſſenters lay under before, and their Deliverance from Oppreſſion and Diſturbance now, ſeconded with the King's Expectation and Demands of thankſgiving Addreſſes, were ſtrong Temptations upon Men void of Generoſity and Greatneſs of Spirit, and who are withal of no great Political Wiſdom, nor of Proſpect into the Conſequences of Counſels and Tricks of State, to act as illegally in their Thanks as his Majeſty had done in his Bounty: So that whatſoever Animadverſion they may deſerve, ſhould they be proceeded againſt according to their Demerit; yet it is to be hoped that both they, and the Addreſſers of the former Stamp, may all find room in an Act of Indemnity, and that the Mercy of the Nation towards them will triumph over them, and get the better of its Juſtice. As it would argue a ſtrange and judaical Infatuation, ſhould they proceed to farther Exceſſes, and think to eſcape the Puniſhment due to one Crime, by committing and takeing Sanctuary in another, thro' improving their Compliments into Actions of Treachery; ſo all their Hopes of Pardon, as well as of Lenity and Moderation, from a true Proteſtant and rightly conſtituted Authority, depend upon their Conduct and Behaviour henceforward, and their not ſuffering themſelves to be hurried and deluded into a Co-operation with the Court for the obtaining of a Popiſh Parliament: All their Endeavours of that Kind would but more clearly detect and manifeſt their Treachery to Religion and the Kingdom, it not being in their Power to out-vote the honeſt *Engliſh* Part of the People, ſo as to help the King to ſuch a Houſe of Commons as he deſires; and were it poſſible, that thro' their Aſſiſtance, in Conjunction with Violence and Tricks uſed in Elections and Returns by the Court, ſuch a Houſe of Commons might be obtained, as would be ſeviceable to Arbitrary and Papal Ends; yet neither the King nor they would be nearer the compaſſing what is aim'd at, it being demonſtrable that the Majority of the Houſe of Lords are never to be wrought over to juſtify this illegal Declaration, or to grant the King a Power of ſuſpending Laws at his Pleaſure; nor to give their Aſſent to a Bill for repealing the Teſt Acts, and the Statutes

tutes that enjoin and require the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. And if they ſhould be ſo far left of God, and betrayed by thoſe among themſelves whom the Court hath gained, as to become guilty of ſo enormous an Act of Folly and Villainy; and ſhould the Election of the next Parliament be the happy Juncture they wait for, and the improving their Intereſt, as well as giving their Votes for the Choice of Papiſts into the Houſe of Commons, be what they mean * *by an eſſential Proof of their Loyalty and of the Sincerity of their humble Addreſſes, and that thereby they intend to demonſtrate, that the greateſt thing they have promiſed is the leaſt thing they will perform for his Majeſty's Service and Satisfaction*; as in that Caſe they will deſerve to forfeit all Hopes of being forgiven, ſo it would be an Infidelity to God and Men, and a Cruelty to ourſelves and Poſterity, not to abandon them as Betrayers of Religion, expunge them out of the Roll of Proteſtants, ſtrip them of all that wherein free Subjects have a legal Right, and condemn them to the utmoſt Puniſhments which the Laws of the Kingdom adjudge the worſt of Traitors and Malefactors unto. There are ſome who, thro' hating of them, wiſh their miſcarrying and offending to ſo unpardonable a Degree, that they may hereafter be furniſhed with an Advantage both of ruining them, and the whole Diſſenting Party for their Sakes: But as the Love that I bear unto them, and the Perſuaſion and Belief I have of the Truth of their religious Principles, make me exceeding ſolicitous to have them kept and prevented from being hurried and tranſported into ſo fatal and criminal a Behaviour; ſo I deſire to make no other Excuſe for my plain Dealing towards them, but that of *Solomon*, who tell us, that *faithful are the Words of a Friend, while the Kiſſes of an Enemy are deceitful*; and that *he who rebukes a Man, ſhall find more Favour afterwards than he who flattereth with the Tongue.*

P O S T S C R I P T.

Since the foregoing Sheets went to the Preſs, and while they were printing off, there is come to my Hands a new Proclamation, dated at *Windſor*, the 28th of *June*, 1687, for granting further Liberty in *Scotland*, and which was publiſhed there by an Order of the *Privy-Council* of that Kingdom, bearing Date at *Edinburgh* the 5th of *July*. This Superfœtation of one Proclamation after another, in reference to the ſame thing, is ſo apportioned and parallel to the late *French* Method of emitting Edicts in relation to thoſe of the Reformed Religion in that Kingdom, that they ſeem to proceed out of one Mint, to be calculated for the ſame End, and to be deſigned for the compaſſing and obtaining the like Effects: For as ſoon as an Alarm was taken at the publiſhing of ſome unreaſonable and rigorous Edict, there uſed often to follow another of a milder Strain, which was pretended to be either for the moderating the Severities of the former, or to remove and rectify what they were pleaſed to call Miſconſtructions unduly put upon it; but the true End whereof was only to ſtifle and extinguiſh the Jealouſies and Apprehenſions that the other had begotten and excited, and which had they not been calmed and allay'd, might have awakened the Proteſtants *there* to provide for their Safety by a timely withdrawing into other Countries, if they had not been provoked to generous

* See Mr. *Alſop's Speech to the King.*

generous Endeavours of preventing the final Suppreſſion of their Religion, and for obviating the Ruin which that Court had projected againſt them, and was haſtening to involve them under. Nor does my Suſpicion of his Majeſty's purſuing the ſame Deſign againſt Proteſtants, which the great *Louis* glories to have accompliſhed, proceed merely from that Conjunction of Counſels that all the World obſerves between *Whitehall* and *Verſailles*; nor merely from the King's abandoning his Nephew and Son-in-law the Prince of *Orange*, and not ſo much as interpoſing, to obtain Satisfaction to be given him for the many Injuries, Damages, Spoils, and Robberies, as well as Affronts done him by that haughty Monarch, when one vigorous Application could not fail to effect it; nor yet merely from that Agreeableneſs in their Procedures, through the King of *England*'s imitating that foreign Potentate, and making the whole Courſe that hath been taken in *France* the *Pattern* of all his Actings in *Great-Britain*; but I am much confirmed in my Fears and Jealouſies, by remembering a Paſſage in one of Mr. *Coleman*'s Letters, who as he very well knew what the then Duke of *York* had been for many Years engaged in againſt our Religion and Civil Liberties, and under what Vows and Promiſes he was, not to deſiſt from proſecuting what had been reſolved upon and undertaken, ſo he had the Confidence to ſay, that his Maſter's Deſign and that of the King of *France* was one and the ſame; and that this was no leſs, as he farther informs us, than the extirpating the northern Hereſy. Had the King of *England* acted with Sincerity from that noble Principle, "that Conſcience ought not to be conſtrained, nor People forced in Matters of mere Religion," as he would delude weak and eaſy People to believe; and had not all his arbitrary and illegal Proceedings in granting Liberty to Diſſenting Proteſtants been to ſubſerve and promote other Deſigns, which it is not yet ſeaſonable and convenient to diſcover and avow; he would have then acted with that Conformity to the Principle he profeſſeth to be under the Influence and Government of, and with that Conſonancy and harmonious Agreeableneſs in all the Degrees of Indulgence, vouchſafed to thoſe of the Reformed Religion in *England* and *Scotland*, that differ from them of the eſtabliſhed Way, that there would have needed no ſecond Proclamation apporting new Meaſures of Liberty and Favour to *Scotch* Diſſenters, ſeeing they would have had it granted them at firſt in the ſame Latitude and Illimitedneſs, that it was beſtowed upon the *Engliſh* Nonconformiſts. But when Princes carry on and purſue miſchievous Deſigns, under the Palliations of Religion, public Good, and the Right of Mankind, it comes often to paſs, through adapting their Methods to what they mean and intend, and not to what they pretend and give out, that their crafty Projections, by being not ſufficiently accommodated to their Purpoſes, prove ineffectual to the compaſſing what was aimed at; and this forceth them to a new Game of Falſhood and Subtlety, but ſtill under the old Varniſh and Gloſs, and obligeth them to have recourſe to Means that may be more proportioned than the former were, for their reaching the End that they ultimately drive at. Thence it is that thoſe Rulers, who are engaged in the Proſecution of wicked and unjuſtifiable Deſigns, are neceſſitated not only to apply themſelves to oppoſite Methods towards different Parties, and thoſe ſuch as muſt be ſuited and apportioned to their diſcrepant Intereſts, without the accommodating of which they can neither hope to mould them to that tame and

and ſervile Compliance, nor work them up to that active and vigorous abetting of their malicious and crafty Projections, as is neceſſary for the rendering them ſucceſsful; but they are forced to vary their Proceedings towards one and the ſame Party, and that as well when the Ways they have acted in towards them are found inadequate to the End unto which they were calculated, as when the Miſchief hid under them comes to be too ſoon diſcovered. This weak and ſhort-ſighted People fancy to ariſe from an Uncertainty in Princes Counſels, and from their being at no Conſiſtency with themſelves; but they who can penetrate into Affairs, and that conſider Things more narrowly, can eaſily diſcern, that all this Variation, Diverſity, and ſhifting of Methods in Rulers Actings, proceeds from other Cauſes, and that it is their Stability and Perſeverance in an illegal and wicked Deſign, that compels them to thoſe crooked and contrary Courſes, either for the gaining the unwary and ill-applied Concurrence of their Subjects, to the haſtening Diſtreſs and Deſolation upon themſelves, or for the throwing them into that Lethargy, and under that Supineneſs, as may hinder them from all Endeavours of obſtructing and diverting the Evils, that their Governors are ſeeking to bring upon them. Nor is there a more certain Indication of a Prince's being engaged in a Deſign contrary to the Good and Happineſs of the Society over which he is ſet, than his betaking himſelf to illegal Ways, upon Pretence of promoting the Eaſe and Benefit of his People; or according as he finds his Subjects to differ in their particular Intereſt, his applying himſelf to them in Methods, whereof the Contrariety of the one to the other renders them the more proper and adapted to enſnare the divided Factions, through accoſting each of them with ſomething that they are ſeverally fond of. Legal Means are always ſufficient to the purſuing and compaſſing legal Ends; and whatſoever is for the general Good of the Community may either be obtained by Courſes wherein the Generality find their united Intereſt and common Felicity, or elſe by Application to a Parliament freely and duly choſen; which as it repreſents the whole politic Society, ſo there may be expected moſt Compaſſion and Tenderneſs, as well as Wiſdom and Prudence, for redreſſing the Grievances, eaſing the Troubles, and providing for the Benefit and Safety of all that are wrapt up in and repreſented by them. And as every Prince, who ſincerely ſeeks and purſues the Advantage of his People, will ſo adjuſt and attemper all his Actions towards them, that his whole Carriage ſhall be uniform, and all the Exerciſes of his governing Power meet in the Benefit of the Community, as ſo many Lines from a Circumference uniting in their Centre; ſo there needs no other Proof that theſe two or three late Actions of his Majeſty, which a fooliſh Sort of Men are apt to interpret for Favours, and to account them Effects of Compaſſion and Kindneſs, are but to conceal his Malice, and to ſubſerve as well as cover ſome fatal and pernicious Deſign, that he is carrying on againſt his Proteſtant Subjects, than that while he is gratifying a few of them in one Thing, he is at the ſame time robbing all of them of many; and that while he is indulging the Diſſenters with a Freedom from the Penal Laws for Matters of Religion, he is invading the Properties, and ſubverting the Civil Rights of the Three Nations, and changing the whole Conſtitution of the Government. He that ſtrips us of what belongs unto us, as we are *Engliſhmen* and *Scotchmen*, cannot mean honeſtly in the Favours

Favours he pretends to vouchsafe us, as we are *Christians*; nor can he that is endeavouring to enslave our Persons, and to subject our Estates to his arbitrary Lust and Pleasure, intend any thing else by this Kindness granted to Fanaticks in Matters of Religion, than the dividing them from the rest of the People, in what concerns the Civil Interest and external Happiness of the Community, and to render them an engaged Faction to assist and abet him in enthralling the Kingdoms. Whosoever considers the whole Tenor of his Majesty's other Actings, in proroguing and dissolving Parliaments, when he finds them uncompliant with his Popish and despotical Ends; his keeping on foot a formidable Army against all the Laws of the Land, and upon no other Intention, but to maintain him in his Usurpations over our Rights, and to awe us into a tame and servile Submission to his Prerogative Will; his filling all Places of Judicature with weak as well as treacherous Persons, who instead of administring Justice may be the Instruments of Tyranny; his robbing Men of their Estates, by judicial Forms, and under Pretence that *nullum Tempus occurrit Regi*, after they have been quietly enjoyed by the Subjects for several hundred Years; his advancing none to Civil and Military Employs, but whom he hath some Confidence in, as to the finding them ready to execute his despotical Injunctions; and his esteeming no Person loyal and faithful to himself, save those who are willing to betray their Country, and be Rebels and Traitors against the legal Constitution? I say, whosoever considers all this, and a great deal more of the same Hue and Complection, cannot imagine (unless he be under a judaical Blindness and a strange Infatuation) that any thing arriving from the King, though it may be a Matter wherein they may find their present Ease and Advantage, should proceed from Compassion and Good-Will to his Protestant Subjects, but that it must be only in order to promote a distinct Interest from that of his People, and for the better and more easy accomplishing of some wicked and unjustifiable Designs. And though his Majesty would have us believe, that the Reasons moving him to the Emission of this second Proclamation were the sinistrous Interpretations which either have, or may be made, of some Restrictions in his former; yet it is not difficult, even without being of his Privy-Council, to assign a truer Motive, and a more real and effectual Cause of it: For as that of the 12th of *February* came forth attended with so many Limitations, not easy to be digested by Men of Wisdom or Honesty, lest if it had been more unconfined and extensive, and should have opened a Door for all *Scotch* Dissenters to have gone in and taken the Benefit of it, the Generality of Protestants in that Kingdom, abstracting from the Bishops, Curates, and a few others, should have joined in the separate Interest, and thereby have become an united Body against Popery; but upon finding that hardly any would purchase their Freedom from the Penal Laws at so dear a Rate, as to do Things so unbecoming Men and Christians, as the conforming to the Terms therein prescribed obliged them unto; and that as they of the National Communion were alarm'd and disgusted, so few or none of the Dissenting Fellowships were pleased, and that both were not only angry at the many illegal Favours, and threatening Advantages, bestowed upon the Papists, but were grown so sensible of the Design carrying on against the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties and Privileges of the Subject, that though they could not renounce their respective Tenets in the Matters wherein

they differed, yet they were willing to ſtifle their Heats and Animoſities, and to give that Encouragement, Aid, and Aſſiſtance to one another, as was neceſſary for their common Safety: Upon theſe Conſiderations, his Majeſty (if he would have ſpoken ſincerely) ought to have ſaid, that he had publiſhed this New Proclamation, in order to hinder *Scotch* Proteſtants from uniting, for their mutual Defence, againſt *Turkiſh* Tyranny, and *Romiſh* Idolatry, and in hopes thereby to continue and exaſperate their undue and paſſionate Heats, and to keep them not only in divided and oppoſite Intereſts, but to make them contribute to the ſuppreſſing and ruining each other, or at leaſt to look on unconcernedly, till he have ripened his Deſigns againſt them both, and be prepared for extirpating the Reformed Religion, and for ſubverting the Fundamental as well as Statute Laws, and for bringing ſuch to the Stake and Gibbet, as ſhall have the Integrity to aſſert the one, or the Courage to plead for the other: And yet in this laſt Proclamation, wherein he grants a more illimited Freedom than in the former, and promiſeth to protect all in the Exerciſe of *their Proteſtant Religion*, as he diſdainfully and ignominiouſly calls it, there is a Clauſe that may diſcourage all honeſt Men from owning their Liberty to the Authority that beſtows it, and from which it is derived and conveyed to them; for not being ſatisfied to ſuperſtruct his pretended Right, of ſuſpending, ſtopping, and diſabling Laws, upon his Sovereign Authority and Prerogative Royal, but as knowing that theſe give no ſuch Pre-eminence and Juriſdiction over the Laws of the Kingdom, he is pleaſed to challenge unto himſelf an *Abſolute Power*, as the Source and Spring of that exorbitant and paramount Claim, which he therein exerciſes and exerts. And foraſmuch as *Abſolute Power* imports his Majeſty's being looſe and free from all Ties and Reſtraints, either by fundamental Stipulations, or ſuperadded Laws; it is very natural to obſerve, that he allows the Government under which we were born, and to which we were ſworn and ſtood bound, to be hereby ſubverted and changed, and that thereupon we are not only abſolved and acquitted from the Allegiance and Fealty we were formerly under to his Majeſty, but are indiſpenſably obliged by the Ties and Engagements that are upon us of maintaining and defending the Conſtitution and Government; to apply ourſelves to the Uſe of all Means and Endeavours againſt him, as an Enemy of the People, and a Subverter of the legal Government; wherein all the Intereſt he had, or could lawfully claim, was an official Truſt, and not an abſolute Power, or a deſpotical Dominion, the firſt whereof he hath depoſed and abdicated himſelf from, by challenging and uſurping the latter. And ſhould any *Scotch* Diſſenter, either in his Entrance upon the Liberty granted by this Proclamation, or in addreſſing by way of Thankfulneſs for it, take the leaſt notice of theſe Freedoms flowing from the King, which cannot be done, without recogniſing this *Abſolute Power* in his Majeſty as the Fountain of it, he is to be look'd upon as the worſt of Traitors, and deſerves to be proceeded againſt, both for his Acceſſion unto and juſtifying the Subverſion of the Laws, Liberties, and Government of his Country, and for betraying the Rights of all free-born Men: For thoſe few Reflections in the foregoing Sheets, which this New Proclamation may not only ſeem to render uſeleſs, and fruſtrate the End whereunto they were intended, but may make the publiſhing any

Animadverſions

Animadverſions upon that which the King (by departing from) does himſelf cenſure and condemn, be eſteemed both a Failure in Ingenuity and Candour, and a Want of Regard to thoſe Meaſures of Juſtice, which ought to be obſerved towards all Men, and more eſpecially towards crowned Heads: I ſhall only ſay, that as the Proclamation arrived with me too late to hinder and prevent the Communication of them to the Publick, ſo I have this farther to add in Juſtification of their being publiſhed, that it will thereby appear, that what his Majeſty ſtiles ſiniſtrous Interpretations made of ſome Reſtrictions mentioned in his former, are no other than the juſt, natural, genuine, and obvious Conſtructions which they lie open unto, and are capable of, and which a Man cannot avoid faſtening upon, without renouncing all Senſe and Reaſon. And while the King continues to diſparage and aſperſe all ſober and judicious Reflections upon that royal Paper, by charging upon them the unjuſt and reproachful Character of ſiniſtrous Interpretations, it is neceſſary as well as equal, that the whole Matter ſhould be plainly and impartially repreſented to the World, and that the Deciſion be remitted and left to the underſtanding and unbiaſs'd Part of Mankind, who are the Calumniators and Slanderers, they who accuſe the Proclamation of importing ſuch Principles, Conſequences, and Tendencies, or he and his Miniſters, who think they have avoided and anſwered the Imputations faſtened upon it, when they have loaded them with hard and uncivil Terms. For though he be pleaſed to aſſume to himſelf an *Abſolute Power*, which all are bound to obey without Reſerve, and in the Virtue of which he ſuſpends, ſtops, and diſables what Laws he pleaſeth, yet I do not know, ſeeing his Intellectuals are of the Size of other Mens, and that neither his Sovereignty, nor Catholicalneſs, have veſted in him an Inerrability, why we may not enter our Plea and Demurr to the Dictates of his Judgment, though we know not how to withſtand the Efforts of his Power. Nor ſhall I ſubjoin any more, ſave that whereas his Majeſty declares ſo many Laws to be diſabled to all Intents and Purpoſes, he ought to have remembered, that beſide other Intents and Purpoſes that ſeveral of them may hereafter ſerve unto, (as the Papiſts may poſſibly come to have Experience) there is one Thing, in reference to which he cannot even at preſent hinder and prevent their Uſefulneſs and Efficacy, and that is, not only their raiſing and exciting all juſt Reſentments in the Minds of free-born and generous Men, for his challenging a Power to ſuſpend and caſſate them, but their remaining and continuing Monuments of his Infidelity to the Truſt repoſed in him, of his Departure from all Promiſes made at and ſince his entering upon the Government, and of his invading and ſubverting all the Rules of the Conſtitution.

An ADDRESS sign'd by the greateſt Part of the Members of the Parliament of *Scotland*, and deliver'd to his Majeſty at *Hampton-Court*, the 15th Day of *October*, 1689.

NOTHING ſave the great and general Surpriſe of this long diſtreſſed and at preſent unſettled Kingdom, upon the late Adjournment of your moſt loyal Parliament for ſo long a Time, and in ſo critical a Seaſon, with the deep Concern of your royal Intereſt therein, could poſſibly have induced us to this ſo neceſſary a Petition; but the viſible Conſternation and Diſcouragement of thouſands of your good Subjects, delayed in the Relief and Comfort which at this Time they aſſuredly expected, with the Advantages that we apprehend your Majeſty's Enemies, both within and without the Kingdom, may think to reap by ſuch an Interruption, being our only Motives, we cannot, we dare not be ſilent: And therefore, to prevent theſe evil Conſequences, we in the firſt Place moſt ſolemnly proteſt and declare, in the Preſence of God and Men, our conſtant and inviolable Fidelity and Adherence to your Majeſty's Royal Title, Right and Intereſt, ſo frankly and chearfully recogniſed by us in this current Parliament, wiſhing and praying for nothing more under the Sun than your long and proſperous Reign, as that wherein the Security of all our Lives and Liberties, and alſo of our Holy Religion, more dear to us than both, is infallibly included. It was the Perſuaſion we had of the Juſtice, as well as the Neceſſity, of your Majeſty's Heroic Undertaking for the Delivery of theſe Kingdoms, with the Conviction of the Divine Confirmation that appeared in its glorious Succeſs, that moved moſt, if not all of us, to endeavour and concur moſt heartily in the late Meeting of Eſtates, for the Advancement and Eſtabliſhment of your Majeſty upon the Throne, when ſome diſcovered their Diſaffection, and were too open Retarders and Obſtructers of that good Deſign: And it is from the ſame true Affection and Zeal, that we do now moſt heartily make the abovementioned Proteſtation, to obviate all the Miſconſtructions your Enemies may make in this Juncture.

Nor are we leſs aſſured of your Majeſty's moſt ſincere and gracious Intentions, to perform for us to the utmoſt all that the Eſtates of the Kingdom have either demanded, or repreſented as neceſſary and expedient for ſecureing the Proteſtant Religion, reſtoring their Laws and Liberties, and redreſsing of their Grievances, according to your Majeſty's Declaration for this Kingdom. Neither can it be imagined, that ſo wiſe and juſt a King as your Majeſty will ever be perſuaded, that ſo loyal a Parliament as this can be induced either to wiſh or deſign any Prejudice to, or Diminution of your true Intereſt and Prerogative; but ſuch as have ſlaviſhly ſerved and flattered arbitrary Power and Tyranny will be always ſtudying for their own ſiniſter Ends, to ſtate a ſeparate Intereſt betwixt King and People; a Practice which we are confident your Majeſty abhors.

But

But that we may clear ourſelves upon this preſent Occaſion to your Majeſty's full Satisfaction, and refuting of all Miſ-repreſentations we can incur on any hand, we ſhall briefly rehearſe to your Majeſty the Votes paſs'd in this preſent Parliament, to which the royal Aſſent is not given, with ſuch ſhort Reflections as we hope may tend to the better Vindication of all concern'd.

The Firſt Act, upon which the Vote of Parliament has paſs'd, is that, Declareing the Privilege of the Eſtates of Parliament *to nominate and appoint Committees*, as they ſhall think fit, and excluding therefrom the Officers of State, unleſs they be choſen: And omitting what the Parliament hath already repreſented to your Majeſty as Reaſons of their Vote, it is humbly conceived, that this Act is exactly framed to the Extent of that Grievance, which together with the reſt is deſired in the *Inſtrument of Government* to be redreſſed unto us in Parliament.

The Second was an Act *Abrogating* the Act of Parliament 1669, aſſerting *the King's Supremacy* over all Perſons, and in all Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; and this Act is ſo exactly conformable to the ſecond Article of the abovementioned Grievances, and the aforeſaid Act of Supremacy in itſelf is ſo dangerous to the Proteſtant Religion, as well as inconſiſtent with the Eſtabliſhment of any Church Government, that we doubt not your Majeſty will ever approve all that voted to it.

The Third is an Act relating to *Perſons not to be employed in public Truſts*; and all the Ruins and Diſtreſſes of this Kingdom have ſo certainly flowed from the Perſons therein noted, eſpecially ſuch as, by their contriving of and concurring in the diſpenſing Power, have thereby imminently indangered our Religion, and overturned all the Fences of our Liberties and Properties (which we have good Grounds to believe the Parliament would have extended but to few Perſons) and your Majeſty in your Declaration hath ſo juſtly charged the ſame upon evil and wicked Counſellors (the only Perſons pointed at in this Act) that we are perſuaded that you will find it abſolutely neceſſary for attaining all the Ends of your Majeſty's glorious Undertaking for our Relief.

The Fourth is an Act concerning the *Nomination of the ordinary Lords of Seſſion* and the *Election of the Preſident*, to wit, that in a total Vacation they be tried, and admitted or rejected by Parliament, and in a particular Vacation they be tried, and admitted or rejected by the other Lords: And that the Preſident be choſen by the Lords themſelves, conformable to our old Practice and expreſs Statute. And this Act is ſo agreeable to Practices, Laws, and Acts of Parliament, and ſo neceſſary for the true and equal Adminiſtration of Juſtice (the great Security of all Kingdoms) that your Majeſty will unqueſtionably approve it.

The Fifth and laſt is an Act ordaining the *Preſbyterian Miniſters yet alive*, who were thruſt out ſince the firſt of *January* 1661, for not conforming to Prelacy, and not complying with the Courſes of the Time, to be *reſtored*. And this Act is in itſelf ſo juſt and ſo conſequential from the Claim of Right, and agreeable to your Majeſty's Declaration, that leſs in common Equity could not be done. And here your Majeſty may be pleaſed to conſider, That tho' Prelacy be now by Law aboliſhed, yet theſe few Miniſters, not exceeding ſixty (tho' reſtored, as they are not, for want of the Royal Aſſent to the aforeſaid Act) would be all the Preſbyterian Miniſters legally eſtabliſhed and provided for in *Scotland*.

It

It is not unknown to your Majesty what have been the sad Confusions and Disorders of this distressed Country under Prelacy, and for want of its ancient Presbyterian Government; and now the whole *West* and many other Parts of *Scotland* are at present desolate and destitute, having only Ministers called by the People upon the late Liberty, without any Benefice or Living, or convenient Place to preach in. It is also certain, that there are many Hundreds of forefaulted and fined Persons who are yet waiting to be restored and refounded, according to the Claim of Right, and your Majesty's gracious Instructions relating thereto.

It is true, the last Thing proposed by your Majesty's Commissioner in Parliament was a Supply of Money for Maintenance of the Forces so necessary for our present Defence; and we should have proved ourselves ungrateful to your Majesty, and false to our own Interest and Security, if we had absolutely refused it: But there being a sufficient and certain Fund to maintain all the Forces, and support all other incident Charges of the Government for some Months; all that we demanded was, that some Things visibly necessary for the Satisfaction of the Country, and the better enabling and disposing them to pay the said Supply, might be first expedited. We are confident that the Vote of Parliament, which was only for a short Delay, will not give your Majesty the least Ground of Offence.

And now, having presumed to lay these Things before your Majesty with all humble Submission, purely out of Duty for preventing the evil Constructions of your Majesty's Enemies, and for our own just Vindication, we most humbly beseech your Sacred Majesty graciously to consider what is here represented; and in Prosecution of your Majesty's Acceptance of the Claim of Right, and your Declaration emitted for this Kingdom, to take such Courses you in your Royal Wisdom shall think fit, for passing the aforesaid Acts of Parliament, and redressing all our other Grievances. And we your Majesty's most humble Petitioners and faithful Subjects, shall, as in Duty bound, ever pray for your long and prosperous Reign over us.

The SPEECH of the Right Reverend Father in God *Anthony* Lord Bishop of *Meath*, when the Clergy waited on his Majesty at his Camp near *Dublin*, *July* 7, 1690. Together with his Majesty's most Gracious Answer.

May it please your Majesty,

WE are some of the Remains of the Clergy that have ventured to stay behind our Brethren in perillous Times, and under great Discouragements, for the Discharge of our Duty to God and the People. Two of us are Bishops, who, together with five more in the Kingdom, thought ourselves obliged to continue here, to preserve the Succession of the Clergy, by the Ordination of Priests and Deacons, and the Seminary of the Church, by Confirmation. The rest of our Members are the Clergy of this City, and the rural Clergy. The former of these have staid upon their Charge, under great Wants and

and Diſcouragements, having not only been deprived of all their Maintenance, but expoſed to daily Dangers, in and for the Diſcharge of their Duties: And the latter are Perſons driven from their Cures, and forced to ſeek Relief and Sanctuary in this City.

We may poſſibly be cenſured by thoſe, who underſtand not the Grounds and Reaſons of our Continuance in this Kingdom, as *Trimmers*, or Favourers of Popery: From the firſt we are able to acquit ourſelves, having been guilty of no Compliances, but ſuch as were the Effects of Prudence and Self-preſervation, ſuch as were at once both innocent and neceſſary, to be obſerved to a Power that was able to cruſh us far worſe than it did: And we are ſo far from being guilty of the latter, that we humbly conceive, that we could not more effectually oppoſe the Growth and Inundation of Popery, than by keeping up the publick Aſſemblies, by ſticking to our Flocks, and preventing their Seduction by the Romiſh Emiſſaries.

We do not come to crave your Majeſty's Protection for our Perſons, our Churches, our Religion, or our Properties, which have been all in ſome meaſure invaded: Our Perſons have been impriſon'd, our Churches taken from us, our Properties deſtroyed by a late Act of Parliament that took away our Tithes, and the free Exerciſe of our Religion for ſome Time interrupted. A Requeſt of this Nature might perhaps look like a Diſtruſt of your Majeſty's Care of us, and ſeem to contradict the glorious Deſign of your coming into this Kingdom. We are ſenſible that the generous End of your Majeſty's Preſence is to reſcue us from the Oppreſſions and Tyranny of Popery; and we are well aſſured, that the ſame Paternal Affection that moved your Majeſty to pity our Diſtreſs will ſtill protect us now we are deliver'd.

We come rather to bleſs God as the Author of our Deliverance, and your Majeſty as the happy Inſtrument raiſed up by his Providence for the effecting it; to expreſs our Gratitude and Duty to your Majeſty, who has a double Title to our Services, not only as our King, but as our gracious Benefactor and Deliverer; to pray for the Succeſs of your Majeſty's Forces, for the Conſummation of that good Work that you have with ſo much perſonal Hazard undertaken; that you may carry your Victorious Arms into other Countries, where the Cries and the Groans, and the Oppreſſions of the Afflicted Proteſtants, are as great as they have been here; that God would be an Helmet of Salvation to you in the Day of Battle, and deal with you as he did with *Nebuchadnezzar*, when he promiſed him the Kingdom of *Egypt* for his hard Service againſt *Tyrus*: May he likewiſe recompenſe your hard Labour in this Kingdom with the Addition of another that is far more valuable; and may you prove as happy and ſucceſsful an Inſtrument in the ſuccouring of others, as you have been of the poor afflicted People of this Kingdom.

His MAJESTY's Anſwer.

I AM come hither to deliver you from the Tyranny of Popery and Slavery, to protect the Proteſtant Religion, and reſtore you to your Liberties and Properties; and you may depend upon it.

The End of the Third Volume.